

Joint Master in EU Trade and Climate Diplomacy

The Global Gateway: Extending a European Green Deal to a Global Green Deal in Africa

**An assessment of the coherence of the
Global Gateway in the context of the
European Green Deal objectives.**

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Statutory declaration

I hereby declare that I have composed the present thesis autonomously and without use of any other than the cited sources or means. I have indicated parts that were taken out of published or unpublished work correctly and in a verifiable manner through a quotation. I further assure that I have not presented this thesis to any other institute or university for evaluation and that it has not been published before. Furthermore, the style of referencing in the present thesis is Chicago, used both for the footnotes and bibliography guided by: https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html#cg-

30 June 2023, Cyprien Drescher.

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Abstract

The European Union (EU) aims to gain a more assertive position in the infrastructure business with developing countries. To that aim, the EU launched the Global Gateway initiative in a goal to build reliable partnerships around the world and expanding the reach of its influence. These partnerships will help to tackle climate change whilst ensuring resilient supply chains are developed. The areas concerned are the energy, transport, digital, and health sectors. Through a value-based approach — exporting environmental and social standards — the bloc intends to respond to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China. This strategy shows a strong willingness of the EU to bring its own added value to the table. The continent seeks to rival the decade long head start of China with an investment package of €300 billion, from which half are directed to the African Continent. With increasing critics of the BRI, the Global Gateway is at a turning point to dispel doubts regarding its added value. Indeed, the European initiative also raises critics, regarding the rebranding of existing projects prior to the launch of the initiative. The poly crisis environment brings challenges for cooperation. It impairs the trust needed between countries to act on the fight against climate change. In this context, the EU tries through the Global Gateway to build bridges between continents and influence the development of its partners. The Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine pushed the EU to engage in new partnerships. The Global Gateway is timely to an extent, as it can serve this purpose of relationship building. The initiative also serves the objectives set out in the Green Deal. To this end, this thesis portrays the Global Gateway as a cornerstone for the external dimension of the Green Deal with the objective of creating a mutually beneficial partnership with Africa.

List of abbreviations

AFD – French Development Agency

BRI – Belt and Road Initiative

B3W – Build Back Better World

DG INTPA – Directorate-General for International Partnerships

EBRD – European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

EEAS – European External Action Service

EIB – European Investment Bank

EP – European Parliament

EU – European Union

EUMS – European Union Member States

HR/VP – High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

LAC – Latin America and the Caribbean

MEPs – Members of the European Parliament

MFF – Multiannual Financial Framework

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding

MW – Megawatt

MFF – Multiannual Financial Framework

PCSD – Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development

SSA – Sub-Saharan Africa

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

TEI – Team Europe Initiatives

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Introduction

The Von der Leyen Commission for the 2019-2024 mandate made the Green Deal the overarching aim of the EU¹. The objective is ambitious and complex to achieve, yet quite clear in essence — to be the first continent to reach carbon neutrality in 2050. The Green Deal outlines several guiding principles for this purpose, with “Europe as a global leader” as one of them. As the world created an ever-more interconnected society, it only seems logical to have a foreign policy that combines with domestic affairs, as decisions made by one country inevitably impact others to some extent.

Bearing that in mind, it is not conceivable — yet alone sustainable —, for the EU to act unilaterally in its fight against climate change. More importantly, if the EU strives to be the first continent reaching net-zero, it goes without saying that it strives for a net-zero *world*, hence the importance of acting on a global scale in the climate agenda. In fact, climate change, above all, asks for a global response. In this fight against climate change, the world needs effective coordination, as it binds climate action to the scale that is needed. Several continents aspire to articulate a vision of the world of tomorrow, and the EU is one of them, seeking to take leadership in the climate discourse. Whilst the European Green Deal primarily serves as the domestic policy for the continent, it seems that the EU wants to extend this vision through the Global Gateway initiative launched in 2021. Since the EU expresses its vision in words, the challenge now lies in achieving it through actions.

Simultaneously, the EU is facing competition for its vision of sustainable development. The BRI, initiated in 2013 and the Build Back Better World (B3W), an US-led initiative presented at the G7 in 2021, also aims to implement infrastructure projects for the world of tomorrow. The Global Gateway, nevertheless, aims to build together with partner countries, green and resilient infrastructure that seeks to equally promote EU’s interest and foster sustainable development in the countries hosting the projects. However, foreign policy relies on

¹ European Commission. “6 Commission priorities for 2019-24”. Accessed June 20, 2023. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024_en

legitimacy and leverage, involving the exposition of one's worldview. Ultimately, the goal is to have followers for that vision. To this end, leading the way and shaping the vision into concrete actions is paramount. And the contradictions of the EU may cause it to stumble in its foreign policy. Tackling climate change is a multifaceted challenge. Arguably, the most significant challenge in human history. The EU recognises the importance of having a holistic approach to get on all fronts of the fight against climate change. The European Union (EU) need to recognise through the Global Gateway the need to collaborate equally with Africa in order to strive towards a common goal. This implies thriving on sustainable development and becoming a carbon-neutral continent.

The integration of the value of sustainable development, as enshrined in the European Green Deal (EGD), aligns with the concept of the Global Gateway, considering its goal to foster sustainable development in developing countries, notably in Africa. To effectively support sustainable development in Africa, it is essential for the EU to ensure that the Global Gateway policy remains coherent with the objectives of the European Green Deal.

This thesis aims to evaluate the policy coherence of the Global Gateway for sustainable development in Africa, with the research question focusing on:

To what extent is the Global Gateway coherent with the principles of the Green Deal?

To tackle this question, Chapter (1) will be dedicated to demonstrating the external dimension of the EGD with the Global Gateway. Then, Chapter (2) will be delving into the redefinition of the EU-Africa partnership in the context of the EU's initiative, whilst displaying the relevant projects in the region. Lastly, Chapter (3) will assess the policy coherence for sustainable development of the Global Gateway in relation to the Green Deal. This analysis aims to underline the coherence of the Global Gateway with the EGD's ambition. It also aims to show the incoherencies that might arise, in a goal to provide recommendations for the deployment of the initiative.

Literature Review

To address the question of this thesis, sources such as academic papers, newspaper articles, and policy briefs were explored to define the key terms. This section intends to explore the literature surrounding the Global Gateway initiative and the EU's connectivity approach. Establishing a theoretical framework of connectivity will help to reach a deeper understanding of the peculiar notion of connectivity within the European Union's Global Gateway.

The literature repeatedly mentions the Global Gateway as the strategy to counter the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China². Since China's BRI entails the notion of connectivity, the difference in interpretation with the EU approach is a crucial point in our understanding of the context for the Global Gateway. A battle of interpretation on connectivity thus lies in the centre of the discussion. Godehardt and Postel-Vinay in their paper "Connectivity and Geopolitics: Beware the 'New Wine in Old Bottles' Approach" explains how the competition for connectivity underline an interpretation of the future's international order³. The authors draw a clear nexus between connectivity and geopolitics. More interestingly, the paper was written before the Global Gateway launch, but provides a valuable framework for the connectivity approach. In the same paper, the globalisation is tackled as portraying interconnection between countries, a concept very similar to connectivity. The paper further discusses on the peculiar politization in the Chinese interpretation. It concludes — almost in the form of suggestion — by stating that compared to China, the West has not yet "formulated connectivity in political terms" and the EU should shape it as a "political value".

Regarding the EU's approach to connectivity, the literature highlights the role played by trade. Meunier and Nicolaïdis tackle the EU's power "through trade"⁴. It is often referred —

² Although some comparisons are made in this paper, it does not seek a deep comparative analysis with the BRI.

³ Nadine Godehardt and Karoline Postel-Vinay, "Connectivity and Geopolitics: Beware the 'New Wine in Old Bottles' Approach". *German Institute for International and Security Affairs* July 2020. doi: 10.18449/2020C35

⁴ Sophie Meunier & Kalypso Nicolaïdis. "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power". *Journal of European Public Policy*. August 2006, 13:6, 906–25. doi: 10.1080/13501760600838623.

and the EU does not shy away from it — to the access granted to its valuable internal market, as a leverage to adhere to EU norms⁵. The connectivity interpretation is thus closely linked to norms and standards. Bjerkem and Harbour discusses the strategic importance of the standardisation process in which the continent is involved in. The authors argue on the geopolitical dimension of standards and the “strong basis” the EU possesses to be a global standard-setter⁶. An existing partnership based on values, specifically sustainability was established already in 2019 between the EU and Japan⁷.

Another author underlines the presence of a "coherent theme" involving EU norms, values, and standards in connectivity policies⁸. The continent inherently incorporates these values, norms, and standards into the infrastructure projects it engages with abroad. Furthermore, it does so intentionally, in contrast to the indirect nature implied by the concept of the “Brussels effect”⁹. Karjalainen also tackles the coercive nature of standards and norms imposed in the name of connectivity. This coercive aspect of EU’s approach is also recognised by several other authors^{10,11,12,13}. As the author explains, “connectivity entails empowering rather than exercising power over others, coercion standing for the opposite”. It builds on Gaens’ observation which states that cooperation entails power *with*, not power *over*, producing

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ Johan Bjerkem and Malcolm Harbour. “Europe as a global standard-setter: The strategic importance of European standardization”. *European Policy Centre*. October 2020.

https://www.epc.eu/content/PDF/2020/EPE_JB_Europe_as_a_global_standard-setter.pdf

⁷ “The Partnership on Sustainable Connectivity and Quality Infrastructure between the European Union and Japan.” EEAS. Accessed April 20, 2023. https://wayback.archive-it.org/12090/20191114212341/https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/68018/partnership-sustainable-connectivity-and-quality-infrastructure-between-european-union-and_en

⁸ Tyyne Karjalainen. “European Norms Trap? EU Connectivity Policies and the Case of the Global Gateway”. *East Asia*. March 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-023-09403-x>.

⁹ Anu Bradford. “*The Brussels Effect: How the European Union Rules the World*.” 2020. Oxford University Press.

¹⁰ Staeger, U. “Africa-EU Relations and Normative Power Europe: A Decolonial Pan-African Critique.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4). (2016): 981-988.

¹¹ Haastrup, T. “EU as Mentor? Promoting Regionalism as External Relations Practice in EU– Africa Relations.” *Journal of European Integration*, 35(7). (2013): 785-800.

¹² Börzel, T. A. & Risse, T. “Diffusing (Inter-) Regionalism: The EU as a Model of Regional Integration.” *KFG Working Paper 7*. September 2009. Accessed April 30, 2023. http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/kfgeu/kfgwp/wpseries/WorkingPaperKFG_7.pdf

¹³ Merlingen, M. “Everything is Dangerous: A Critique of ‘Normative Power Europe’.” *Security Dialogue*, 38(4), (2007): 435-453.

“positive cycles of connectivity”¹⁴. The question also lies in the *method* for inserting values in the infrastructure projects. In the name of the initiative, the aspect of “gateway” in fact joins the concept of coercion, where this “gateway” — made of norms and standards — is the only way through implying that people should pass through it in order to embark on the journey for sustainable development.

The Global Gateway advocates the principles of equal partnership, democratic values, transparency¹⁵. In that case, one could ask if the African partners are seeking the same values. If the EU aims for equal partnership, above all, a foundation of shared values has to be established — not European values alone. Karjalainen correctly points out: “[...] investments are vitally needed but European values, standards, or norms are not fully shared.”¹⁶.

Whilst the European initiative clearly positions itself as an alternative for third countries to engage in infrastructure projects, considering it as a mere response to the Chinese BRI is insufficient and undermines its true purpose. More importantly, the Global Gateway aims to “bridge the climate finance gap”¹⁷, and with an ambitious goal to be carbon-neutral in 2050, the Global Gateway seems to serve that goal. A theoretical framework is established to assess the policy coherence of the EU’s initiative with the EGD. The Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development (PCSD) introduced by the OECD provides a great tool for that purpose¹⁸. Sustainable development is designed to reconcile economic, social and environmental objectives together. It defines an economy that makes a society thrive whilst not impeding on the natural sustainability of the environment. In other words, sustainable development strives to achieve an economy that ensures human welfare and displaces

¹⁴ Gaens, B., Sinkkonen, V. & Vogt, H. “Connectivity and Order: an Analytical Framework.” *East Asia*. 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-023-09401-z>.

¹⁵ “Global Gateway” European Commission. Accessed April 30, 2023. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/stronger-europe-world/global-gateway_en

¹⁶ Tyne Karjalainen. “European Norms Trap? EU Connectivity Policies and the Case of the Global Gateway.” *East Asia*. March 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-023-09403-x>.

¹⁷ “Global Gateway: Commission and EIB announce funds worth €18 billion to boost investments in climate action and sustainable economies.” *European Commission*. Accessed April 30, 2023. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_23_2463.

¹⁸ OECD. *Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development 2019: Empowering People and Ensuring Inclusiveness and Equality*, OECD Publishing, 2019, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/a90f851f-en>.

environmental costs. The criteria to consider for the analysis of policy coherence include (1) Political commitment; (2) Long-term Vision; (3) Policy integration; (4) Policy coordination; (5) Local involvement; (6) Stakeholder engagement; (7) Policy impacts; (8) Monitoring & Reporting.

BUILDING BLOCKS OF POLICY COHERENCE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

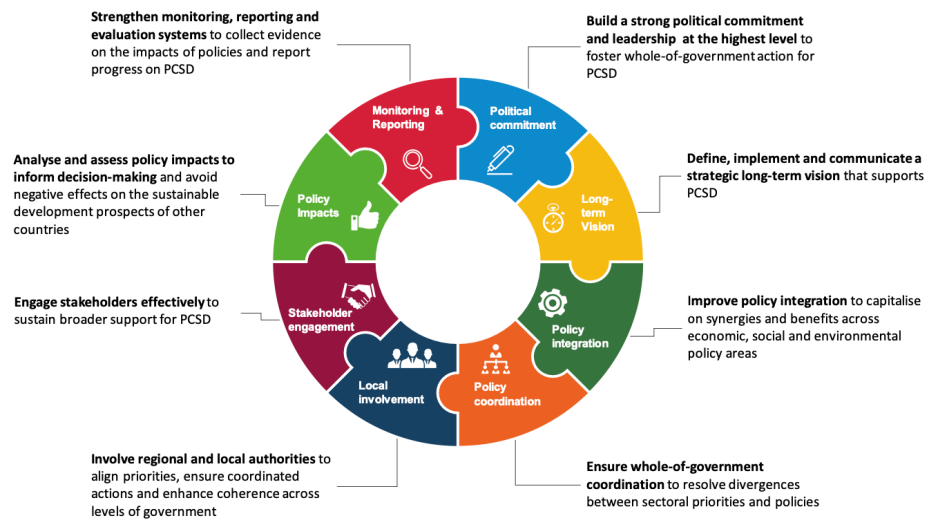


Figure 1: Building Blocks of Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development. Source: OECD highlight Brochure

Another analysis was made by the European Centre for Development Policy Management to measure policy coherence for development of OECD countries to developing countries. The study conceptualises policy coherence for development at five different levels : (1) Internal Coherence; (2) Intra-governmental coherence; (3) Inter-governmental coherence; (4) Multilateral coherence; (5) Developing country coherence¹⁹. Those levels can be used in our study to assess the coherence of the EU (considering also EUMS) for development purposes of the Global Gateway.

¹⁹ Eunike Spierings *et al.* “Measuring Policy Coherence for Development.” *European Centre for Development Policy Management*. May 2012. <https://ecdpm.org/application/files/3616/5547/2350/2012-Policy-coherence-development-Measuring-PCD-report-Voll.pdf>

After this research, a lack of emphasis has been noted concerning the nexus between the Global Gateway and the EGD. Although some papers recognised the connection between the two policies, a coherence analysis between them is lacking. This thesis aims to appreciate the inherent link between the initiative and the European ambition to reach carbon-neutrality in 2050. Furthermore, it delves into the projects to assess the coherence of the Global Gateway and provide guidance to enhance it, to ultimately lead to sustainable development.

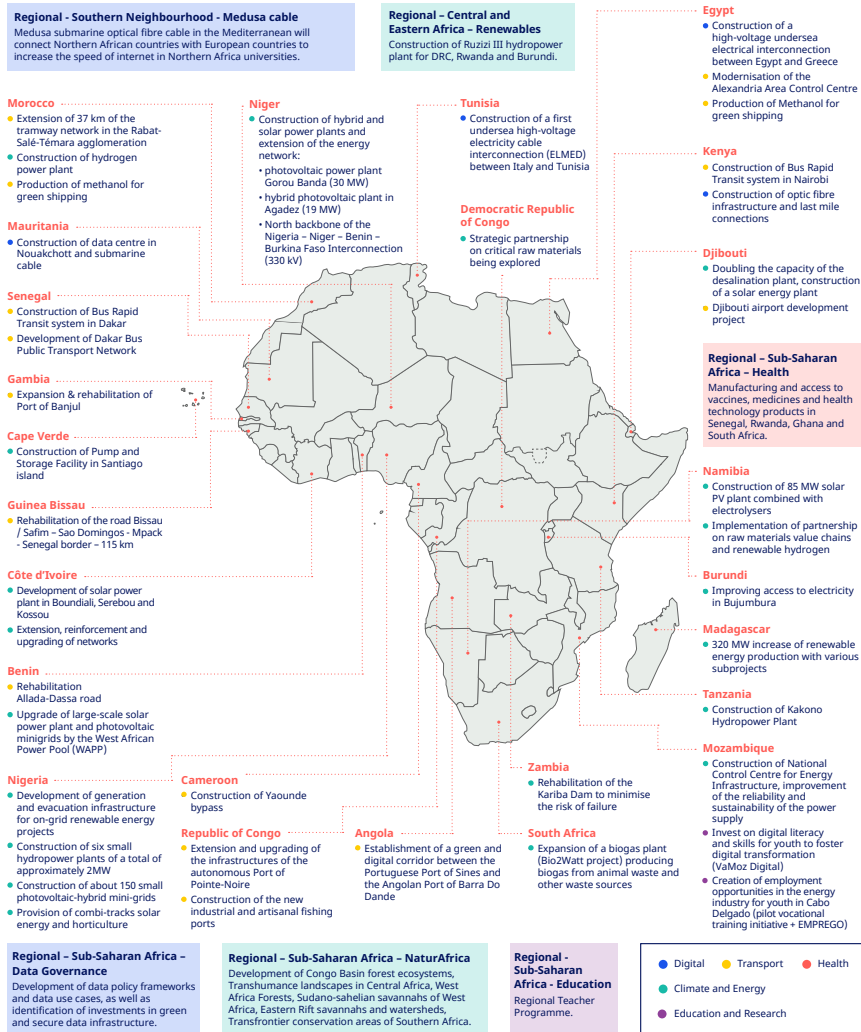
Methodology

In this thesis, a major part of the relevant communication and public documents on the Global Gateway and the European Green Deal were analysed, with an approximate of one hundred and fifty pages. Specifically, this relates to the European Green Deal Communication from the Commission to the other institutions (11.12.2019); the Joint Communication on the Global Gateway by the European Commission (1.12.2021); “EU-Africa: Global Gateway Investment Package” by the EU (10.02.2022)²⁰ found on the webpage of the Global Gateway by the European Commission; the HR/VP Blog on the European External Action Service webpage²¹. Events and videos of interviews also played a role in deepening the understanding of the initiative, notably an event featuring Jutta Urpilainen, the EU Commissioner for International Partnerships²². Figure 2 corresponds to the recently released document of the flagship projects in Africa, which helped to guide this thesis on the projects to assess and better understand where the focus of the EU’s commitment lies in its development strategy.

²⁰ “EU-Africa: Global Gateway Investment Package.” *European Commission*. Accessed February 20, 2023. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/stronger-europe-world/global-gateway/eu-africa-global-gateway-investment-package_en.

²¹ “The Global Gateway, a brand to boost European action worldwide.” *European External Action Service*. December 15, 2022. https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/global-gateway-brand-boost-european%C2%A0action-worldwide_en

²² “Global Gateway: A new partnership to promote sustainable investments for people and the planet” *European External Action Service*. May 24, 2023. https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un-new-york/global-gateway-new-partnership-promote-sustainable-investments-people-and_en



These outputs do not capture the whole of the Team Europe engagement in country. They capture concrete infrastructure investments under Global Gateway. They will be accompanied by soft measures in a 360° approach, so as to improve the policy, regulatory and business environment, develop skills, foster innovation and transfer technology. North of Africa projects are implemented under the EU's Economic and Investment Plans agreed with the countries.

Figure 2: Flagship projects under the Global Gateway in Africa. Source: European Commission²³

²³ Available at https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/publications/global-gateway-2023-flagship-projects-infographics_en

The purpose of the analysis was to reach a saturation point, at which point an appreciation of the EU's connectivity interpretation was developed, along with an understanding of the Global Gateway's focus. The same method was applied through desk research with academic papers and articles. This extensive analysis of resources, helped to develop an understanding on how the academic and public sphere perceives the Global Gateway. Some input was also added from pertinent readings of books in connection with the subject of relationships between developed and developing economies.

This thesis aims to provide an explanation of what contribution the Global Gateway has in the EGD and hence, the close relationship they hold with each other. To privilege clarity, one region is selected out of the four regions hosting Global Gateway projects. These four regions are Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), Africa, Asia and finally the Western Balkans. The African region was selected, justified by several points. Considering that the EU announced half of the funds of the Global Gateway being disbursed in Africa, the EC made clear that the African continent is a main protagonist of the initiative. From the €300 billion investment package announced for the 2022-2027 period, €150 billion is set to be invested in Africa, with some forty projects in the pipeline for 2023. Another reason for this selection concerns the long and complex relationship the EU holds with Africa. The African continent thus emerges as a key region of support for the EU's development policy, reaffirmed by the summit held in Brussels in February 2022. Consequently, this thesis is set to investigate the claim of the EU to create a mutually beneficial environment with partner countries and provide recommendations. Since the analysis solely focuses on projects on the African continent, a careful selection of the projects was made to avoid any bias in assessing the policy coherence of the initiative with the EGD. The projects are categorised in four domains: climate & energy, digital, transport, education & research, and health. As the aim of the analysis is to understand the support for sustainable development of the overall initiative in Africa, projects from all domains were taken into account, rather than only climate and energy.

This work considers mainly qualitative data since the argument entails the key role of the EU-African relationship in the achievement of the Global Gateway — hence the EGD. In that sense, the qualitative approach seems more suitable for the study of the two continents relationship. Furthermore, the initiative being rather recent, offers little quantitative data on which to work on. However, for the quantitative data available on the projects for the evaluation of the sustainability aspect, some will be considered, albeit not being predominant.

In order to dive deep into an EU-Africa analysis, the present thesis does not discuss the LAC flagship projects of the Global Gateway. More than two-thirds of the LAC flagship projects under the initiative is dedicated to Climate and Energy. It is worth noting that a coherence between the Global Gateway and the Green Deal can also be portrayed through projects in LAC countries, however length constrains the study to the African continent and already provides a satisfying sample to work on.

To assess the sustainability aspect of the projects, only the respect for the environment will be considered. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the financial sustainability — referring to possible debt repercussions on recipient countries' economy or financial viability of projects— of the Global Gateway projects. On the other hand, the assessment of the sustainability related to the environment can be based on factors such as the means for construction (e.g. specific materials, excessive use of water), the resources diverted from local consumption, the impact on local development or destruction of natural habitats. A quantitative measurement of emissions is not considered since it would not be realistic with the available data. The aim is to gain a holistic approach rather than rely on speculative data.

The comparative analysis with the BRI has been extensively provided in the literature, so this thesis does not aim to address it in detail, but merely mentions relevant comparisons. However, a gap in the literature has been identified in terms of the nexus with the European Green Deal. Although some mentioning has been noticed, it does not go further to explain EU's intentions. Whilst time limit constrained the scope of the thesis, the recently — yet still poor — available data made it interesting to tackle this subject of foreign affairs, in order

to advise on the future unfolding of the initiative. Certainly, another limitation can be drawn from the fact that the Global Gateway represents a relatively new policy domain. Whilst projects have been identified, the details of the implementation process are still lacking. In other words, a comprehensive implementation process is not yet clearly established. As a nascent initiative, the Global Gateway can be portrayed as a policy field still in progress and evolving. Besides, the ongoing war in Ukraine rearranged the landscape of economic partnerships, which is at core of the Global Gateway, hence highlighting the relevance of the present thesis.

1 The nexus between the European Green Deal and the Global Gateway

1.1 Global Gateway as the external dimension of the European Green Deal?

Looking at the different objectives of the European Green Deal (EGD), the Commission has an ambition for the continent: “Europe as a global actor”. The communication on the Green Deal also puts an “emphasis on supporting its immediate neighbours” and recognises climate and environmental issues to act as the “key strands in relations” between the African Union and the EU²⁴. Those principles underline the external dimension of the Green Deal. The EU has set course to reduce drastically carbon emission and pledged to achieve carbon neutrality in 2050 through the EGD. However, a global response is needed in the fight against climate change and the EGD recognises this essential point. Whilst the pandemic and Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine exposed the limitations of an ever-interconnected world, countries remain interdependent to an extent. Nations need more than ever to cooperate in a pursuit of multilateral agreements, hence the importance to develop astute diplomatic ties.

To this end, the external dimension of the EGD has a central role in the fight against climate change. Involving other partners in the EGD demonstrates the EU’s comprehensive approach to global climate action. The Global Gateway initiative holds the potential to reach these aims. Although not explicitly stated by the Commission, the external dimension of the EGD seems to be embedded in the Global Gateway. On the other hand, as the European Investment Bank (EIB) rightly stated in its blog, the initiative of the EU indeed turns the European Green Deal into a “Global Green Deal”²⁵.

²⁴ “Communication and roadmap on the European Green Deal.” *European Commission*. January 15, 2020. Retrieved from: https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal_en

²⁵ <https://www.eib.org/fr/stories/global-gateway-investment-developing-countries-climate-change>

Promoting the EGD is about ensuring that carbon neutrality becomes a reality, not merely a goal. For the sake of credibility, EU first needs to demonstrate an ability to be on track with its internal policies. Thereof, the Green Deal can be viewed as a direct promotion of the Global Gateway. “Foreign policy begins at home”²⁶; and we can expect partners of the Global Gateway to follow closely the progress of the Green Deal. First, in laying out the objectives of the EGD, a definition of “what is green?” is paramount. The EU has tried to address this question with the EU Taxonomy. This provides a framework to direct investments towards environmentally sustainable activities. In the Global Gateway, a challenge arises as to how the definition of green can be exported to projects on African soil. In the meantime, the EU Taxonomy can provide a good basis as to how projects are financed, especially since the Commission’s emphasised on an extensive involvement of the private sector.

1.2 The need for a ‘Global Green Deal’

The idea of a “Global Gateway” can be understood as an initiative that facilitates the expansion and integration of the European Green Deal principles, policies, and practices on a global scale. The Global Gateway acts as a bridge between the European Green Deal and the rest of the world, enabling the transfer and dissemination of sustainable and environmentally friendly strategies, standards, and initiatives. The concept of the Global Gateway thereby represents an extension of the European Green Deal beyond the boundaries of the European Union. The aim is creating a global framework for addressing climate change, biodiversity loss, pollution, and other environmental issues by leveraging the principles of the EGD as a foundation for global environmental action. The principle of sustainable development mainly must lay the foundation. In light of the objective of the European Green Deal to make the EU a carbon neutral continent by 2050, a strong industry in clean technology needs to be built. Supporting such industry asks for a redesign of supply chains — which are resilient and diversified — in specific materials. Far from an industry

²⁶ Richard N. Haass. *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.

that can meet the growing demand for clean technology, hence the need for strategic partnerships. For instance, the EU solar panel industry manufactures only around 10% of domestic demand for that technology²⁷. In that aspect, the EGD needs global cooperation, and the Global Gateway is instrumental for it.

Another aspect relates to dynamics in geopolitics. The President of the Commission Von der Leyen defines the Global Gateway as “a critical tool because infrastructure investments are at the heart of today's geopolitics”²⁸. It is safe to say that the interconnection between infrastructure projects and geopolitics increased. As the world embarks in a green transition that asks for redesigning cities and supporting a new kind of industry, infrastructure is ever more strategic. Indeed, it shapes the landscape of a country and the way that the power is distributed. Infrastructure projects involve designing transportation network and resource distribution. A highway connects two regions, and a submarine cable can distribute electricity from one continent to the other. Therefore, infrastructure can spur politicians to see projects as a mean to extend their influence. The Global Gateway, along with other initiatives — e.g. BRI and B3W — portray a global connectivity race in which regions of the world engage in. The infrastructure projects one continent is involved in, determines its interpretation of connectivity. Infrastructure is the playground for competition and influence, hence indirectly shaping global power dynamics.

1.3 Dependency risks

1.3.1 Critical Raw Materials

Whilst countries try to take measure on their green transition, some raw materials are becoming exponentially sought-after. Green technology inherently is indeed reliant on the

²⁷ Marie Le Mouel Nicolas Poitiers. “Why Europe’s critical raw materials strategy has to be international.” *Bruegel*. April 5, 2023. https://www.bruegel.org/sites/default/files/2023-06/why-europe%E2%80%99s-critical-raw-materials-strategy-has-to-be-international-%288941%29_1.pdf

²⁸ “Global Gateway: First meeting of the Global Gateway Board.” *European Commission*. December 11, 2022. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_7656.

supply chains of critical raw materials for their development. Since the EU passed a law banning the sale of petrol engine starting in 2035, a rapid shift to green mobility is needed — namely electric vehicles. This induces that Europe seeks to reduce drastically the use of oil, and demand is set to fall as a result. In fact, in 2023, Fatih Birol (executive director at the IEA) reiterated that existing oil fields are ‘more than enough’ to meet demand²⁹. Birol underlined the incompatibility of developing new oil fields with the claim to keep global warming to 1.5 C, the pledge enshrined in the Paris Agreements³⁰. This shift for the EU brings the challenge to ensure a creation of new supply chain for the green mobility industry. With China now dominating the raw material downstream supply chain for EVs³¹, it is critical for the EU to provide the right propositions to Africa and build a resilient value chain. In the context of the green transition, China's status as a systemic rival once again holds true.

Under the umbrella of the Global Gateway, the EU signed a partnership with the Democratic Republic of Congo in May of this year. An investment of €50 million is mobilised in the context this partnership aimed for the critical minerals sector of the country³². Besides, this project shows the EU’s strategy to use partnerships of the Global Gateway to support the Critical Raw Materials Act revealed in mid-March³³. The act establishes a regulatory environment conducive for the EU to achieve its goal set out in the EGD Industrial Plan. The target for internal extraction is set at a minimum of 10% of EU’s consumption by 2030, which indicates a share of importation of raw materials that will remain predominant³⁴. The Global Gateway is therefore central in developing partnership around the world for securing and diversifying supply chain. On the other hand, a goal to build clean technology can undermine the means for it. In the case of raw materials, mining operations inevitably entail great repercussions on the environment and the people directly involved with the work that is

²⁹ Ajit Niranjana. “IEA chief slams climate 'contradictions' from oil companies.” *Deutsche Welle*. April 11, 2023. <https://www.dw.com/en/iea-fatih-birol-new-oil-gas/a-65200519>

³⁰ *Ibid* 29

³¹ Harry Dempsey and Joseph Cotterill. “How China is winning the race for Africa’s lithium”. *Financial Times*. April 3, 2023. <https://www.ft.com/content/02d6f35d-e646-40f7-894c-ffcc6acd9b25>

³² Leo Komminoth. “EU pledges €50m investment in DRC infrastructure and minerals” *African Business*. March 6, 2023. <https://african.business/2023/03/trade-investment/eu-pledges-e50m-investment-in-drc-infrastructure-and-minerals>

³³ “Critical Raw Materials: ensuring secure and sustainable supply chains for EU's green and digital future” *European Commission*. March 16, 2023. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_23_1661

³⁴ *Ibid* 33

needed on the ground. A substantial amount of biodiversity loss is linked with mining operations, along with health issues for the workers caused by the release of harmful chemicals. Other harmful effects include water and farmland contamination, and loss of wildlife. Copper mining or cobalt mining are responsible for those effects and in SSA, the main materials set to largely increase in demand, and available on the ground are copper, cobalt, manganese³⁵. The whole challenge for the Global Gateway projects will be assuring that minimising these effects to the maximum is made a priority while scaling up the operations to answer to the rising demand for these materials. To this end, investments are needed to develop operations that help to overcome this challenge.

1.3.2 Photovoltaic Modules Technology

On the other side there is solar technology. A clear consensus is set to bring solar panels deployment to an exponential trajectory for the years to come. Solar panels require the sourcing of materials including silicon, copper, and aluminium. Today, 80% of the solar panel supply chain is controlled by Chinese owned companies in the world³⁶. The EU in 2021 imported more than 75% of components for solar panels production from China alone³⁷. The energy crisis proved the flaws of over-relying on one partner. The Global Gateway needs to address this shift in dependence and engage in strategic projects to reduce the latter. By 2030, solar technology in the EU is expected be the prime source of energy for the continent. However, in the meantime, an increase in deployment of solar technology increases the dependence on China. Moreover, the manufacturing of solar panels components in China uses an intensive-energy process of coal-burning³⁸. The quasi-monopole of China on the solar supply chain thus sustains the burning of fossil fuel, which makes it inconsistent with the EU's claim to phase out from it as an energy source.

³⁵ IEA, *Africa Energy Outlook 2022*, IEA, 2022, Paris <https://www.iea.org/reports/africa-energy-outlook-2022>

³⁶ Margherita Stancati and Matthew Dalton. "Europe's Next Energy Test: Wrestling Solar Back From China" *The Wall Street Journal*. February 10, 2023 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/europes-next-energy-test-wrestling-solar-back-from-china-e5c62e2e>

³⁷ Yuan Yang *et al.* "Solar power: Europe attempts to get out of China's shadow" *Financial Times*. March 23, 2023 <https://www.ft.com/content/009d8434-9c12-48fd-8c93-d06d0b86779e>

³⁸ *Ibid* 37

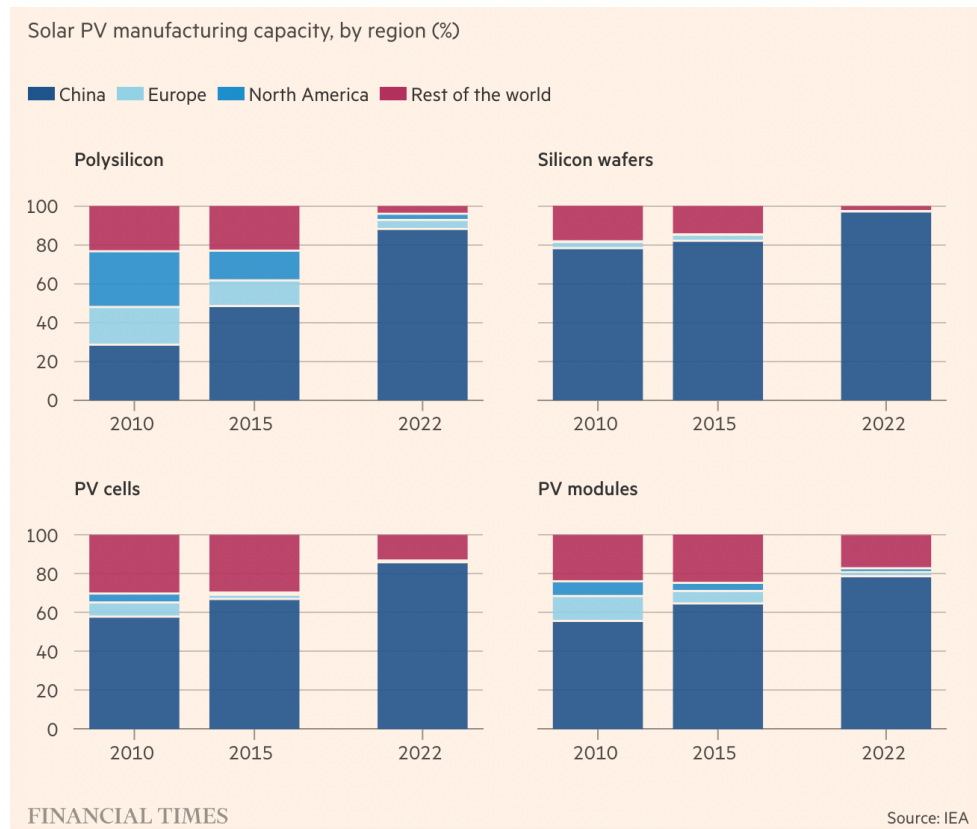


Figure 3 China manufacturing solar PV. Source: Financial Times

At least nine projects in Africa under the Global Gateway (see Figure 2) are involving the deployment of solar panels, in six different countries — Niger, Djibouti, Namibia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Benin and Côte d’Ivoire. Over-reliance on China in this domain is threatening the path towards sustainable development. For a coherent approach, a near-shoring of solar panels manufacturing is needed for the EU — and Africa for that matter. The Global Gateway has the potential to significantly boost collaborative African-European manufacturing of solar panels. Depending on third-party manufacturers, such as Chinese or American companies, can impede the progress of the partnership between the two continents. A successful model that involves both Africa and Europe in solar PV manufacturing is exemplified by Solinc, a Kenyan-based company. Initially producing 30,000 solar panels annually, Solinc achieved a remarkable 400 per cent increase by 2016. By 2021, the company

overall sold 775,000 solar panels, or half of Kenya's 95MW installed solar PV capacity³⁹. This joint venture serves as a model to develop additional partnerships between Europe and Africa, with a goal to reduce reliance on foreign companies — i.e. which are not European or African.

In a nutshell, the presence of China in the region can put the Global Gateway can put the added value in jeopardy, considering that the opinion on China's BRI from sub-Saharan Africa mainly remains positive⁴⁰. Von der Leyen underlined that “Global Gateway is above all a geopolitical project”⁴¹. Yet, if a preoccupation on competition outstrips the promotion of equal partnership, a mistake is committed. Indeed, the EU should not engage in a resource scramble with China at the expense of sustainable development in Africa. The EU's initiative claims to support sustainable development and a lack of equal partnership is detrimental to it. The next chapter will thus address the way forward for the EU to build a durable partnership with its neighbouring continent.

³⁹ Michaël Tanchum. “Gateway to growth: How the European Green Deal can strengthen Africa's and Europe's economies” *European Council on Foreign Relations*. January 2022. <https://ecfr.eu/publication/gateway-to-growth-how-the-european-green-deal-can-strengthen-africas-and-europes-economies/#africas-and-europes-economic-relationship>

⁴⁰ Alicia García-Herrero and Robin Schindowski ‘Global trends in countries’ perceptions of the Belt and Road Initiative’, *Bruegel Working Paper*. April 2023. https://www.bruegel.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/WP%2004_0.pdf

⁴¹ “Global Gateway: First meeting of the Global Gateway Board.” *European Commission*. December 11, 2022 https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_7656.

2 The African continent as a key partner

2.1 Redefinition of partnership in the context of Global Gateway

The discussions around the competition with China on the global connectivity race quickly gained traction after the Global Gateway was launched. However, the real competition of the EU primarily lies with itself in establishing a new partnership.

The EU in the world ranks first when it comes to Official Development Aid (ODA). The continent however does not enjoy a favourable opinion among the AU and the Global Gateway in itself underpins a frustration for the “lack of recognition and political reward” for this contribution⁴². Historically, the assistance of the EU has predominantly been reactive in nature. And as Hulme highlights in his book: “The world is a complex multi-polar mosaic and not a global north that needs to help a global south”⁴³. A shift is needed from ‘helpers’ to ‘partners’. The African continent in this context seeks more investments from its EU neighbours instead of perpetuating a narrative on migration. They are crucial to enhance economic development and solve issues upstream. The Global Gateway holds the potential in that regard. Stefano Sannino (secretary-general of the EEAS) sees indeed in the Global Gateway a “new approach to EU foreign aid”⁴⁴. With this initiative, the EU’s focus at a joint development approach to support Africa in building a green economy. It does not imply that ODA needs to be abandoned; rather, the Global Gateway should complement and reinforce it⁴⁵. More specifically, the non-aid characteristic of the Global Gateway holds a significant potential for development purposes. The effects of non-aid in driving development are widely

⁴² San Bilal. “The EU Global Gateway – One year in: How to partner with the private sector?” *European Centre for Development Policy Management*. December 2, 2022. <https://ecdpm.org/work/eu-global-gateway-one-year-how-partner-private-sector>

⁴³ David Hulme, *Should Rich Nations Help the Poor?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).

⁴⁴ Michele Barbero. “Europe Is Trying (and Failing) to Beat China at the Development Game.” *Foreign Policy*. January 2023 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/10/europe-china-eu-global-gateway-bri-economic-development/>

⁴⁵ Svea Koch et al. “The European Union’s Global Gateway should reinforce but not replace its development policy” *German Institute of Development and Sustainability*. February 28, 2023. <https://www.idos-research.de/en/the-current-column/article/the-european-unions-global-gateway-should-reinforce-but-not-replace-its-development-policy/>

acknowledged⁴⁶. Indeed, the criterion of non-aid in the Global Gateway is key in addressing development challenges. These non-aid policies are recognised to address the root problem underpinning poverty, notably through providing further impetus for private investments. In contrast, aid alone tackles the symptoms of poverty. Combining both in a coherent way, is the answer to solve development issues that perpetuate poverty. According to the African Development Bank (AfDB) estimates the infrastructure gap in Africa to exceed \$100 billion per year⁴⁷. Whilst the Global Gateway’s allocation of \$150 billion over the 2021-2027 period may not be enough alone to bridge this gap, it will certainly contribute to narrowing it. Besides, the EU’s communication seemed to put an emphasis on the quality of the projects — namely, through respecting strong environmental values —, rather than the quantity of funds allocated. Effective communication is indeed crucial in shaping a positive perception among partners of the Global Gateway. In order to influence partners, the right communication is needed. If partners do not understand the initiative, they cannot be influenced. A communication which puts sustainable development at the centre, can act as the catalyser of the new partnership. It binds partners to working towards a shared goal — which is reducing drastically our emissions “to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels”, as enshrined in the Paris agreement.

The communication of the Global Gateway specifies to respect the EGD’s oath to ‘do no harm’⁴⁸. Indeed, the alignment of the Global Gateway with values of the Green Deal is a coherent approach (as discussed in chapter 1). To live up to the expectations, the EU’s behaviour abroad should mirror the behaviour within its borders. Sticking to the same behaviour in Africa will contribute to treating the African countries as genuine partners.

⁴⁶ Owen Barder & Theodore Talbot. “Why ‘beyond aid’ matters”. *Center for Global Development*. September 2014 <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/Why%20Beyond%20Aid%20Matters-%20Submission%20by%20the%20Center%20for%20Global%20Development.pdf>

⁴⁷ “African Development Bank sets course to close infrastructure gap with Board approval of its first public private partnerships strategic framework” *African Development Bank Group*. February 20, 2022. <https://www.afdb.org/en/news-and-events/press-releases/african-development-bank-sets-course-close-infrastructure-gap-board-approval-its-first-public-private-partnerships-strategic-framework-48875#:~:text=Africa's%20infrastructure%20investment%20gap%20is,and%20the%20continent's%20global%20competitiveness.>

⁴⁸ “Joint Communication: The Global Gateway” European Commission. December 1, 2021. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52021JC0030>

The initiative focuses on building “sustainable and high-quality projects”⁴⁹. If the projects are a success at this scale — in a way that is mutually beneficial — the EU places itself as a legitimate partner for African countries. For a change to occur the relationship between must evolve towards a reciprocal respect of values. Recently, the DRC’s President reiterated to Macron, his willingness that Europe and France start considering African countries as genuine partners, rather than perpetuating a paternalistic approach. To avoid reluctance from the African community to engage with the Global Gateway, a meaningful dialogue must be nurtured. It is worth reminding how wealthy nations — particularly European —, throughout their economic history, did not portray the values and standards they prone today. European nations in fact developed their economies through colonialism and protectionist measures. Ha-Joon Chang in his book — in which he debunks the myths of capitalism and free trade —, uses an expression that captures well the narrative nowadays of developed countries to developing countries: “do as we say not as we did”⁵⁰. This quote can explain the reluctance from African countries to perceive partnerships with Europe as truly mutually beneficial.

In a world where competition is predominant, partnerships on the other hand ask for cooperation. To aspire achieving climate objectives, the share of expertise and knowledge is key. Partnership also at the level of the development of low-emissions technology can provide Africa with important know-how. The IEA indicates in a 2022 report that international financial flows to developing countries to support clean energy research incurred a slight decrease in funding in 2019 compared to 2010 level — \$10.9B against \$11.2B⁵¹. For this reason, the Global Gateway is fundamental in a way. To achieve a mutual beneficial partnership, exportation of knowledge must be enhanced. The involvement of workers provides valuable training. The same way that patents can stifle innovation, not sharing knowledge on low-emissions technology goes against the development of the host

⁴⁹*Ibid 14*

⁵⁰ Ha-Joon Chang, *Bad samaritans: The myth of free trade and the secret history of capitalism*. (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2007).

⁵¹IEA. *Tracking SDG7: The Energy Progress Report*. (Paris : IEA, June 2022)
<https://www.iea.org/reports/tracking-sdg7-the-energy-progress-report-2022>.

countries⁵². Sharing expertise can spur innovation in Africa to meet the challenges of the green transition. On the other hand, knowledge that is not shared, creates dependency of the continent on foreign technology. Creating a dependency stands for the contrary of empowering its partner. A challenge to the redefinition of partnership also arises when a Eurocentric vision on standards is taken in the projects of the Global Gateway. Relating to the discussion on standards, when those take the shape of coercive policy, it may neglect specific local needs. Therefore, building a partnership that is equal and mutually beneficial implies that projects of the Global Gateway foster sustainable development in both continent — namely the EU and Africa. In addition to the ethical imperative, it will also serve the interest of the EU in the long-term. Helping its southern neighbourhood to work towards decarbonising its economy will provide the EU with a reliable partner on which it can count for resilient value chains.

2.2 Layout of the flagships projects in Africa

2.2.1 Electricity

The International Energy Agency (IEA) indicated in a report that Africa in 2021 saw a decrease in access to electricity. Compared to 2019, 4% more of African people — mostly in SSA — in 2021 lacked access to electricity. In 2022, this brought the number of people living without electricity in Africa to 600 million, the equivalent of 43% of the total population⁵³. Ensuring widespread access to electricity is an essential element in fostering sustainable economic growth. The lack of electrification is a major component that hinders sustainable development in Africa. In another report, the IEA published a guidebook for universal access to electricity, in light of the 2030 energy goals. The guidebook envisions mini-grid and off-grid systems to emerge as the most practical solution for electrifying approximately 60% of households in Africa, particularly in rural areas where connection to

⁵²James Bessen, and Michael J. Meurer. *Patent Failure: How Judges, Bureaucrats, and Lawyers Put Innovators at Risk*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400828692>

⁵³ *Ibid* 35

the conventional power grid is often less achievable⁵⁴. The development of mini-grid and off-grid systems is uniquely aligned with requirement for SSA, where 60% resides in rural regions⁵⁵. The Global Gateway comprises multiple projects in the field of solar energy deployment in Africa (see Figure 2), demonstrating the European Union's commitment to supporting the continent's electrification efforts using renewable sources such as solar technology. In fact, both regions seem to see solar energy playing an increasingly prominent role in their energy mix.

In Niger, a solar power plant with a capacity of 30 MW aims to deliver electricity to 18, 000 customers in the area of Gorou Banda⁵⁶. According to the data available, the construction is ongoing and the funding behind the project comes from a joint funding from the AFD and the European Union amounting to €28.5 Million. Along Gorou Banda, Agadez was also targeted for a hybrid photovoltaic plant project which will have a capacity of 19 MW⁵⁷. The EU also contributes to the interconnection project between Nigeria, Niger, Benin, and Burkina Faso called the North backbone. The project seeks to build electric grid lines and will end in 2024⁵⁸.

In Madagascar, a project called “WeLight” aims to deploy solar mini-grids in 120 villages. A funding from the “Team Europe” allowed the project to raise €19 million out of the €28 million overall projected cost of the project. The EU’s ambassador to Madagascar presented the funding as part of the Global Gateway strategy⁵⁹. The company operates in Madagascar

⁵⁴IEA, *Guidebook for Improved Electricity Access Statistics*. (Paris: IEA, 2023.)

<https://www.iea.org/reports/guidebook-for-improved-electricity-access-statistics>

⁵⁵ Babayomi Oluleke et al. “A review of renewable off-grid mini-grids in Sub-Saharan Africa”. *Frontiers in Energy Research*. January 2023. 10. 1089025. 10.3389/fenrg.2022.1089025.

⁵⁶ “Improving Access to electricity by constructing a photovoltaic power plant” *Agence Francaise de Développement*. Accessed June 15, 2023. <https://www.afd.fr/en/carte-des-projets/improving-access-electricity-constructing-photovoltaic-power-plant>

⁵⁷ “Constructing a hybrid power plant to supply the city of agadez and its surroundings with electricity” *Agence Francaise de Développement*. Accessed June 15, 2023. <https://www.afd.fr/en/carte-des-projets/constructing-hybrid-power-plant-supply-city-agadez-and-its-surroundings-electricity>

⁵⁸ “Multinational - Nigeria-Niger-Benin-Burkina Faso Power Interconnection Project”. African Development Bank Group. Accessed June 15, 2023. <https://projectsportal.afdb.org/dataportal/VProject/show/P-Z1-FA0-146>

⁵⁹ Jean Marie Takouleu. “Madagascar: WeLight Raises €19m to Deploy Solar Mini-Grids in 120 Villages.” *Afrik 21*. January 18, 2023. <https://www.afrik21.africa/en/madagascar-welight-raises-e19m-to-deploy-solar-mini-grids-in-120-villages/>.

and will be supported for the implementation of the project by the Madagascan Ministry of Energy and the Agency for the Development of Rural Electrification (ADER). This engagement portrays an involvement of local actors in the project, paramount in enhancing the policy coherence for sustainable development (PCSD). Moreover, an estimate from the company states that 250 000 people will benefit from the project⁶⁰.

In the Ivory Coast, the flagship project of the Global Gateway indicates that it seeks to develop solar panels in three regions — i.e. Boundiali, Serebou, Kossou. During the research, the only project dating from 2022 relates to a floating solar panel project in Kossou, involving the AFD as a funder⁶¹. The project however does not seem to be associated with the EU’s initiative, but it is possible to imagine that an expansion of the project is intended. Therefore, the partnership with the Ivory Coast through the initiative is not yet materialised in projects. Similarly, it is worth mentioning that a lack of data for solar power projects in Djibouti, Benin and Nigeria — indicated in Figure 2 — did not allow to find relevant projects linked to the Global Gateway.

Regarding the distribution of electricity, two major projects under the Global Gateway label revolve around Egypt and Tunisia. Both projects involve an undersea interconnected cable. In Egypt, an MoU was signed in May 2023 on joint investments for the submarine cable to export electricity to Europe, with a capacity of 3 GW and a bidirectional energy transmission⁶². The so-called GREGY project’s purpose consists in having one-third of electricity produced in Egypt for Greek consumption, another one-third dedicated to produce green hydrogen, which in turn will be exported to neighbouring EU countries. The last third of the electricity produced will go to EU neighbour countries⁶³. The project is also under the

⁶⁰ *Ibid* 58

⁶¹ “Ivory Coast: A Call for Tenders for the Floating Solar Power Plant in Kossou.” *Africa Energy Portal*. February 17, 2023. <https://africa-energy-portal.org/news/ivory-coast-call-tenders-floating-solar-power-plant-kossou>.

⁶² Igor Todorović. “Masdar to invest in green energy with developer of Greece-Egypt power link”. *Balkan Green Energy News*. May 2023. <https://balkangreenenergynews.com/masdar-to-invest-in-green-energy-with-developer-of-greece-egypt-power-link/>

⁶³ Africanews “Undersea power cable to connect Egypt to Europe via Greece”. *Africanews*, September 2022. <https://www.africanews.com/2022/09/15/undersea-power-cable-to-connect-egypt-to-europe-via-greece/>

Project of Common Interest (PCI), benefitting *de facto* from accelerated permitting procedures⁶⁴. The other project is regarding a similar cable technology, this time between Tunisia and Italy. The “high-voltage electricity cable interconnection” project (ELMED) has already been agreed upon in 2019. Also considered as a European Union PCI, it will have a capacity of 600 MW.⁶⁵ EU funding for ELMED amounts to over €300 million and is recognised to support the REPowerEU initiative in the near future⁶⁶. As it shows, the two projects seem to be focusing on an exportation of the electricity. The projects primarily revolve around the exportation of electricity to the EU, albeit cables designed to deliver electricity both ways. Rather than embodying a genuinely reciprocal and mutually advantageous partnership, the projects highlight the EU’s scramble for Africa’s electricity. While the EU actively engages in leveraging Africa's electricity potential, meeting local electricity demands should also be a focus within the partnership.

2.2.2 Biogas

In South Africa, the Bio2Watt project aims to produce gas from 240 000 tonnes of organic waste will undergo fermentation to produce the gas. Simultaneously, by using waste as a resource, this process will prevent the emission of approximately 48,000 tonnes of CO2 equivalent per year. The combustion of the biogas will generate heat, and later used to produce electricity. The generated energy will be supplied to the German car manufacturer, BMW⁶⁷. It aims to fuel its vehicle production plant.

⁶⁴ “Projects of Common Interest” *European Commission*. Accessed 15 June.

https://energy.ec.europa.eu/topics/infrastructure/projects-common-interest_en

⁶⁵ Sergio Matalucci. “Elmed bringing African solar power to Europe”. *Deutsche Welle*. May 2019

<https://www.dw.com/en/elmed-interconnector-aims-to-bring-solar-power-from-the-sahara-to-europe/a-48843725>

⁶⁶ Directorate-General for Energy “Connecting Europe Facility: over € 600 million for energy infrastructure in support of the European Green Deal and REPowerEU” European Commission. December 8, 2022.

https://energy.ec.europa.eu/news/connecting-europe-facility-over-eu-600-million-energy-infrastructure-support-european-green-deal-and-2022-12-08_en

⁶⁷ “SOUTH AFRICA: CFM invests \$38 million in waste-to-energy project” Africa Energy Portal. January 30, 2023. <https://africa-energy-portal.org/news/south-africa-cfm-invests-38-million-waste-energy-project>

2.2.3 Methanol

In Egypt, a project involves the production of green methanol for the shipping industry. Methanol is leading the way in decarbonising the shipping industry, used as a biofuel⁶⁸. A joint development partnership was signed in May 2023 between the Egyptian Alexandria National Refining and Petrochemicals Company (ANRPC) methanol project and the Norwegian company Scatec. The MoU announced an investment of \$450 million for the project. In parallel, a construction of renewable energy stations (wind and solar)⁶⁹.

A flagship project in Morocco is also dedicated to the development of methanol production as part of the Global Gateway strategy, however, no concrete projects could be found.

2.2.4 Transportation

In Kenya, a project of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system seeks to facilitate the development of an extensive network of electrified buses, which is projected to extend its reach to the Democratic Republic of Congo. The buses will be powered by electricity generated from renewable energy sources in Kenya, enabling them to operate across the country. Out of the total funding of €347.6 million, the “Team Europe” funding includes a grant of €45 million and a funding of €236.3 million from the EIB together with the AFD, while the Kenyan Government is financing up to €66.3 million⁷⁰. The network of electric buses aims will allow the transit of Kenyans using green mobility in Nairobi and contribute to a reduction of air pollution in the city⁷¹. Funding is crucial to Kenya as it seeks to move towards green mobility, since it is also facing fuel shortages inducing higher fuel prices for the population.

⁶⁸ Costas Paris. “Methanol Takes Lead in Shipping’s Quest for Green Fuel.” *The Wall Street Journal*. February 7, 2023. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/methanol-shipping-green-fuel-11675445221>.

⁶⁹ Ajsa Habibic. “Egypt Teams up with Norway’s SCATEC to Set up Green Methanol Plant.” *Offshore Energy*. May 17, 2023. <https://www.offshore-energy.biz/egypt-teams-up-with-norways-scatec-to-set-up-green-methanol-plant/>.

⁷⁰ “Global Gateway: Team Europe invests in transformative green mobility in Nairobi” *European Commission*. March 29, 2023. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_23_1928

⁷¹ Caleb Nnamani. “Kenya Gets \$378 Million from the EU to Power Electric BRTs.” *TechCabal*, March 31, 2023. <https://techcabal.com/2023/03/31/kenya-receives-378-million-from-the-eu-to-power-electric-brts/>.

2.2.5 Hydrogen

The hydrogen strategy proposes that by 2030, 10 million tonnes of renewable hydrogen — or green hydrogen — is produced in Europe and an equivalent amount to be imported⁷². Three types of hydrogen production are existing today, using colour codes to define them. First, there is grey hydrogen, which refers the most carbon intensive production mean. This process involves the use of fossil fuels (natural gas or coal) to obtain hydrogen gas. Second, is called blue hydrogen. This process also involves natural gas, albeit a less carbon intensive method for obtaining the hydrogen. The main feature of this system is that carbon dioxide is captured at the end of production. Lastly, there is green hydrogen which uses renewable energy to split water through a process of electrolysis and end up with hydrogen and oxygen. In its strategy as part of the EGD, the EU acknowledges the potential of green hydrogen to diversify its energy source mix. As we have seen, green hydrogen has two main requirements: electricity produced from renewable sources such as solar panels, and water.

Under the Global Gateway, a project in Namibia plans to use this technique by building an 85 MW solar park to fuel the production of green hydrogen⁷³. The French company HDF Energy oversees the project. However, in Namibia, due to severe droughts, water scarcity is a major challenge for the region⁷⁴. It puts pressure on the local population and undermines water security. Given that for a project of green hydrogen to be implemented, great amounts of water are needed⁷⁵, water may be diverted from the local consumption. But to avoid adding another layer of water insecurity, the project intends to have an integrated desalination plant

⁷² “Hydrogen” European Commission. Accessed June 15, 2023. https://energy.ec.europa.eu/topics/energy-systems-integration/hydrogen_en#documents

⁷³ Marie Beyer. “HDF Energy Développe UN Projet Intégré d’énergie Solaire-Hydrogène En Namibie.” *pv magazine France*. September 19, 2022. <https://www.pv-magazine.fr/2022/09/19/hdf-energy-developpe-un-projet-integre-denergie-solaire-hydrogene-en-namibie/>.

⁷⁴ Benjamin S. Mapani *et al.* “A review on water security and management under climate change conditions, Windhoek, Namibia”. *Journal of African Earth Sciences*, Volume 197, January 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jafrearsci.2022.104749>

⁷⁵ “Hydrogen’s Water Problem” *Food and water watch*. February 2023. Available at: https://www.foodandwaterwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/FSW_2302_HydrogenWaterUse.pdf

and thus source seawater directly. The vital need for water in the region will not be impacted. Electricity produced from the solar power plant will have the potential to deliver 142 000 inhabitants in the community. HDF Energy in fact is negotiating with the local authority in charge of the energy distribution, a power purchase agreement⁷⁶. Although it is planned that some part of the hydrogen will be exported, the local population is also targeted due to this clean energy supply, hence promoting a sustainable development approach locally.

Another project under the Global Gateway involves constructing a hydrogen power plant in Morocco (See Figure 2), albeit little information is found on a concrete project. Water scarcity in Morocco is recognised as a hurdle to the country’s socio-economic development. The country was in fact listed in a list from the World Bank stating the countries with the lowest water resources⁷⁷. Given that water scarcity is also a major issue in Morocco, the project should intend to demonstrate the same characteristics as the Namibian project — integrated desalination and supply of energy to local population.

⁷⁶ *Ibid* 73

⁷⁷ Jihane Rahhou. “Water Scarcity: 90% of Wells in Morocco Are Unauthorized.” *Morocco World News*. April 19, 2023. <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2023/04/355063/water-scarcity-90-of-wells-in-morocco-are-unauthorized>.

3 PCSD of the Global Gateway

3.1 Importance of Policy coherence

The Global Gateway equips the EU with the necessary tools to facilitate the green transition and transform it into a social and economic opportunity that extends beyond Europe's borders. Nevertheless, it is crucial to ensure policy coherence to prevent potential conflicts with the objectives of domestic policies in Africa or within the EU itself. By working toward policy coherence, the pledge that “no harm” is done on countries hosting the projects, elsewhere and future generations can truly take shape. The OECD’s report emphasises that actions and policies, to promote sustainable development, require a shift from the traditional silo approach in government structures⁷⁸. Fragmented government actions resulting from partitioned policy implementation should be replaced with integrated decision-making to chart the right path forward. Decision-making across all sectors of the government should focus on minimising trade-offs among economic, social, and environmental policies, both locally and globally. An efficient framework which truly serves the goals of sustainable development can be established by addressing the cross-border and long-term impacts of policies.

3.2 Governance

When it comes to the governance of the initiative, the International Partnership DG of the Commission is in charge of the policy making and implementation of the Global Gateway. However, the governance seems to be unclear for the international community. In fact, DG INTPA is at the crossroad for bringing the “Team Europe” together on projects. The “Team Europe” approach can create a confusion on the different level of coordination to monitor the projects for partners and the public sphere. It gathers different actors for one project, both

⁷⁸ OECD. *Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development 2019: Empowering People and Ensuring Inclusiveness and Equality*, OECD Publishing, 2019, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/a90f851f-en>.

public and private, which proves to be effective in terms of funding. On the other side, the decision-making seems to be diluted and partners could have complications to address the right stakeholder, should an issue arise on the aspect of sustainable development. These actors include the European Union, EUMS along with their development agencies or public development banks, the EIB and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)⁷⁹. Moreover, different institutions of the EU are involved, notably the European External Action Service (EEAS). The use of the EEAS delegations is incremental in monitoring the projects on the ground.

The European Union is engaged in conducting Environment Impact Assessments (EIA) for the projects undertaken within the framework of the Global Gateway initiative. In addition, the EU emphasizes transparency by making the EIAs publicly available, allowing stakeholders to access and review them. For instance, interested individuals can directly download the EIAs from the project sheets on the websites of development agencies such as the European Investment Bank (EIB). Besides, the involvement of private sector raises doubts on how the EU can ensure sustainable development is enhanced in the region throughout the projects. The communication does not indicate a clear reporting and monitoring framework in the Global Gateway.

3.3 Political commitment

The political commitment contributes to the PCSD if being an explicit and public commitment to build political leadership. It enables to create a narrative and thereby deploy a clear communication around the policy. By portraying a strong political commitment, it avoids clashes with policies in different sectors or underlining others. The EGD and the Global Gateway, through a coherent approach can demonstrate an EU commitment and translate it into concrete measures within and beyond its borders when it comes to sustainable development. Involving several institutions in the process for the Global Gateway, whilst the

⁷⁹ “Team Europe Initiatives” European Commission. Accessed June 16, 2023. https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/team-europe-initiatives_en#a-groundbreaking-approach

Commission steering the initiative, illustrates a comprehensive approach and political leadership. On the other hand, for the EUMS, more political commitment could be shown. At the national level, enhanced communication could promote the initiative and allow for more stakeholder to understand and engage with the initiative.

3.4 Long-term Vision

Policies with a long-term vision impacts the life of future generations, which is essential in reaching the SDG of the Agenda 2030. The EU's initiative, albeit based on the MAFF timeline of 2021-2027, aligns with the target of SDG in 2030. Moreover, as was shown throughout this analysis, the initiative seeks to support the goal of the European Green Deal in 2050. To this end, the Global Gateway could be communicated as fully aligned with the EGD to go beyond the MFF 2021-2027, hence asking for a renewed initiative — ideally keeping the same “brand name”. Moreover, in the near future, considering that the European elections will soon be set in motion next year (2024), more uncertainty for the Global Gateway's future developments can potentially put in jeopardy the building of crucial partnerships with the African continent. In terms of communication, the EU must instil a sense of certainty regarding the durability of the initiative. Whist the MFF 2021-2027 should ensure the allocation of funds towards the initiative until 2027, should the new Commission swiftly shift in priorities for the 2024-2029 mandate, the Global Gateway could be reduced to an initiative without much substance. And currently, the initiative asks for substance above all.

3.5 Policy integration

Integrated policies that are aligned with the priorities of the institution that implements them, helps to minimise trade-offs between economic, social and environmental dimensions. Reducing those trade-offs are critical for achieving sustainable development. The OECD report indicates that ex-ante impact assessments are helpful

to balance the three dimensions together⁸⁰. Throughout the analysis, it was noted that for the projects already underway, Environment Impact Assessments (EIA) were generally conducted. Another aspect is to ensure that international and internal measures align in order for the undesirable impacts on developing countries to be avoided. The Global Gateway has the tools to build on the synergies with the EGD for enhanced coherence in sustainable development. The flagship projects in Africa involve a fair amount of solar PV technology (e.g. Niger, Benin, Madagascar) and production of hydrogen (e.g. Namibia and Morocco). Both of these sources — i.e. green hydrogen, solar PV —, although being renewable, are water-intensive. These projects should not undermine local water policies for water management and impede on the sustainable development of the region. A logic of cross-sectoral collaboration helps to avoid trade-offs between the energy and water resources management policies. By installing desalinisation plants to fuel the water consumption of solar PV plants or hydrogen plants and working with local authorities through establishing a framework of water management, a stress on water management can be avoided. Overall, the EU can use the Global Gateway to integrate to the best its companies' services and the infrastructure to the emerging ecosystem that is the African continent.

3.6 Policy co-ordination

Policy co-ordination mechanisms allow for inconsistencies to be resolved between policies⁸¹. Dedicated co-ordination among the stakeholders of the Global Gateway is key. Since the initiative involves a high number of stakeholders — i.e., government bodies, EU institutions, development agencies, private companies —, co-ordinating these actors together is essential. Indeed, it is paramount to foster communication and allocate responsibilities between the different directorate-general of the EU

⁸⁰ *Ibid* 78

⁸¹ *Ibid*

Commission but also between the other institutions, development agencies of EUMS and local stakeholders. A share of information and knowledge facilitates the co-ordination between the different actors. However, if knowledge and information is retained in the EU companies rather than disseminated in local companies and/or civil society, co-ordination is lacking. To address this, the companies should not be reluctant to establish a local team at the management level and instil a transparent communication and exchanges of knowledge. Therefore, policy co-ordination goes hand in hand with the element of local involvement of the PCSD.

3.7 Local involvement

A regional and local involvement are necessary to answer to specific needs relating to the region and foster vertical coherence. Different cities are not entailed to the same needs and one policy do not encompass all needs. A local engagement allows to understand criteria and tailor the measures to be taken. A vertical co-ordination is a focal point to enact ad hoc projects for the region and reporting mechanisms have to be in place to support such involvement. Building on the analysis of the solar PV manufacturing, a reproduction of the joint enterprise of Solinc need to inspire the deployment of future projects under the Global Gateway. A nearshoring of manufacturing practices can serve the mutually beneficial approach to the best extent possible. To this end, the local involvement of African companies is crucial for bringing supply chains closer to EU borders.

The positive aspect of the Global Gateway is in the targeting of multiple specific regions to try and answer the needs across the continent. Although, MoUs for projects were signed with ministries of different African countries to get granted the “green light”, local involvement beyond this first phase can be put into question. This ensures that co-ordination efforts are effectively supported by active engagement at the local

level. The local involvement is thus closely tied to the fact that stakeholders have an equal right to engage in the decision-making process.

3.8 Stakeholder engagement

Enabling proactive stakeholder engagement induces for all actors stakeholders to have an equal access to the decision-making process and allow to broaden the interest group. Under the Global Gateway, a preponderant role for EU stakeholders have been noticed, often having a European development bank financing the project, a European company operating the project and in some cases EU consumers directly targeted by the project. Relating to the coercion narrative discussed above, the values to defend are thereby often decided from a European point of view, leaving little space for decision-making at the local level. A more comprehensive approach with a platform on which other stakeholders could interact and share expertise — academia, NGO, civil society, think tanks — can help to advance the debate around the initiative. To enhance the policy coherence of the Global Gateway at this level, involving more African companies and other local actors directly in the projects, would help to improve technology transfer. Fostering local know-how will benefit the future local development through maintaining the expertise on the ground.

3.9 Policy impacts

The assessment of policy impacts on developing countries and the positive impacts or negative externalities it has on them. Internal policy can have transboundary impacts and for this reason, policy coherence is essential in giving the right impetus for sustainable development. In the Global Gateway, two projects in particular — namely GREGY and ELMED — consist in a clear aim to export the electricity produced in Africa to the EU solely. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, with 600 million people living without electricity, the local demand should also be a priority in parallel or directly integrated in the present project. As electricity allows for significant development, it is vital that for the electricity to be

distributed equally among actors of the projects rather than a unilateral flow to the highest bidder.

In this regard, the project implemented in Madagascar answers directly to the pressing need for electrification in the region, using an innovative installation of solar mini grids. With 120 villages benefitting from this installation, this project stands as an illustration of local sustainable development potential fostered by the Global Gateway initiative. However, a significant difference in scale is noticed when comparing the undersea cable project, aimed at delivering 3 GW of electricity to Europe, with the solar mini grids in Madagascar, providing a capacity of 320 MW. A similar distinction is observed in the allocation of funds, with the ELMED project for example gathering €300 million in funding, whilst the WeLight project in Madagascar is granted €19 million. Prioritizing the rising demand in the EU over addressing the critical needs of the local population can be deemed incoherent for an initiative aiming at advancing sustainable development in the African region.

In terms of transportation, the power electric Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system plays a pivotal role in supporting the policy of Kenya to increase mobility in the region. By facilitating transit of workers and connect them closer to their workplace for example, whilst reducing air pollution, in the region. This embodies the aim of fostering sustainable development locally. The project serves as a concrete demonstration of the positive outcomes of the initiative’s policy, achievable through environmentally friendly transportation solutions.

This section addresses the blind spots of the policies in the realm of the EGD that can undermine the coherence of the Global Gateway. The Carbon Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) is set to enter into application in October of this year⁸². The tax aims to tackle carbon leakage — the practice by which companies move their carbon-intensive activities in other areas with less stringent environmental standards compared to the EU. Thus, carbon-

⁸² “Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism” *European Commission*. Accessed June 16, 2023. https://taxation-customs.ec.europa.eu/carbon-border-adjustment-mechanism_en#:~:text=The%20regulation%20then%20officially%20entered.importers%20ending%2031%20January%202024.

intensive imports are impacted by the tax to avoid having them replacing products manufactured with low-carbon emissions. In a goal to establish supply chains across the Mediterranean, the CBAM can compromise that goal if industries of partner countries do not decrease their carbon intensity⁸³. It is crucial that the CBAM does not impede on the Global Gateway objective to build a sustainable partnership with Africa. Even though the EU initiative tries to help Africa in its green transition, there is still little investments devoted to the manufacturing of low-carbon intensive goods.

Another policy relates to the recently passed corporate sustainability due diligence directive (CSDDD). The directive aims to ensure that EU companies adhere to higher environment and human rights standards whilst designing their supply chain. Considering the main reliance on supply chain in China from the EU for its solar technology (see chapter 1), issues may arise. Indeed, components manufactured in China are concentrated in the Xinjiang region — where allegations of human rights abused are raised — and uses coal to produce electricity needed for production. Solar technology manufacturer in the EU fear that the CSDDD “might block supply and not do enough to ensure alternative resources are being provided”⁸⁴. Since the EU aims to help the continent in reaching a capacity of 300 GW of renewable energy, a resilient value chain for solar technology is paramount. To react to the issue effectively, as mentioned before, establishing a partnership on research and development with Africa in the realm of the Global Gateway is key. With only two projects (see Figure 2) in the domain of “Education and Research”, the initiative in that regard lacks substance.

⁸³Alberto Rizzi and Arturo Varvelli, “Opening the Global Gateway: Why the EU should invest more in the southern neighbourhood.” *European Council on Foreign Relations*. Policy Brief. March 14, 2023. <https://ecfr.eu/publication/opening-the-global-gateway-why-the-eu-should-invest-more-in-the-southern-neighbourhood/#top>.

⁸⁴ *Ibid* 37

3.10 Monitoring & Reporting.

Once impact assessments have been conducted, the later stages of monitoring and reporting are equally important and should not be side-lined. Neglecting these stages poses a risk for the real impacts on the ground of the policy undermine the effects assessed beforehand on paper. The Global Gateway currently does not hold a monitoring mechanism for the evaluation of the projects' progress. Indeed, such practices allow for rectification and adjustment of the policy implementation based on real-world outcomes. Besides, while there is a will for an extensive involvement of the private sector in the initiative, one could argue on the potential misalignments between the motives of companies with the values and standards of the Global Gateway when it comes to sustainable development. Hence, it is essential for the EU initiative to establish a robust system of reporting and monitoring, going beyond the existing Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) to promote transparency and accountability throughout the whole project life.

4 Assessment of Policy Coherence

As the EU involves its different actors in projects, the credibility of the EU as a promoter of sustainable development is at stake. To truly promote authentic values within the Global Gateway, Europe must avoid making the initiative seem like a gambit to serve a mere resource scramble and instead demonstrate a sincere commitment to sustainable development. Additionally, it remains to be seen whether the clean energy produced will genuinely benefit the local population and drive sustainable development in the region. The potential for the Global Gateway to gain traction and develop additional successful projects, relies heavily on the trust and reputation of the initial flagship projects presented this year by the Commission.

In navigating the challenges and nurturing an enduring partnership with its African counterparts, the policy coherence for sustainable development of the Global Gateway with the internal objectives of the EGD needs to be fostered, since the intention is not for the bloc to become an isolated regulatory machine, dissociating internal and external policies. If the insularity of the ‘Brussels’ bubble’ hinders the reach of the ‘Brussels effect’, the EGD risks losing a fundamental aspect — promoting sustainable development within and beyond its borders. The announcement from the Commission on the objective of the European Green Deal to become the “first carbon-neutral continent”, may have led others astray in interpreting those words. The goal in fact is to be ‘one among others’, or at least the ‘first of many’. In a nutshell, whilst taking a closer look at the policy design of the EGD and the GG, those policies — from both domestic and foreign considerations — need to work in concert rather than in silos. This can help “combine them into a coherent whole”⁸⁵. Although projects which are not under the Global Gateway label are not covered by the present thesis, those projects can nonetheless impact the credibility of the EU’s commitment to promote sustainable development. The projects parallel to the EU need to be addressed accordingly

⁸⁵ Theodore Murphy and Michaël Tanchum. “The EU’s Global Gateway and a new foundation for partnerships in Africa”. European Council on Foreign Relations. September 2021. <https://ecfr.eu/article/the-eu-global-gateway-and-a-new-foundation-for-partnerships-in-africa/>

to align with the Global Gateway on the principle of fostering sustainable development to avoid undermining the foreign policy of the continent.

Table for enhanced PCSD in the Global Gateway with main findings

OECD Policy coherence for sustainable development model criteria	General analysis	Improvements to enhance policy coherence
Political commitment and leadership	Involving multiple institutions in the Global Gateway process, with the Commission leading the initiative, exemplifies a comprehensive approach and political leadership.	Enhanced communication at the national level would help to increase engagement of stakeholders.
Long-term Vision and planning horizons	The upcoming European elections in 2024 can increase uncertainty regarding the future of the Global Gateway. Crucial substance is needed for ensuring the Global Gateway passes the test of time.	Establishing a program that goes beyond the MFF 2021-2027 to make the Global Gateway a reliable brand.
Policy integration	The integration of the EGD objectives in the Global Gateway projects can be noticed, although the means ('do no harm' approach) for achieving them is not as much integrated in the policy on the African soil.	The Global Gateway can capitalise on the synergies with the EGD by avoiding any trade-offs between social and economic dimension (i.e. water management and renewable energy production)
Policy and institutional co-ordination	Considering the amount of stakeholders (e.g. public, private, many countries) needed for the success of the initiative, co-ordinating actors together is essential. The	Increased communication and share of knowledge at management level.

	challenge arises in the allocation of responsibilities	
Local involvement	Diverse targeted regions in the African continent are identified for projects under the Global Gateway, which can help to answer local needs.	More allocation of local companies in the aim to foster local employment. Solinc joint enterprise can be emulated for a nearshoring of manufacturing practices.
Stakeholder engagement	Noticeable dominance of EU stakeholders. European-centric approach can hamper decision-making at the local level and often prioritises European values.	Engage local actors in the development of projects to build local know-how, defend local values, and allow for more people to benefit from the initiative.
Assessment of policy impacts	The Carbon Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) and the corporate sustainability due diligence directive (CSDDD) can impact on the economic relationship of the African and the EU continent. Thus, it can influence the overall coherence of the Global Gateway with the EGD. Positive impacts can be expected from the extension of the BRT system in Kenya and the WeLight project, hence concrete positive impacts for local communities.	The importance for the EU in the initiative is to establish a resilient value chain through the Global Gateway to create a mutually beneficial partnership bolstering both the EGD objectives and the green transition of the African continent at the same time.
Monitoring, reporting and evaluation	Environment Impact Assessments (EIA) is for the moment the only monitoring tool that the Global Gateway has to offer.	A process of regular monitoring to follow the alignment of the project with the objectives of the initiative can be helpful for assuring issues arising in practice can be adjusted.

Regarding the future of the Global Gateway, it remains to be seen how the EU manage to identify and build projects in future years that will not be only a rebranding exercise. It is paramount for the EU to enact a positive change in its relationship with Africa for more stakeholder to engage with the Global Gateway brand. In that case, the initiative can evolve rapidly with public and private actors interacting seamlessly towards true sustainable development for all countries involved in the initiative.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary of findings

To conclude, the present thesis allowed to get a better understanding of the Global Gateway initiative in Africa. Thanks to the release of the flagship projects earlier this year, a policy coherence for sustainable development has been discussed in this thesis to advocate for extending the values of the EGD into the Global Gateway. Indeed, a coherent whole of policy could bring synergies that can bring the EU continent and its African partner closer towards sustainable development. By influencing partners on the principles of sustainable development and fostering shared values, the Global Gateway can create synergies and pave the way for mutual benefits. The EU initiative needs to serve the goals of both the African and European green transition. This fostering of sustainable development must coincide with a shortening of key supply chain for a coherent approach to be reached in the initiative. The recent events with the Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has further enhanced a will for countries to bring their supply chains closer to their borders — and even inside if possible. Nevertheless, the current approach of the Global Gateway was shown to be more coherent with the goal of the EGD *per se*, while being less attuned to the sustainable means necessary for achieving not only current objectives, but also crucial future ones. If the EU is focused on achieving the internal goal of becoming a carbon neutral continent by 2050, it may lose creating a sustainable and lasting partnership with Africa. It is important to emphasise that if Europe enhances the continent's sustainable development at the expense of Africa's *local*

sustainable development, it will undermine the credibility of Europe to enact comprehensive efforts to attain sustainable development *globally*. Therefore, a balanced approach is necessary to ensure that both continents progress harmoniously towards sustainable development. The Global Gateway can be the inflexion point for developing the long-awaited equal partnership that the African continent is asking for, through projects that. Combining the Global Gateway and the EGD in a coherent whole is key to designing projects that helps both continents in their green transition. Combining them implies enhancing the policy coherence between them, hence aligning values and goals of both policies. Besides, the Global Gateway will act as a barometer for the future relationship of the EU-Africa and is incremental for coordinated climate action. And for the Global Gateway to become a vector of sustainable links with Africa, equal partnerships have to be at the heart of the initiative.

5.2 Recommendations for future research

Whilst it was not in the scope of the present thesis, a similar approach to the assessment of the flagship projects under the Global Gateway for other regions can be compelling. Namely, the LAC region which gathers some twenty projects dedicated to Climate and Energy. Evaluating the policy coherence for sustainable development for all the regions included in the Global Gateway would allow to understand the whole dynamic played by the initiative around the world. This could help enhance the positive effects of the latter as a whole and provide valuable estimations on where synergies can play out the best. In a goal connect EU partners in a fairer and equitable way, the EU can position itself as a global leader in the international scene, in the climate discourse.

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