



Global Gateway

The Global Gateway: The European Union's New Economic Security Tool?

An Exploratory Research Workshop
at Princeton University

Organized by Sophie Meunier and
Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt

Friday, March 22, 2024
Wallace Hall 300



LIECHTENSTEIN INSTITUTE
ON SELF-DETERMINATION



The Paul S.
Sarbanes '54 Fund
for Hellenism and
Public Service

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

Friday, March 22

9:00 – 9:30 am

Introduction

Speakers:

Sophie Meunier (Princeton University)

Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

9:30 – 10:45 am

Panel 1: The EU's Answer to the Belt and Road Initiative?

Speakers:

Axel de La Maisonneuve (Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations)

The Global Gateway Two Years on: EU Contribution to the Acceleration of the 2030 Agenda

Lars-Hendrik Röller

(Professor of ESMT and Chairman of the Berlin Global Dialogue)

Europe's Global Gateway as Response to a Multipolar World Order: Genesis and Challenges

Robert Basedow (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The EU's Global Gateway Initiative — Success in the Making or Political Stillbirth?

Discussant:

Naima Green-Riley (Princeton University)

10:45 – 11:15 am

Break

11:15 am – 12:45 pm

Panel 2:

A Novel Institutional Structure or a Rebranding of Existing Policies?

Speakers:

Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)

Leveraging Investment, Team Europe, Equal Partnerships: The Global Gateway and the EU's Changing Discourse on Development

Simone Dietrich (University of Geneva) and

Nicolas Bau (University of Geneva)

Promoting Mutual Interests? Explaining the Multilateralization of National Development Finance through the European Investment Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

David Howarth (University of Luxembourg) and

Helen Kavvadia (University of Luxembourg)

The European Union's Global Gateway and the European Investment Bank's Empowerment in Development Finance

Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

The Choice for Emulation in the EU's Global Gateway Initiative: Copying the World Bank or Going Its Own Way?

Discussant:

Robert Basedow (London School of Economics and Political Science)

12:45 – 1:45 pm

Lunch

1:45 – 3:15 pm

Panel 3: The Global Gateway: Evaluation and Prospects

Speakers:

Lina Benabdallah (Wake Forest University)

Between a Belt and a Gateway: Global South Perspectives on Geopolitical Infrastructure Mega Projects

Sebastian Heidebrecht (University of Vienna)

EU Digital Diplomacy and the Promotion of Strategic Interests: The Case of the Global Gateway

Anna Herranz-Surrallés (Maastricht University)

Global Gateway and Statecraft: Economic Security Through ‘Governed Interdependence’?

Discussant:

Soo Yeon Kim (National University of Singapore)

3:15 – 3:30 pm

Next Steps

Speakers:

Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt (Technical University of Munich)

Sophie Meunier (Princeton University)

Sophie Meunier



Sophie Meunier is Senior Research Scholar at the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. She is Director of the Program in Contemporary European Politics and Society, Co-Director of the EU Program at Princeton, and Acting Director of the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination from 2023–2024. She is the author of *Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations* (Princeton University Press, 2005) and *The French Challenge: Adapting to Globalization* (Brookings Institution Press, 2001), winner of the 2002 France-Americas book award. She is also coeditor of several books on Europe and globalization, most recently, *Developments in French Politics 6* (Palgrave MacMillan 2020) and *Speaking with a Single Voice: The EU as an Effective Actor in Global Governance?* (Routledge, 2015).

Dr. Meunier is the current chair of the European Union Studies Association (2023–2024). She was also an elected member of the Executive Committee of the Council for European Studies from 2009–2013, and was cochair of the Program Committee for the 2010 CES conference. She served on the Executive Board of the International Political Science Association's Research Committee on European Unification from 2009–2016, and on the Executive Committee of the American Political Science's Association European Politics and Society Section from 2010–2013. Dr. Meunier has been a member of the Executive Board of the journal *French Politics* and the Editorial Board of the *Journal of European Public Policy* since 2008. She was previously a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations from 2004–2009, a member of the Advisory Board of the Transatlantic Academy of the German Marshall Fund from 2008–2010, and was an elected member of the Executive Committee of the European Union Studies Association from 2003–2007 and served as Secretary of this association from 2005–2007. Meunier is an Associate Fellow at CIRANO in Montreal and a Senior Research Fellow at the Wong Center for the Study of Multinational Corporations.

Her current work deals with the politics of investment screening mechanisms and the European Union's recent geoeconomic turn, including as part of the PRISM project and the Beauty Contests grant. She was made Chevalier des Palmes Academiques by the French Government



Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt



Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt holds the chair of European and Global Governance at the Hochschule für Politik München/TUM School of Social Sciences and Technology since July 2016. Her research interests include the delegation of power to international organizations, European integration, global economic governance, two-level games, negotiation analysis, accountability in the digital age, as well as disruptions in politics and technology.

Professor da Conceição-Heldt received her Ph.D in Political Science from the Freie Universität Berlin and completed her Habilitation at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. From March 2012 through June 2016 she held the chair of International Politics at TU Dresden. Previous appointments include a guest professorship at the FU Berlin, an assistant professorship at HU Berlin, fellowships at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University, at the European University Institute in Florence (EUI), at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), and at the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. From 2016 to 2021, Professor. da Conceição-Heldt was reform rector of the Hochschule für Politik München and (founding) dean of the TUM School of Governance.

Professor da Conceição-Heldt is the author of over 40 peer-reviewed journal articles and four monographs, several books, and has edited special issues for peer-reviewed journals and book chapters. Her research has been published in journals such as Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of European Public Policy, Review of International Political Economy, Negotiation Journal, International Negotiations, International Politics, Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis, Global Society and Politische Vierteljahresschrift. Additionally, Professor da Conceição-Heldt has been awarded the Medal for Outstanding Contributions to the Free State of Bavaria in Europe and the World in 2019, among other grants and fellowships.



Axel de La Maisonneuve



Axel de La Maisonneuve is the EU Ambassador to the UN Economic and Social Council in New York. He has 33 years of experience in the European public service, including extensive senior leadership in multilateral, bilateral EU-Africa, and budgetary affairs. He has been leading on International Partnerships and Sustainable Development matters at the EU Delegation to the United Nations. He oversees the negotiation of the 2030 Agenda related UN resolutions for the European Union and its Member States, and participates in multilateral initiatives and dialogues on topics such as health, climate, biodiversity, financing for development, investment, private sector development, food systems, and the UN Development System.

Previously, he was in charge of international trade and relations with the private sector in Africa at European Commission Headquarters. While posted at the EU Delegation to South Africa in 2010–2014, he was responsible for political and bilateral trade affairs and was instrumental in the negotiation of the EU-Southern Africa Free Trade Agreement. From the EU Delegation to Tanzania, in 2002–2006, he dealt with EU-Eastern Africa and EU-Tanzania economic and financial relations. He was the desk officer for Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia in 1999–2002. His starting years in the EU institutions were devoted to the establishment of policy and program evaluation systems across the departments of the European Commission.



Lars-Hendrik Röller



Lars-Hendrik Röller is professor of economics at ESMT Berlin, the European School of Management and Technology in Berlin and director at E.CA economics, an economic consultancy in competition policy, which he cofounded in 2006. He is also the Chairman of Blackrock's Transition Investing Advisory Council (TIAC). Lars-Hendrik Röller is Fellow of the European Economic Association, Distinguished Fellow of CEPR (Centre for Economic Policy Research), member of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, and member of the Board of Trustees of the German National Academy of Science and Engineering (acatech). From 2011–2021, he was Chief Economic Advisor to Chancellor Merkel. In this capacity he was responsible for the economic, financial and energy policy at the Chancellery. He was also Germany's Sherpa for G7 and G20 Summits and has organized and prepared 17 summits, including Germany's G7 presidency in 2015 and G20 presidency in 2017.

Previous positions include Europe's first Chief Competition Economist of the European Commission (2003–2006), President of the European School of Management and Technology in Berlin (2006–2011), Professor at Humboldt University Berlin (1995–2011), Professor at INSEAD (France, 1987–1994), and Director at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center (Europe's largest social science research center, 1994–2003). He has also been President of the German Economic Association (2009–2011) and President of the European Association for Research in Industrial Economics (2005–2007).

In 2002 he was awarded the Gossen Prize (to honor the leading German economist under the age of 45 whose work has gained international reputation). In 2013 he has been awarded the Order of Merit Grand Officer of the Republic of Italy, in 2021 the Order of the Danneborg 1st Commander from Denmark, and the Order of Oranien-Nassau Commander of the Netherlands. Lars-Hendrik Röller holds a Ph.D (in economics), a Master of Arts (in economics), a Master of Science (in Artificial Intelligence) from the University of Pennsylvania, as well as a Bachelor (in Computer Science) from Texas A&M University. He is married and has three children.



Robert Basedow



Dr Robert Basedow is an Associate Professor in International Political Economy at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research focuses on international trade and investment policy, international dispute settlement mechanisms and regulatory cooperation. Prior to joining the LSE, he was an official at the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) in Paris and a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence.

Dr. Basedow had previously advised on global economic affairs and European politics inter alia the European Institutions, German and British governments, the House of Commons, various other national parliaments, and London embassies. His work and commentary has been featured on the BBC, CNN, Bloomberg, Newsweek, The Guardian, Arte France, Arte Deutschland and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, among other outlets.

Dr. Basedow had been teaching graduate and undergraduate classes on International Political Economy, Global Trade and Investment Governance, European Politics and Integration, as well as Research Methods at LSE, Sciences Po Paris, the College of Europe, and Princeton University.



Naima Green-Riley



Naima Green-Riley is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics and at the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. She received a BA in International Relations with honors from Stanford University. She holds an MA in Public Policy from the Harvard Kennedy School, and completed her Ph.D. in Political Science in the Department of Government at Harvard University.

Green-Riley specializes in U.S. and Chinese foreign policy, with a focus on public diplomacy and the global information space. Her writing has been published or is forthcoming in *Security Studies*, the *Journal of Experimental Political Science (JEPS)*, and in the 2022 book, *The China Questions II* (Harvard University Press), as well as various public-facing outlets. Her work has been supported by the Wilson Center China Fellowship, the USC Center on Public Diplomacy, the Morris Abrams Award in International Relations, the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation at Harvard Kennedy School, the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, and other interdisciplinary centers at Harvard. She was selected as a 2021 Public Intellectual Program Fellow at the National Committee of U.S.-China Relations and as a 2017 Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellow.

Green-Riley is a Nonresident Fellow at the Digital Forensic Research Lab at the Atlantic Council, a member of the Board of Directors of Oxfam America, and a member of the Advisory Board of Foreign Policy for America. Before pursuing her Ph.D, she was a Pickering Fellow and a Foreign Service Officer in the U.S. Department of State. She served as the Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Alexandria, Egypt during the Arab Spring (2011–2013), and a Consular Officer in the U.S. Consulate General in Guangzhou, China during the Obama administration's "Pivot to Asia." She was an intern and an advance associate for the White House in 2010, and contributed to the first ever Forum for Young African Leaders hosted by President Obama. Green-Riley worked on subsequent U.S. government youth outreach programming in Africa and the Middle East.



Maurizio Carbone



Maurizio Carbone is the Professor of International Relations and Development and Jean Monnet Professor of EU External Policies in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Glasgow. He has previously taught at the University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Mellon University, Duke University, College of Europe (Natolin), Johns Hopkins University (Bologna Center), University of Rome II, and has held visiting research positions at the University of Cambridge, University of Cologne, Sciences Po (Paris), European University Institute, University of Canterbury (New Zealand), Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium), and University of Pretoria (South Africa).

Professor Carbone's main research interests are on the external relations of the European Union and the politics of international development. His work has appeared, inter alia, in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of European Integration*, *West European Politics*, *International Relations*, *Global Governance*, *Development Policy Review*, *Journal of International Development*, and *Third World Quarterly*. Among his recent books are: *The European Union and International Development: The Politics of Foreign Aid* (Routledge, 2007), *Policy Coherence and EU Development Policy* (ed., Routledge, 2009), *The European Union in Africa: Incoherent Policies, Asymmetrical Partnership, Declining Relevance?* (ed., Manchester University Press, 2013), *The Europeanisation of Development Policy* (ed., with J. Orbie, Routledge, 2017).

Professor Carbone is the founding editor of *Contemporary Italian Politics*, a peer-reviewed journal published by Taylor & Francis (Routledge). In 2013 he received the *Abilitazione as Professore Ordinario* (Full Professor) from Italy's "National Agency for the Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes."



Simone Dietrich



Simone Dietrich is Associate Professor in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. Professor Dietrich had previously been a Senior Lecturer of Government and Director of ESSEXLab at the University of Essex in the United Kingdom from 2015 to 2017. From 2012 to 2015 she was an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Missouri, Columbia. At Mizzou, she also held an Appointment at the Truman School of Public Affairs.

Professor Dietrich studies foreign aid and the role of international organizations in world politics. Her book, *States, Markets, and Foreign Aid*, appeared with Cambridge University Press in 2021. Her current research project examines whether powerful donors can push their political objectives through seemingly more technical processes like the OECD DAC's peer review system and whether peer review can exert an independent influence on member state practices. She is a former postdoctoral research fellow at the Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance at Princeton University (2011–2012). She received her Ph.D from the Pennsylvania State University in 2011.

Her research is published or forthcoming in *International Organization*, *Journal of Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, *Review of International Organizations*, *Research and Politics*, *World Development*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *European Journal of Development Research*, and Cambridge and Oxford University Press.



David Howarth



David Howarth is a Professor of Political Economy in the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Luxembourg, where he has been a Full Professor since 2012 and also serves as the Head of the Institute of Political Science. He previously ran the University of Edinburgh's Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and remains an Honorary Fellow in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh.

Professor Howarth is a founding member of the University of Luxembourg's Robert Schuman Initiative, a leading interdisciplinary research group for the study of European Union affairs since 2016. The Robert Schuman Initiative had been recognized and funded twice by the EU Commission as a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, from 2015–2018 and 2018–2022. From 2015–2022, Professor Howarth served as one of three editors for the Routledge/UACES book series on Contemporary European Studies, one of the leading series focused on European Union affairs.

Professor Howarth obtained a BA from the University of Alberta and an MPhil. in Politics and a Ph.D on French Monetary Policy and Monetary Integration in Europe at the University of Oxford, where he was also a Rhodes Scholar.



Nicolas Bau



Nicolas Bau is a Doctoral Assistant in Political Science at the University of Geneva, specializing in comparative international political economy. He teaches at the Global Studies Institute at the University of Geneva and is in the final stages of completing a dissertation on development financing. His research focuses on analyzing the shifts in behavior among Western European donor countries concerning the development of the private sector in sub-Saharan Africa. To achieve this, he examines the root causes of emergence and the operations of national development financial institutions, whose significance within bilateral cooperation organizations has significantly grown over the past 25 years. His work not only questions the evolution of foreign aid practices but also aims to contribute to a broader understanding of investment guided by Western state actors in the Global South.

Nicolas graduated from Sciences Po Paris in 2022 with a Master's degree in Political Science, specializing in Public Policy. Before embarking on his doctoral journey, Nicolas served as a research assistant at both the Maurice Halbwachs Center and the Center for European Studies and Comparative Politics in Paris. Additionally, he has previously worked at the French National Assembly and contributed to the implementation of social support policies within a local government.



Helen Kavvadia



Helen Kavvadia is an Adjunct Professor at the ESSCA School of Management and a Researcher in Residence at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Luxembourg. She has taught for the Masters in European Governance at the University of Luxembourg since 2017. Prior to assuming this academic role, she served as a Senior Adviser at the Communications Department of the European Investment Bank, which she joined initially as a Loan Officer and had been responsible, under different positions, for France, Germany, the UK, and the BENELUX countries. She has also previously lectured at the Université de Mons Hainaut in Belgium.

Professor Kavvadia's research interests include Economic Diplomacy, and International Political Economy in International Financial Institutions, Multilateral Development Banks, Regional Development Banks, National Development Banks, National Promotional Banks, Foreign Direct Investment, International Trade and Official Development Assistance, European Studies, Space, and Business Models.

Professor. Kavvadia holds a Ph.D in Economics and Political Science from the Panteion University in Athens. Additionally, she holds degrees in Economics and Business Administration from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and The American College of Greece. After obtaining an MSc in Analysis, Design and Management of Information Systems at the London School of Economics (LSE), she pursued her studies at the LSE as an MPhil/Ph.D student on the same topic, holding a research position as a member of LSE's LEGOL project. She pursued subsequent courses and research at the University of Cologne, on her project "An Approach to Effective Goal - oriented Information Systems," focusing on information systems design. She later diversified her studies with a Diploma in Diplomatic and Strategic Studies at the Centre des Etudes Diplomatiques et Stratégiques.



Lina Benabdallah



Lina Benabdallah is an Associate Professor for the Politics & International Affairs Department at Wake Forest University. Her research focuses on international relations theory, foreign policy, critical theories of power, politics of the past, and knowledge production and hegemony in South-South relations.

Professor Benabdallah's research has appeared in the *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *Third World Quarterly*, *African Studies Quarterly*, and *Project on Middle East Political Science*, as well as in public-facing outlets such as *The Washington Post's* *Monkey Cage* and *Foreign Policy*. Dr. Benabdallah was also a Johns Hopkins China Africa Research Initiative research associate and a contributing editor for *Africa Is a Country*. Professor Benabdallah was a visiting fellow at the Center for African Studies at Harvard University during the Spring and Summer terms of 2023. She is also a Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Africa Program and a coeditor of *PS: Political Science and Politics*. She earned a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Florida in 2017 and has conducted fieldwork in Beijing, Jinhua, Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Bamako.

Professor Benabdallah is the author of *Shaping the Future of Power: Knowledge Production and Network-Building in China-Africa Relations* (University of Michigan Press, 2020). She is now working on a new book which studies current Chinese government-issued discourses and narratives about the New Silk Road being a continuation of Sino-centric 15th Century Indian Ocean exchanges.



Sebastian Heidebrecht



Dr. Sebastian Heidebrecht is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Centre for European Integration Research, housed in the University of Vienna's Department of Political Science. Dr. Heidebrecht's research looks at how actors, processes, and institutions shape the digital transformation of European economies and societies, with a particular focus on European Union policies. Before his current position, Dr. Heidebrecht was a Research Associate at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Dr. Heidebrecht has also taught at the Vienna School of International Studies, the Heinrich-Heine University Düsseldorf, and ESSCA Angers. Dr. Heidebrecht edited special issues on the EU's digital sovereignty and the political role of the ECB. His work is published in leading political science journals such as the *Journal of Common Market Studies* and the *Journal of European Public Policy*. Dr. Heidebrecht holds a Ph.D from the University of Duisburg-Essen and studied at the University of Jena and Sciences Po Paris. In addition to his academic career, Dr. Heidebrecht worked for a financial services provider in Amsterdam and he was a Head of Office at the European Parliament.



Anna Herranz-Surrallés



Anna Herranz-Surrallés is Associate Professor in International Relations at the Department of Political Science of Maastricht University. She joined Maastricht University in 2012 as a lecturer and Marie Curie researcher. Professor Herranz-Surrallés' research concentrates on EU external energy policy and global energy governance, with a focus on the relationship between energy, security, and democracy. Her work has appeared in journals such as *West European Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Cooperation & Conflict*, *Journal of European Public Policy* and *Journal of European Integration*.

Previously, Professor Herranz-Surrallés was Juan de la Cierva Postdoctoral Researcher at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals and held visiting fellowships at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Aberystwyth University, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, and the Department of Political Science of Copenhagen University. Professor Herranz-Surrallés obtained her Ph.D in International Relations and European Integration from the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

Professor Herranz-Surrallés is also a visiting professor at the College of Europe (Natolin Campus). She is additionally a member of various organizations, including the Editorial Board of *Journal of European Integration*; the international advisory board of the *International Spectator*; and the steering group of the ECPR Energy Politics, Policy and Governance research network.



Soo Yeon Kim



Soo Yeon Kim is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore. She joined the Department of Political Science in July 2011. She holds a Ph.D in Political Science from Yale University and a BA in Political Science and International Studies from Yonsei University. Professor Kim's research and teaching areas are International Political Economy, International Political Economy of Asia, and Research Methods, with a specialization in trade politics. She is the author of *Power and the Governance of Global Trade* (2011, Series in Political Economy, Cornell University Press). Her current research focuses on free trade agreements in Asia and on rising powers in the global economy.

