

## Notes

- 1 Reisen, van M., *Global Player EU. Die Nord-Süd-Politik der Europäischen Union*, terre des hommes Deutschland e. V. and WEED, Bonn, April 1999.
- 2 Europe, No. 7046, 29 August 1996.
- 3 See for instance interviews in early 1999 by development ministers Clare Short (UK) and Evelyn Herfkens (Netherlands).
- 4 See for instance: Head, J., "Ek het niks", *I have nothing, The Impact of European Union Policies on Women Canning Workers in South Africa*, University of Cape Town, 1998; Wellmer, G., *On the effects of European beef exports to South Africa on communal farmers in Namibia. A case study on the coherence of European Policy*, Diakonische Werk der EKD, 1998a; Stevens, C., CAP Reforms: Will Developing Countries Benefit?, *Policy Briefing*, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, February 1998.
- 5 Santer, European Commission work Programme for next year: Strong policy priorities, Limited number of new legislative initiatives, *Europe*, No. 2104/2105, 13 November 1998.
- 6 Sir Leon Brittan, Conference "Trade, Enlargement and the Multilateral System.", quoted in *Europe*, No. 7325, 19/20 October 1998, p. 3, original emphasis.
- 7 European Parliament, Directorate General for Research, *Fact sheets on the European Parliament and the Activities of the European Union*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1994.
- 8 Commission of the European Communities, *Agenda 2000: The Legislative Proposals*, Brussels, ip/98/258, 1997.
- 9 As proposed by the Commission Communication to the Council and the European Parliament: Commission of the European Communities, *Commission Communication to the Council and to the European Parliament on the Establishment of a New Financial Perspective for the Period 2000-2006*, March 1998.
- 10 The accession of five countries is an assumption made for producing the financial forecasts; the actual decisions still need to be taken.
- 11 Source: European Commission.
- 12 Speech by Dr. Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 12 June 1992.
- 13 The Treaty on European Union (TEU).
- 14 Figures based on financial decisions. European Commission, *Infofinance*, March 1998.
- 15 OECD, DAC Aid Review of the European Community, *Press Release*, SG/PRESS (95)63, 21 September 1995.
- 16 Resolution 8631.
- 17 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Strategies for individual organisations, Annex to the Plan of Action for Active Multilateralism, Danida, Copenhagen, 1996, p. 128.
- 18 Reisen, van M., European Union, in: *Reality of Aid 1998-1999*, (eds. German, T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, 1998.

- 19 These figures comprise only aid to developing countries, and exclude most of the countries in Eastern Europe. In 1995 the CEC programme comprised 18.96 % of the EU total net ODA.
- 20 OECD, adapted MVR.
- 21 OECD, adapted MVR.
- 22 *Europe*, No. 7310, 28/29 September 1998, p. 8.
- 23 Bilateral aid is given from one country to another country. Multilateral aid is given from a groups of donors to individual or a group of countries through a multilateral organisation, such as the UN specialised agencies or the World Bank Group.
- 24 This issue is further elaborated in chapter 8.
- 25 *Official Journal of the European Community*, L220, 11 August 1997.
- 26 Commission of the European Communities, *Financial Cooperation under the Lomé Conventions, Review of Aid at the end of 1994*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1995; Protocol Financière, 1995/2000 (en MECU), table sheet provided by the European Commission.
- 27 Commission of the European Communities, *Green Paper on relations between the European Union and the ACP countries on the eve of the 21st century: challenges for a new partnership*, Brussels, November 1996.
- 28 The EU has decided that it will not break relations with ASEAN over the issue of it granting membership to Burma; membership is considered as an internal matter of ASEAN. There is no reason why this rule, generally observed, that regional partners of the EC choose their own membership, should not be applied in the context of the ACP.
- 29 Court of Auditors – Annual Report concerning the financial year 1997, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, c 349, Vol. 41, 17-11-1998.
- 30 Article 1. *Official Journal*, No. L 052, 27/02/1992, p. 0001-0006.
- 31 No. 2259, *Official Journal*, No. L 306, 28/11/1996, p. 0005-0008.
- 32 The European Commission was also given the task to co-ordinate aid to Eastern Europe from 24 donors, the Group of 24 (G-24).
- 33 Includes the PHARE and TACIS programmes; excludes aid to the successor states of former Yugoslavia. Court of Auditors, 1998, *ibid*.
- 34 Court of Auditors, 1998, *ibid*.
- 35 No. 1292/96 of 27 June 1996.
- 36 European Community, Council Regulation (EC) No. 1292/96 of 27 June 1996 on food-aid policy and food-aid management and special operations in support of food security, *Official Journal*, No. L 166, 05/07/1996. This regulation excludes food aid provided in humanitarian operations.
- 37 This was the result of an inter-service working group consisting of representatives of the different Directorates General and ECHO.
- 38 Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Linking, Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD)*, Com (96) 153 final, Brussels, 30.04.96.
- 39 This regulation concerns 7 budget lines. European Community, Council Regulation (EC) No. 1257/96 of 20 June 1996 concerning humanitarian aid, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, No. L 163/1, 2.7.96.
- 40 The Committee of member states Representatives is now called the Humanitarian Aid Committee (HAC).

- 41 In 1996 the USA budgeted 995 million ECU, while total EU financial decisions totaled 1109 million ECU. ECHO, *Annual Review*, 1997.
- 42 Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from Mrs. Bonino to the Commission, Framework Partnership Contract in the field of humanitarian aid*, 24.02.98 and *Framework Partnership Contract*, 11.02.98.
- 43 For figures of USAID staff see: DAC, United States, *Development Co-operation Review Series*, No. 28, OECD, Paris, 1998.
- 44 The monitoring and assessment of projects for PHARE and TACIS would already be contracted out. Information provided by the Commission.
- 45 Montes, C., et al., Evaluation of European Union Aid managed by the Commission to African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries, *Synthesis Report*, Investment Development Consultancy, November 1998, p. 46.
- 46 DAC, European Community, *Development Co-operation Review Series*, OECD, 1998, No. 30, p. 565.
- 47 Competitive recruitment will take place again. Montes, C., 1998, *ibid*.
- 48 With one assistant.
- 49 European Parliament, Working Document on Staff Policy at the Commission (Annual Report of the Court of Auditors concerning the financial year 1997: OJ 349, 17.11.1998), *Discharge procedure for the financial year 1997, Committee on Budgetary Control*, (Rapporteurs M.J. Bourlanges and L. Brinkhorst), PE 229.367, 4 February 1999.
- 50 Court of Auditors, Annual Report concerning the Financial Year 1995 together with the Institutions' Replies, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, c 340, Vol. 39, 12 November 1996.
- 51 European Parliament, Report on Comitology, (rapporteur: Terry Wynn MEP), 25 July 1995.
- 52 EuroCidse, *Newsbulletin*, February 1996
- 53 Internal document CEC.
- 54 Committee of Independent Experts, *First Report on Allegations regarding Fraud, Mismanagement and Nepotism in the European Commission*, Brussels, 15/3/1999.
- 55 These are: the sustainable and social development of the developing countries; the integration in the world economy, the campaign against poverty.
- 56 Results to Questionnaire on Implementing Gender Resolution, Responded to in September/October 1997 by EU Permanent Representatives in Brussels. In some cases responses were provided by civil servants from ministries in EU member states.
- 57 Document 5811/98, DGI.
- 58 DHA 14 point format, can be found on: [europa.eu.int/en/comm/echo/docs/14ptvm.htm](http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/echo/docs/14ptvm.htm).
- 59 The pilot countries were: Peru, Nicaragua, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique. This should not be confused with the countries in which pilot projects took place on co-ordination, which overlaps.
- 60 Council of the European Union, *Conclusions of the EU Development Council*, Press Service of the EU Development Council, 18 May 1998. More specific measures are announced in these conclusions.
- 61 See: Commission of the European Communities, Mainstreaming a Gender And Equal Opportunities Perspective into all Community Policies, *Strategy Paper*, January 1997; Commission of the European Communities, Integrating Gender Issues in Development Co-operation, *Progress Report 1997*, October 1, 1997.
- 62 Adopted 20 December 1995.

63 In the period May-October 1996 80% of proposals annexed the gender questionnaire. Only 3 out of 24 projects could be classified as gender integrated or gender specific.

64 51% of all the ALA projects used this form in the period Jan. 1995 – June 1997. Of these 11% scored as 'women-specific', 39% as gender-integrated and 23 % as gender oriented. Only 22% of the MED projects used this form in the same period. None of the MED projects scored as being gender-specific, 36% of those for which the form was used scored gender-integrated, and 43% as gender-oriented.

65 Commission of the European Communities, Sectoral Development Programmes for Education, (SDP-ED), "Platform" for SDPs agreed by the Horizon 2000 Meeting of Experts of the Commission and the Member States, October 1996, p. 4. See also: Cassels, A., *A guide to sector-wide approaches for health development. Concepts, issues and working arrangements*, WHO, Danida, DFID, European Commission, 1997. A good example of an SDP in the health sector is Zambia.

66 For an overview of developments in programme and budget support see: Reisen, van M., *The EU and Africa, Reality of Aid 1997-1998*, (eds. German, T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, London, 1997.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

68 European Commission, Implementation of European Policy on Education and Training in Developing Countries, undated.

69 See chapter 7.

70 In India also a pilot SDP-ED was established.

71 Establishing an Education Sector Development Programme, Provisional Guidelines emerging from a discussion by the EU Horizon 2000 Meeting of Education Experts of the Commission and member states, Brussels, 10-11 November 1997.

72 Sectorwide approaches to health development: implications for the European Union. Unpublished, undated (1997), internal document.

73 *Ibid.*

74 European Commission, Note to Heads of Units on enhanced collaboration with the WB-Agreements of April 2 Meeting, letter from Philip Lowe, Director General DG8.

75 The results of research presented in this chapter have earlier been presented in: Reisen, van M., *Regional Programme Changes of NGOs in the European Union in the Period 1989-1995*, Catholic University of Nijmegen, Department of Policy Studies, *Occasional Paper*, Nijmegen, March 1997.

76 Theunis, S., *Non Governmental Development Organizations of Developing Countries, and the South Smiles*, Unitar, Novib, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1992, p. 15. To emphasise the aspect that it concerns a group engaged in humanitarian or development activities in relation to the developing countries these organisations are also called Non Governmental Development Organisation (NGDOS), though this is less commonly used. Biekart, K., uses the term Private Aid Agencies – but this terms does not necessarily bring further clarity in the area where NG(D)Os are hardest to define: the feature for some of them to have strong links with government, and to receive large amounts of public funding. Biekart, K., *The Politics of Civil Society Building. European Private Agencies and Democratic Transition in Central America*, International Books, TNI, Utrecht, 1999. This book provides an excellent overview of European NGOs. For further reading see also: Arts, B., *The Political Influence of Global NGOs. Case Studies on the Climate and Biodiversity Conventions*, International Books, Utrecht, 1998. The research presented in this chapter suggests that it is more important to make an analytical distinction between humanitar-

ian and development organisations, both included in the survey. See: Reisen, van M., *The Logic of Coincidence. An Analysis of EU Decision-making in Aid Policies (1990-1995)*, Ph.D. dissertation, forthcoming (provisional title).

77 The CLONG is largely funded by the European Commission. It has the objective to be a bridge between the European Commission and the European NGOs.

78 “..though not all NGOs will have these characteristics or achieve these high standards all of the time the Charter can be used as a guide to what the term ‘NGDO’ is generally understood to mean by NGOs themselves.” NGDO-EU Liaison Committee, NGDO Charter, Basic Principles of Development and Humanitarian Aid NGOs in the European Union, March 1977, p. 3. This exercise was initiated by the European Commission in order to get an instrument to assess NGOs which request financing.

79 EuroCidse does not exist as a separate organisation any longer. Since 1998 it is part of the international network Cidse.

80 During the period of the research Eurostep was a co-ordination of 21 members, some of which are themselves large national co-ordinations. In this survey some of these members, large in size, were approached separately.

81 The figures portray the number of West European members. Clearly there is overlap between the groups. Withdrawn from the population were: (1) the German Political Foundations – related to political parties, which responded that they did not categorise themselves as NGOs and (2) 15 very small NGOs whose addresses could not be traced, or which had ceased to exist, or had only just started.

82 As the data relate to the period until 1995 Intermon is not included as an Oxfam member in this survey because it joined the Oxfam family in 1996/7.

83 Political foundations, also a large source for non governmental development finance were not included in the survey, since they are affiliated to political parties.

84 This can be concluded from the fact that the mean and the median are far apart. The mean is 23.2 million ECU while the median is 13.6 million ECU

85 These figures are a conservative estimate. 19 respondents are missing.

86 Missing cases: 22.

87 Missing cases: 18.

88 This is based on conservative estimates since 26 organisations did not respond to this question.

89 Cases weighed for origin, in percentages per row.

90 2 in Belgium (CNCd and NCOS), 1 in Italy (Movimondo), 1 in Sweden (Forum Syd), 1 in Finland (KEPA), and outside the EU: Switzerland (Swiss Coalition, although its members were approached separately). EuroCidse also has one large co-ordination in Italy (OVCI).

91 The total number of North European organisations included in the analysis was 34 compared with 64 from Southern Europe. The working language of the organisation, and its constituency have been the criteria for grouping the North and the South. Of Belgium 6 organisations/networks of Latin origin and 2 of Non Latin are included. The organisations in Switzerland all appeared to be related to the German constituency and have been categorised as Non Latin accordingly. Greek organisations have been included in the ‘Latin group’ since its Mediterranean character suits these shared characteristics best. Irish organisations have been categorised as Non Latin, because of its geography and because the working language of the organisations is English, but the organisations follow a lot of the Southern characteristics.

92 All the organisations included: n=82.

93 It clearly shows that similar arguments are utilised to support either decision. These arguments can be divided in the following categories: perceived need, received requests, mandate, traditional regional focus, original organisational mission, experience, feasibility, priority.

94 The argument of solidarity is first used as a justification for decisions in this period, and was not before.

95 In these categories France behaves as a 'Northern' country, and Ireland as a 'Southern'.

96 Original in French: "d'Autres organisations existent pour cela. A chacun son metier."

97 Some sections or ideas of this chapter have earlier been published in: Reisen, van M., The European Union and the ECDP, In: *Reality of Aid 1996* (eds. German, T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, 1996; Reisen, van M., European Union, In: *Reality of Aid 1997-1998* (eds. German, T. & Randel, J.), Earthscan, 1997b; Towards a poverty focus in EC development policy: A critical analysis on the Financial Perspective 2000-2006, *paper* of European networks, Brussels, December 1998 (ed. Reisen, van M.).

98 European Parliament, 1994, *ibid.*

99 EURO-CIDSE, *Newsbulletin*, June 1995, based on official documents of the Cannes Summit.

100 Information provided by the European Commission.

101 European Communities, *InfoFinance*, This table does not include destination of other budget lines, some of which are relatively large, such as food aid, humanitarian assistance, NGOs, Southern Africa, etc. Commission Européenne, *Compte de Gestion et Bilan Financier, Afférents aux Opérations du budget de l'exercice 1997, Volume 1* (section III – Commission), SEC (98) 519, Bruxelles, 1998; Commission Européenne, *Compte de Gestion et Bilan Financier, Afférents aux Opérations du budget de l'exercice 1998, Volume 1* (section III – Commission), SEC (99) 412, Bruxelles, 1999.

102 This proportion does not include aid from other budget lines, to either developing or Eastern European countries.

103 This proportion does not include aid from other budget lines, to either developing or Eastern European countries.

104 Speech by Philip Lowe to the Development Committee of the European Parliament, Director General DG 8, January 19th 1999. The problem was also addressed by Mr. Paul Nielson, the Minister of Development Cooperation in Denmark in the Danish television news (January 27th 1999), now EC Commissioner for Development.

105 Commission of the European Communities, *Preliminary Draft General Budget of the European Communities for the Financial Year 1998*, SEC(97)600, May 1997: 5. projections budget lines based on figures past years, demonstrating that about half of the budget appropriations are used. Projections for EDF come from the Commission, on the basis of which the member states can plan their budgets.

106 Letter from the Commission to the author, unpublished.

107 Commission, May 1997, unpublished information.

108 *Ibid.*

109 *Ibid.*

110 Letter of the European Commission to Eurostep, XIX/02/JPB D 12003 (99).

111 Letter of the European Commission to Eurostep, 1999, *ibid.*

112 Resolution EP, JOCE No. C 14, 27 March 1973, pp. 25-6.

113 Commission des Communautés Européennes, *Rapport sur les Possibilités et les Modalités de Budgétisation du Fonds Européen de Développement*, SEC (94) 640 final.

114 Council of the European Union, 'Declaration on the European Development Fund, Final Act', *Treaty on European Union*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992, p. 224.

115 The own resources ceiling is determined as 1.27 % of EU GNP in order ensure a maximum to the growth of resources and taxes collected directly by the Commission. The financial perspectives depart from the assumption of a GNP economic growth rate of 2.5% a year and a GNP deflator of 2% a year. For the pre-accession countries a growth rate of 4% a year has been applied – which is relevant to the financial perspective after accession. The financial perspective is drawn at 1999 constant prices.

116 Council of the European Union, *Presidency Conclusions*, Berlin European Council, 24 and 25 March 1999.

117 The DAC definition of ODA and OA includes development aid and humanitarian assistance.

118 Commission of the European Communities, EU-ACP Co-operation in 1994, Special issue, *Le Courier*, July 1995.

119 Maxwell, S., Catch the Tiger by its Tail, Counterpart Funds in the Evaluation of Programme aid, *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1996: 40.

120 DAC, *Development Assistance Manual, DAC Principles for Effective Aid*, OECD, Paris, 1992, p. 67.

121 DGIS, Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation, Samenvatting van het DAC-rapport 'Evaluation of Non-Project Assistance (NPA)', DAC, OESO, 1987, in: *Importsteun, Evaluation*, Inspectie ter Velde, 1989, bijlage 1.

122 In recent years, regulations of import support programmes have been relaxed to allow recipient governments some more flexibility on how the aid is being used. At the same time, debt relief has grown as a means of balance of payment support, particularly in Japan.

123 Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, *Programma Hulp*, Den Haag, 1997, p. 4.

124 For instance the '5th dimension' is assistance to support service of debts owed to the World Bank; the resources are directly paid into a fund in the World Bank.

125 See also: David Reed, *Structural Adjustment, the Environment, and Sustainable Development*, Earthscan, 1996.

126 Development Researchers' Network, In collaboration with the Institute of Economic Affairs, ACCRA, Evaluation of STABEX Transfers to Ghana (1990-1991), *Final Report*, Rome, November 1994, p. 47.

127 Commission of the European Communities, Europe Information, Development, Lomé IV, 1990-2000, Background, Innovations, Improvements, DE 64, March 1990; according to Enzo Caputo Balance of Payment programmes implemented under Lomé III were worth 807 million ECU. Caputo, E., The Case of the European Union, *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1996.

128 Doc. 6453/89

129 The amount may be supplemented by a (theoretically) limited proportion of each country's national indicative programme, and by other counterpart funds generated from Community instruments. Commission of the European Communities, 1990, *ibid*.

130 Lomé IV Convention, as revised by the agreement signed in Mauritius on 4 November 1995, *The Courier*, No. 155, January-February 1996.

131 Council doc. 7711/95). Earlier resolutions date from May 1988 (Council doc. 6453/89) and May 1991 (Council doc. 6038/92).

132 This resolution applies to all developing countries undergoing structural adjustment.

133 Council of the European Union, *Negotiating directives for the negotiation of a development partnership agreement with the ACP countries*, 10017/98, 30 June 1998, p. 32.

134 Commission of the European Communities, Slide show presentation of the EU proposals on rationalisation of the instruments and rolling programming, negotiating group 4, financial co-operation, 11 January 1999, Brussels.

135 Court of Auditors, 1996, *ibid.*

136 Undertaken in 1994, in Ghana, Uganda and Cote d'Ivoire, followed by Tanzania, Cameroon and Zambia. This evaluation problem is, of course, not specific to the EC, but a general problem of evaluating budget support, see White, *ibid.*

137 See also: Caputo, E., 1996, *ibid.*, p. 62.

138 See also: European Parliament, *Opinion for the Committee on Budgetary Control, on the Discharge of the 1995 financial year concerning title 7 of the general budget of the European Communities and the EDF*, (rapporteur Kinnock, G.), Committee on Development and Co-operation, 25 February 1997.

139 Art. 244 (f) Lomé VI Convention.

140 Court of Auditors, 1996, *ibid.*, p. 302.

141 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

142 Cox, et al., *ibid.* p. 94

143 Maxwell Stamp PLC, Evaluation of Stabex operations in Uganda, *Final Report*, Prepared for European Commission DG VIII, Evaluation Unit, Brussels, April 1995, p. Ex Sum 7.

144 Danida, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997, *ibid.*

145 This proposal to address debts owed to the European Community was very cautiously reflected in the Green Paper on relations between the European Union and the ACP countries: "the Community could act both as creditor and donor by developing support mechanisms and instruments to ease the burden of debt..." European Commission, 1996, *ibid.*, p. 57. In this proposal the European Commission takes an important step forward, namely to regard the European Community not just as a donor of aid – as it has done so hitherto but also to consider itself as a creditor. This proposal is further elaborated in the Communication from the Commission on Support for Structural Adjustment and Debt Relief in Heavily Indebted Countries. Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission on Support for Structural Adjustment and Debt Relief in Heavily Indebted Countries – A Community Response to the HIPC Debt Initiative*, Brussels, 14 March 1997, VIII/175/97/EN.

146 Special loans were changed into grants in Lomé IV. Outstanding special loans to the 11 ACP countries eligible to the HIPC Debt Initiative amount to 410 million ECU (excluding loans to the private sector). These reflows are returned to the member states, via the EIB.

147 Declaration of the Conference of the ACP Ministers of Finance on Monetary and Financial Issues, ACP/88/026/98 -Rev.1-final, 25-26 June 1998, Brussels, Belgium. The G-7 adopted in June 1999 a proposal for a fund of \$70 billion for debt cancellation to more countries than those eligible under HIPC.

148 Council of the European Union, Council Decision of 6 July 1998 concerning exceptional assistance for the heavily indebted ACP countries, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L 198, 15/07/1998, p.40-41.

149 European Commission, negotiating group 4, financial co-operation, 11 January 1999, Brussels, p. 7.

150 *Ibid.*

151 *Ibid.*

- 152 Sumnonu, H. A., Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATU), in ECA, *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation*, Arusha, 1990: 11.
- 153 European Commission, 1999, *ibid.*
- 154 This is not necessarily the case at present. See for instance: IDS, IDR, An Evaluation of Development Cooperation between the European Union and Ethiopia, 1976-1994, *Main Report*, Sussex, Addis Ababa, June 1996.
- 155 Transparency International, letter, 3/7/97.
- 156 Guggi Laryea, Eurostep, and Eileen Sudworth assisted in producing this chapter.
- 157 Titles I-VII of the TEU.
- 158 International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook*, Washington DC, October 1998.
- 159 Stresa Agreements, 1963, restated in the Amsterdam Treaty, 1997.
- 160 A report as requested by the Council on progress made on coherence is being prepared by the CEC.
- 161 Panyakul, V., The Rise and Fall of Thai Cassava: EC's CAP and Export Quota, In: *Europe-Asia Trade: The Real Costs of Greater Growth*, (eds. Brennan, B., et al.), Transnational Institute & Initiatives for International Dialogue, Amsterdam, 1998. For other examples of CAP policies incoherent with development objectives see: Eurostep, Eurostep Dossier on CAP & Coherence. Coherence in EU Policies towards Developing Countries, *paper*, Brussels/The Hague, April 1999.
- 162 C. Stevens, 1998a, *ibid.*
- 163 Commission of the European Communities, *Proposal for Council Regulations (EC) concerning the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy*, presented by the Commission, Com(1998) 158 final, Brussels, 18.03.1998. In December 1995 the European Commission presented an Agricultural Strategy Paper to the Madrid European Council expressing the wish to deepen the 1992 reforms. These proposals were further developed in July 1997 when the Commission published its proposal for the financial framework beyond the year 2000 known as "Agenda 2000".
- 164 See also: Stevens, et al., *Levelling the field. Will CAP reform provide a fair deal for developing countries?* Discussion Paper, CIIIR, 1998b.
- 165 Council of the European Union, Council Regulation (EC) No. 12190/98 of applying a multiannual scheme of generalised tariff preferences for the period 1 July 1999 to 31 December 2001, Brussels, 15 December 1998; European Parliament, *Report on the Communication from the Commission to the Council on the trading system and internationally recognised labour standards*, PE 228.265/fin, 11 November 1998; Commission Européenne, *Amélioration de l'Access au Marché des Pays les Moins Avancés*, *Communication de Sir Leon Brittan*, Com(97)156/7, Bruxelles, Le 15 Avril 1997; Letter from the Commission dated 26 June 1997.
- 166 The list is close to the one established by the UN (48 LDCs). Under the EU GSP scheme Botswana and Tonga are by mistake eligible as LDC, while Angola has wrongly been left out of the list of the industrial scheme. This situation will be corrected 'at short notice'. Letter of the Commission dd. 26th June 1997.
- 167 These are all in Asia: Yemen, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Laos, Cambodia, Maldives, Burma. The benefits of the GSP to Burma have been temporarily withdrawn because of the practice of forced labour (Council Regulation EC No. 552/97 of 24.3.1997). This includes the scheme for industrial and agricultural products.
- 168 This does, for instance, affect China.
- 169 Following Council Regulation (EC) No. 602/98, OJL 80 18.3.1998, p.1.

- 170 Burma has not been admitted to apply for regional cumulation.
- 171 International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook*, Washington DC, 1997.
- 172 Parts of the following sections have been published earlier in: Reisen, van M., and Laryea, G., ASEM and Europe-Asia trade: a development perspective, In: *Europe-Asia Trade: The Real Costs of Greater Growth*, (eds. Brennan, B., et al.), TNI, Amsterdam, March/April 1998.
- 173 ASEAN is currently composed of: Thailand, Brunei, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Singapore as well as Burma and Laos (since July 1997).
- 174 European Commission, *Towards A new Asia Strategy, Communication from the Commission to the Council*, OM(94) 314 final, 13.7.1994.
- 175 Commission of the European Communities, 1994b, *ibid.*, p 2.
- 176 European Commission, The ASEM process from Bangkok to London, *Memo/98/23*, 1 April 1998. See also: DGI Website : <http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/dgo1/pol70.htm>.
- 177 Commission of the European Communities, 1994, *ibid.*
- 178 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, official communiqués, Bangkok, 1 March 1996.
- 179 Commission of the European Communities, Perspectives and priorities for the ASEM process, *Commission Working Document*, SEC (97) 1239 final, 26.6.1997.
- 180 APEC now comprises the following 21 countries : Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South-Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, United States, Vietnam.
- 181 Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ASEAN relations: a growing partnership*, Brussels, 1998.
- 182 Rocamora, J., Asia-Europe Economic Relations: Challenges to Progressive Solidarity, In: *ASEM Trading New Silk Routes*, published by the Transnational Institute and Focus on the Global South, (eds. Brennan, B., et al.), Amsterdam, 1997. See also: Sideri, S., ASEM and Asian prospects within the evolving world economy, *Working Paper Series No. 241*, Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, March 1997.
- 183 WHAT IS ASEM? Background brief, 2-4 April 1998.
- 184 This is particularly important since China, like Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, are at present only observers in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), pending the conclusion of negotiations for full membership.
- 185 ASEAN comprises the following countries: Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.
- 186 Singapore Government, Background to the 12th ASEAN-EU ministerial meeting, February 1997.
- 187 The 12th ASEAN-EU ministerial meeting (AEMM), Singapore, 13-14 February 1997, Joint Declaration. *A Press Communiqué of the European Union and ASEAN*, 6018/97 (Presse 45).
- 188 It is useful to note here that EU-ASEAN relations are on a formal region-to-region basis. At the same time, within this relationship, there are two distinct components. The first is political dialogue in which all members of the two regions automatically participate. The second is the EC-ASEAN Co-operation Agreement and the institutions relating to it. In this latter instance, participation, on the ASEAN side, is through the negotiation and agreement of a special protocol to the Agreement.
- 189 ASEAN as a formal structure has member nations. ASEM, as an informal structure, refers to participating countries. APEC, whilst describing itself as an informal dialogue group from its inception in 1989, has over time become more formalised so that APEC now refers to new membership.

- 190 Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM), Chairman's Statement, Bangkok, 2 March 1996.
- 191 Santer, J., 'Asia and Europe: the Road from Bangkok to London and Beyond', the inaugural AEF Lecture, January 1998, p. 2.
- 192 Searles, A Lawyer's Perspective on Individual Treatment in EU-Anti Dumping Cases, *International Law and News*, Presented at the Seminar "The anti-dumping of the EU", Brussels, 21 April 1997.
- 193 It has been claimed that Anti-dumping duties in Chinese cases in particular are extremely high because the Commission often compares the Chinese export price with a normal value of prices in countries like Japan and the United States to determine the margin of duty. The EU rule over the choice of reference country is said to be ambiguous.
- 194 This is called the reference country rule.
- 195 Swedish Export Authority on Foreign Trade and Trade Policy, 1998.
- 196 Searles, 1997, *ibid.*
- 197 European Parliament, *Working Document on the State of Negotiations between the European Union and South Africa*, Committee on Development and Cooperation, (Draftsman: Kinnock, G.), 15 July 1997, PE 223.242.
- 198 Council of the European Union, Council Regulation (EC) No. 2259/96 of 22 November 1996 on Development Cooperation with South Africa, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, No. L 306, 28/11/1996, p.0005-0008.
- 199 ACP-CE, Accession of South Africa to the Convention of Lomé, ACP 42/016/97, *Press Release*, 7566/97, Presse 122-G, Luxembourg, 24 April 1997.
- 200 Council of the European Union, *Negotiation mandate on a Free Trade Agreement with South Africa*, June 12, 1995.
- 201 Eileen Sudworth, EU South Africa Relations, *update – non-document 2*, May 5 1998.
- 202 *Europe*, No. 7148, Thursday, 29 January 1998, p. 8.
- 203 According to the European Commission. *Europe*, No. 6696, Wednesday 27 March 1996.
- 204 *Europe*, No. 6676, Wednesday 28 February 1996, p. 4.
- 205 'Additional' means beyond existing Uruguay Round tariff reduction commitments. For non-agricultural products, the EU initially stated a position in which it would only eliminate tariffs on approximately 4.7% of its present imports from South Africa, while South Africa will remove tariffs on around 36% of its present imports from the EU. Council of the European Union, 1995, *ibid.*; ERO, the final mandate – some preliminary concerns, *briefing paper*, Brussels, April 1996; Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, *Submission on Preparation of a South African Mandate for Negotiations of a Bilateral Trade Agreement with the European Union*, 1996.
- 206 National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia, *Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Economics on the Possible Implications of the Proposed EU – South Africa Free Trade Agreement*, National Assembly, Windhoek, September 1996, p. 7.
- 207 Sudworth, E., European Union – South Africa trade negotiations, *briefing paper*, ECDFM, Maastricht, April 16, 1998.
- 208 Head, J., 1998, *ibid.*
- 209 In fiscal year 1993-4 customs revenue accounted for 46% of the entire government revenue. In: European Parliament, 1997, *ibid.*, p. 4.
- 210 In fiscal year 1994/95. National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia, 1996, *ibid.*, p. 12.
- 211 Wellmer, G., 1998, *ibid.*
- 212 When the South African Rand devalued, the subsidies from the EU were increased. This demonstrates that the objective was to gain access into the market.

213 *Europe*, No. 6939, 21 March 1997, p. 9.

214 *Ibid.*

215 18 March 1997.

216 Council of the European Union, *Council Decisions*, 22 February 1999. Tony Blair had written to the heads of Government of Spain, France and Italy to ask them to drop their reservations. *Europe*, No. 7410, 22&23 February 1999.

217 Department of Trade and Industry, Trade, Development and Co-operation Agreement. *A briefing document by the Department of Trade and Industry on the conclusions of the agreement*, Cape Town, 25 March 1999.

218 Brussels, 16/3/99.

219 Council of the European Union, 1999b, *ibid.* *Europe*, 27 March 1999, p. 17.

220 Eurostat, *External and intra-European Union Trade, Statistical Yearbook 1958-1997*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, L-2985, Luxembourg, 1998: p. 14-15.

221 1990 figures. UNCTAD, *Trade and Development Report*, United Nations, New York/Geneva, 1998, p. 135. This is a stark contrast with South Africa, for instance, where only approximately 13% of the labour force is employed in the agricultural sector.

222 According to 1996 FAO figures: Burkina Faso, Burundi, Guinea Bissau, Malawi, Sudan, Uganda, St Vincent and Vanuatu (&75-100%) and Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Reunion, Sao Tome & Principe, Somalia, Tanzania, Togo, Belize, Dominica, Dominican Rep, Grenada, St. Lucia, Samoa and Tonga (50-75%). In: Gordon, A., et al., *International Trade in Agricultural Commodities: liberalisation and its implications for development and poverty reduction in the ACP states, Draft for Discussion*, November 1998.

223 *Ibid.*

224 1994-1996 figures, FAO, *ibid.*

225 ECDPM, *The EC's Impact Studies on Regional Economic Partnership Agreements, Lomé Negotiating Brief*, Maastricht, February 1999.

226 The following countries were not included in any study: Burundi, Cape Verde, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, São Tomé & Principe, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan.

227 IDS, *Study of the Economic Impact of Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and CARICOM/Dominican Republic, Final Report*, Sussex, September 1998.

228 Imani Development, *Study on the Impact of Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and the SADC Region, Final Report*, Mauritius, September 1998.

229 CREDIT School of Economics, *Study on the Economic Impact of Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and EAC countries, Report*, University of Nottingham, October 1998.

230 Groupe Planistat, *Etude de l'Impact Economique sur l'UDEAC-CEMAC de l'Introduction de la Réciprocité dans les Relations Commerciales UE-ACP, Final Report*, Bruxelles, 1998.

231 Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Développement International, *Etude de l'Impact économique de l'Introduction de la Réciprocité dans les Relations commerciales entre l'union Européenne et les pays de l'Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine et le Ghana, Rapport*, Clermont Ferrand, 1998. Interviews, February 1999.

232 Netherlands Economic Institute, *Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and the Pacific ACP Countries, Final Report*, Rotterdam, 1998.

233 McQueen, M., *The Impact Studies on the Effects of REPAs between the ACP and the EU*, University of Reading, March 1999; Laryea, G., *Comparison of REPA Impact Studies, paper*,

Eurostep, January 1999. Since the methodologies applied to the REPA-studies use different methodologies and are sometimes based on different assumptions. The sectoral and macro impact relates to the quantifiable effects on trade of the REPAS, while the dynamic effects relate to less quantifiable results.

234 Stealing from the Poor, *The Economist*, April 24th 1999, p. 80-85.

235 Keet, D., The implications of a reciprocal free trade agreement with the EU in relation to regional integration and development in Southern Africa. *Presentation* to the International Hearing and Workshop on the Implications of the EU's Proposed Alternatives to the Lomé Convention – Königswinter, 23-25 April 1999; Greenidge, C., What trade agreements between the EU and the ACP would be most desirable in view of the conclusion of the SA-EU Free-Trade Agreement, *Paper* for a Seminar on the conclusion of the EU-SA Free Trade Agreement organised by Eurostep, Hotel Dorint, Brussels, 5th May, 1999.

236 Stevens, Ch., The present state of the Lomé negotiations: the position of the EU and of the ACP states, *Paper* presented to Lomé Hearing, Königswinter, 23 April 1999.

237 Ibid.

238 Keet, D., 1999, *ibid*.

239 Commission of the European Communities, Trade and Development in the new Round: Proposals for an EU comprehensive policy approach, *non-paper*, 4 May 1999. See also: Commission of the European Communities, *Discussion Paper on Trade and Development in the new WTO Round*, DGI, Brussels, 26 May 1999, I.G.1/(99). Clearly, these Commission proposals have not been approved by the member states. The European Council reaffirmed the importance it attaches to a new WTO Round of trade negotiations which would, among others, include sectors and issues of "particular interest to developing countries." General Affairs Council, *Council Conclusions*, 2192nd Council meeting, Luxembourg 21-22 June 1999, 9008/99 (presse 198), Provisional version.

240 Eurostep, *Report of a Meeting with the Commission on the WTO*, Brussels, June 1999.

241 Eileen Sudworth assisted in the writing of this chapter. This chapter is informed by interviews with civil servants from the European Commission and other resource persons that have been interviewed.

242 For a more detailed discussion on the origins of ASEM, see chapter 8.

243 Asia Europe Vision Group, For A Better Tomorrow. Asia-Europe Partnership in the 21st Century. *Draft Report* (4) 25/1/1999.

244 See UNCTAD, *World Investment Report 1998. Trends and Determinants*, UN, Geneva, 1998.

245 WTO, *Report of the working group on the relationship between trade and investment to the general council*, Geneva, 8 December 1998.

246 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

247 Source UNCTAD (1997) Table B.I. cited in: Fitzgerald, E., *The development implications of the multilateral agreement on investment*, DFID, London, 1998.

248 UNCTAD, 1998, *ibid*.

249 *Ibid.*, table adapted by MVR.

250 Transnationality is calculated as the average of three ratios: foreign assets to total assets; foreign assets to total sales; and foreign employment to total employment. There is no direct correlation between the amount of foreign assets of a company and its score on the transnationality index. UNCTAD, 1998, *ibid*.

251 UNCTAD, 1998, *ibid*.

252 *Ibid*.

253 Ibid.

254 See also: Lee, D.F., Post-IMF Crisis in South Korea, *paper*, 27/4/1999.

255 Bullard, N., Bello, W. & Malhotra, K., *Taming the tigers : the IMF and the Asian crisis*, CAFOD and Focus on the Global South, London, March 1998.

256 Internal memo reported in the New York Times on 14 January 1998 quoted in: Bullard, N. et al., 1998, *ibid*.

257 Khor, M., Needs for global financial regulation, In: *Social Watch*, (ed. Bissio, R.), Montevideo, 1998, pp. 57-58; Bullard, N., The economic necessity of social justice, In: *Social Watch*, (ed. Bissio, R.), 1998, p. 59-61.

258 ASEM 2 Financial Statement: the financial and economic situation in Asia, London, 3 April 1998.

259 Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Asia-Europe Meeting: From ASEM2 to ASEM 3, *Background Brief*; London, August 1998; see also: Chairman's Statement of the Second ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Berlin, March 29. 1999.

260 See table A.VII.2 in UNCTAD, 1998, *ibid*.

261 Fitzgerald, 1998, *ibid*.

262 The general concern regarding the impact of globalisation on developing and LDCs and the specific concern regarding the issue of incentives have been the subject of considerable debate and contention in the WTO Working Group on the Relationship between Trade and Investment: "... *there was growing concern that globalization of the world economy posed not only an opportunity but also a potential threat to developing countries because these countries would have to face mounting international competition in both their export and domestic markets. The risk was particularly serious for sub-Saharan African countries and the least developed countries elsewhere.*" WTO, 1998, *ibid*.

263 OECD, The multilateral agreement on investment : frequently asked questions and answers, Paris, May 1998.

264 This was clearly spelled out in a letter to the authors of 3 March 1999 from M. Philippe Cloitre, le Chef du Services des Interventions, writing on behalf of the French Prime Minister. See also, by Wallach, L. & Doctorate, J., OECD multilateral agreement on investment, Friends of the Earth-US, February 1997; The NGO pocket trade lawyer for the multilateral agreement on investment, Harvard Law School, undated; *European Parliament, Resolution on the MAI*, 1998, ACP-EU Joint Assembly, *Resolution on the MAI*, 24 September 1998 in Brussels ACP-EU 254I/98/fin.

265 Lalumière, C. & Landau J.P., *Report on the multilateral agreement on investment (MAI)*, September 1998. Catherine Lalumière was MEP and Jean-Pierre Landau was general inspector of finance.

266 Ibid.

267 Ibid.

268 It is worth noting in this regard that competition is the Achilles heel of the United States which is pressured by many powerful lobby groups not to enter into a competition agreement, in particular, with regards to anti-dumping practices (particularly the steel industry).

269 ASEM, The Asia-Europe Investment Promotion Action Plan, July 29, 1997.

270 ASEM, *Ibid*., July 29, 1997, p. 18.

271 Article 30.2 of the Convention of Establishment, the contract between the government of Cameroon and the oil Consortium COTCO (in short: 'the Convention'), states: "*In addition, all ordinary law provisions of the Republic of Cameroon which are not contrary to nor inconsistent with*

the provisions of the Convention apply to activities undertaken under this Convention.” And article 27.12: “In case of emergency (...) COTCO (...) is allowed, under its sole responsibility to have access to any private or public land, (...) for the purpose of (...) remedying the emergency (...), without prior authorisation, and with the possible assistance of the public or private emergency services.” In: Journal Officiel de la République de Cameroun, 1 October 1997, p. 1246-1249, Cited in: Bloemink, I., The Law in Whose Hands? Oil in Chad and Cameroon, In: *Farewell to Lomé. The Impact of Neo-Liberal Policies on the ACP Countries. Documentation International Hearing and Workshop, Königswinter/Bonn*, April 23rd-25th, 1999.

272 Schmidt, R., *A feasible foreign exchange transactions tax*, North-South Institute, Ottawa, March 1999; European Parliament, Directorate General for Research, *The feasibility of an international “Tobin tax”*, *Economic Affairs Series*, ECON 107 EN, Working Paper, Luxembourg, March 1999.

273 See: Malhotra, K., Renewing the Governance of the Global Economy, *Paper* prepared for the Conference on “Economic Sovereignty in a Globalized World,” Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 23-26, 1999; Bienefeld, M., Can Finance be Controlled? *Paper* prepared for the Conference on “Economic Sovereignty in a Globalized World,” Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 23-26, 1999.

274 Bello, W., et al., Notes on the Ascendency and Regulation of Speculative Capital, *Draft Paper* prepared for the Conference on “Economic Sovereignty in a Globalized World,” Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 23-26, 1999.

275 Ibid.

276 Co-author of this chapter is Guggi Laryea. This chapter was published in an earlier version in: *Social Watch 1998* (ed. Bissio, R.), Montevideo, 1998. Research for this chapter was informed by a series of interviews with civil servants from the ACP Secretariat, the ACP Committee of Ambassadors, the European Commission, the EU permanent representatives to the EU and the Joint ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly.

277 In the last revision of the Convention the EU has sought to make funding more conditional on the ACP meeting certain criteria, in accordance with concerns of the EU.

278 Council of the European Union, *Negotiating Directives for the Negotiation of a Development Partnership Agreement with the ACP countries*, June 1998; ACP, *ACP Group Negotiating Mandate*, September 1998.

279 See Europe, No. 7046, 29 August 1996.



## List of Literature

- ACP, ACP Group Negotiating Mandate, September 1998.
- ACP-EC, Accession of South Africa to the Convention of Lomé, ACP 42/016/97, *Press Release*, 7566/97, Presse 122-G, Luxembourg, 24 April 1997.
- Arts, B., *The Political Influence of Global NGOs. Case Studies on the Climate and Biodiversity Conventions*, International Books, Utrecht, 1998.
- Asia Europe Vision Group, For A Better Tomorrow. Asia-Europe Partnership in the 21st Century. *Draft Report (4)* 25/1/1999.
- Bello, W., et al., Notes on the Ascendency and Regulation of Speculative Capital, *Draft Paper* prepared for the Conference on "Economic Sovereignty in a Globalized World," Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 23-26, 1999.
- Biekart, K., *The Politics of Civil Society Building. European Private Agencies and Democratic Transition in Central America*, International Books & TNI, Utrecht.
- Bienefeld, M., Can Finance be Controlled? *Paper* prepared for the Conference on "Economic Sovereignty in a Globalized World," Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 23-26, 1999.
- Bloemink, I., The Law in Whose Hands? Oil in Chad and Cameroon, In: *Farewell to Lomé. The Impact of Neo-Liberal Policies on the ACP Countries. Documentation International Hearing and Workshop, Köningswinter/Bonn*, April 23rd-25th, 1999.
- Bullard, N., Bello, W. & Malhotra, K., *Taming the tigers: the IMF and the Asian crisis*, CAFOD and Focus on the Global South, London, March 1998.
- Bullard, N., The economic necessity of social justice, In: *Social Watch* (ed. Bissio, R.), 1998.
- Caputo, E., The Case of the European Union, *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1996.
- Cassels, A., *A guide to sector-wide approaches for health development. Concepts, issues and working arrangements*, WHO, Danida, DFID, European Commission, 1997.
- Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Développement International, Etude de l'Impact économique de l'Introduction de la Réciprocité dans les Relations commerciales entre l'Union Européenne et les pays de l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine et le Ghana, *Rapport*, Clermont Ferrand, 1998.
- Church, C. H., & Phinnemore, D., *European Union and European Community. A Handbook and Commentary on the Post-Maastricht Treaties*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, London, 1994.
- Commission des Communautés Européennes, *Rapport sur les Possibilités et les Modalités de Budgétisation du Fonds Européen de Développement*, SEC (94) 640 final, 1994a.
- Commission Européenne, *Amélioration de l'Access au Marché des Pays les Moins Avancés*, *Communication de Sir Leon Brittan*, Com(97)156/7, Bruxelles, Le 15 Avril 1997a.
- Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ACP Co-operation in 1994*, Special issue, *Le Courier*, July 1995.
- Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ASEAN relations: a growing partnership*, Brussels, 1998.

- Commission of the European Communities, *Discussion Paper on Trade and Development in the new WTO Round*, DGI, Brussels, 26 May 1999, I.G.1/(99).
- Commission of the European Communities, "Integrating Gender Issues in Development Co-operation", *Progress Report 1997*, October 1, 1997b.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Agenda 2000: The Legislative Proposals*, Brussels, ip/98/258, 1997c.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Commission Communication to the Council and to the European Parliament on the Establishment of a New Financial Perspective for the period 2000-2006*, March 1998.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from Mrs. Bonino to the Commission, Framework Partnership Contract in the field of humanitarian aid*, 24.02.98
- Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Linking, Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD)*, Com (96) 153 final, Brussels, 30.04.96.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission on Support for Structural Adjustment and Debt Relief in Heavily Indebted Countries – A Community Response to the HIPC Debt Initiative*, Brussels, VII/175/97/EN, 14 March 1997d.
- Commission of the European Communities, EU-ACP Co-operation in 1994, Special issue, *Le Courier*, July 1995.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Financial Cooperation under the Lomé Conventions, Review of Aid at the end of 1994*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1995.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Green Paper on relations between the European Union and the ACP countries on the eve of the 21st century: challenges for a new partnership*, Brussels, November 1996.
- Commission of the European Communities, Mainstreaming a gender and equal opportunities perspective into all Community policies", *Strategy Paper*, January 1997e.
- Commission of the European Communities, Perspectives and priorities for the ASEM process, *Commission Working Document*, SEC (97) 1239 final, 26.6.1997.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Preliminary Draft General Budget of the European Communities for the Financial Year 1998*, SEC(97)600, May 1997f
- Commission of the European Communities, *Proposal for Council Regulations (EC) concerning the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy*, presented by the Commission, Com(1998) 158 final, Brussels, 18.03.1998.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Towards A new Asia Strategy. Communication from the Commission to the Council*, OM (94) 314 final, 13.7.1994b.
- Commission of the European Communities, *Sectoral Development Programmes for Education, (SDP-Ed), "Platform" for SDPs agreed by the Horizon 2000 Meeting of Experts of the Commission and the Member States*, October 1996.
- Commission of the European Communities, Slide show presentation of the EU proposals on rationalisation of the instruments and rolling programming, negotiating group 4, financial co-operation, 11 January 1999, Brussels.
- Commission of the European Communities, Trade and Development in the new Round: Proposals for an EU comprehensive policy approach, *non-paper*, 4 May 1999.

- Committee Liaison des ONG, Towards a poverty focus in EC development policy: A critical analysis on the Financial Perspective 2000-2006, *paper of European networks*, Brussels, December 1998 (ed. Reisen, van M.).
- Committee of Independent Experts, *First Report on Allegations regarding Fraud, Mismanagement and Nepotism in the European Commission*, Brussels, 15/3/1999.
- Council of the European Union, *Negotiating directives for the negotiation of a development partnership agreement with the ACP countries*, 10017/98, 30 June 1998a.
- Council of the European Union, *Conclusions of the EU Development Council*, Press Service of the EU Development Council, 18 May 1998b.
- Council of the European Union, *Council Decisions*, 22 February 1999a.
- Council of the European Union, *Council Decisions*, 2155th Council Meeting ECOFIN, Brussels, 31st December 1998, Press release, 14386/98 (presse 456).
- Council of the European Union, Council Regulation (EC) No. 12190/98 of applying a multi-annual scheme of generalised tariff preferences for the period 1 July 1999 to 31 December 2001, Brussels, 15 December 1998c.
- Council of the European Union, Council Regulation (EC) No. 2259/96 of 22 November 1996 on Development Cooperation with South Africa, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, No. L 306, 28/11/1996, p. 0005-0008.
- Council of the European Union, 'Declaration on the European Development Fund, Final Act', *Treaty on European Union*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992.
- Council of the European Union, General Affairs Council, 2192nd Council meeting, Luxembourg 21-22 June 1999, 9008/99 (presse 198), Provisional version.
- Council of the European Union, *Negotiating Directives for the Negotiation of a Development Partnership Agreement with the ACP countries*, June 1998.
- Council of the European Union, *Negotiation mandate on a Free Trade Agreement with South Africa*, June 12, 1995.
- Council of the European Union, *Presidency Conclusions*, Berlin European Council, 24-25 March 1999b.
- Council of the European Union, Council Decision of 6 July 1998 concerning exceptional assistance for the heavily indebted ACP countries, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L198, 15/07/1998e.
- Court of Auditors – Annual Report concerning the financial year 1997, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, c 349, Vol. 41, 17-11-1998f.
- Court of Auditors, Annual Report concerning the financial year 1995 together with the institutions' replies, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, c 340, vol. 39, 12 November 1996.
- CREDIT School of Economics, Study on the Economic Impact of Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and EAC countries, *Report*, University of Nottingham, October 1998.
- DAC, *Development Assistance Manual, DAC Principles for Effective Aid*, OECD, Paris, 1992.
- DAC, *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation*, OECD, Paris, May 1996.
- DAC, European Community, *Development Co-operation Review Series*, OECD, 1998.
- DAC, United States, *Development Co-operation Review Series*, No. 28, OECD, Paris, 1998.
- Declaration of the Conference of the ACP Ministers of Finance on Monetary and Financial Issues, ACP/88/026/98.

- Department of Trade and Industry, Trade, Development and Co-operation Agreement. *A briefing document by the Department of Trade and Industry on the conclusions of the agreement*, Cape Town, 25 March 1999.
- Development Researchers' Network, In collaboration with the Institute of Economic Affairs, ACCRA, Evaluation of STABEX Transfers to Ghana (1990-1991), *Final Report*, Rome, November 1994.
- DGIS, Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation, Samenvatting van het DAC-rapport 'Evaluation of Non-Project Assistance (NPA)', DAC, OESO, 1987, in: Importsteun, *Evaluation*, Inspectie ter Velde, 1989, bijlage 1.
- ECDPM, The EC's Impact Studies on Regional Economic Partnership Agreements, *Lomé Negotiating Brief*, Maastricht, February 1999.
- Euroconfidentiel, *The Rome, Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties. The Treaty on European Union (The Treaty of Rome) and the Treaty establishing the European Community (the Treaty of Maastricht) amended by the Treaty of Amsterdam*, La Documentation Française, 1999.
- European Community, Council Regulation (EC) No. 1257/96 of 20 June 1996 concerning humanitarian aid, *Official Journal of the European Communities*, No. L 163/1, 2.7.96
- European Community, Council Regulation (EC) No. 1292/96 of 27 June 1996 on food-aid policy and food-aid management and special operations in support of food security, *Official Journal* No. L 166, 05/07/1996.
- European Parliament, Directorate General for Research, *Fact sheets on the European Parliament and the Activities of the European Union*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1994.
- European Parliament, Directorate General for Research, The feasibility of an international "Tobin tax", *Economic Affairs Series*, ECON 107 EN, Working Paper, Luxembourg, March 1999.
- European Parliament, *Opinion for the Committee on Budgetary Control, on the Discharge of the 1995 financial year concerning title 7 of the general budget of the European Communities and the EDF*, (rapporteur Kinnock, G.), Committee on Development and Co-operation, 25 February 1997.
- European Parliament, *Report on Comitology*, (rapporteur: Terry Wynn MEP), 25 July 1995.
- European Parliament, *Report on the Communication from the Commission to the Council on the trading system and internationally recognised labour standards*, PE 228.265/fin, 11 November 1998.
- European Parliament, *Resolution on the MAI, 1998*, ACP-EU Joint Assembly, *Resolution on the MAI*, Brussels, ACP-EU 2541/98/fin, 24 September 1998.
- European Parliament, Working Document on staff policy at the Commission (Annual Report of the Court of Auditors concerning the financial year 1997: OJ 349, 17.11.1998), *Discharge procedure for the financial year 1997, Committee on Budgetary Control*, (Rapporteurs M.J. Boursanges and L. Brinkhorst), PE 229.367, 4 February 1999.
- European Parliament, *Working Document on the State of Negotiations between the European Union and South Africa*, Committee on Development and Cooperation, (Draftsman: Kinnock, G.), 15 July 1997, PE 223.242.
- European Union, *Consolidated Treaties of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997.

- Eurostat, *External and intra-European Union Trade, Statistical Yearbook 1958-1997*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, L-2985, Luxembourg, 1998.
- Eurostep, Dossier on CAP & Coherence. Coherence in EU Policies towards Developing Countries, *paper*, Brussels-The Hague, April 1999.
- Eurostep, Eurostep Strategy towards ACP-EU Negotiations, *Discussion paper*, Brussels, 1999.
- Fitzgerald, E., *The development implications of the multilateral agreement on investment*, DFID, London, 1998.
- Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Asia-Europe Meeting: From ASEM2 to ASEM 3, *Background Brief*, London, August 1998.
- Greenidge, C., What trade agreements between the EU and the ACP would be most desirable in view of the conclusion of the SA-EU Free-Trade Agreement, *Paper* for a Seminar on the conclusion of the EU-SA Free Trade Agreement organised by Eurostep, Hotel Dorint, Brussels, 5th May, 1999.
- Groupe Planistat, Etude de l'Impact Economique sur l'UDEAC-CEMAC de l'Introduction de la Réciprocité dans les Relations Commerciales UE-ACP, *Final Report*, Bruxelles, 1998.
- Head, J., "Ek het niks", *I have nothing, The Impact of European Union Policies on Women Canning Workers in South Africa*, University of Cape Town, 1998.
- IDS, IDR, An Evaluation of Development Cooperation between the European Union and Ethiopia, 1976-1994, *Main Report*, Sussex, Addis Ababa, June 1996.
- IDS, Study of the Economic Impact of Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and CARICOM/Dominican Republic, *Final Report*, Sussex, September 1998.
- Imani Development, Study on the Impact of Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and the SADC Region, *Final Report*, Mauritius, September 1998.
- International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook*, Washington DC, May 1997.
- International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook*, Washington DC, October 1998.
- Keet, D., The implications of a reciprocal free trade agreement with the EU in relation to regional integration and development in Southern Africa. *Presentation* to the International Hearing and Workshop on the Implications of the EU's Proposed Alternatives to the Lomé Convention – Königswinter, 23-25 April 1999.
- Khor, M., Needs for global financial regulation, In: *Social Watch*, (ed. Bissio, R.), Montevideo, 1998.
- Lalumière, C. & Landau J.P., *Report on the multilateral agreement on investment (MAI)*, September 1998.
- Liaison Committee of Development NGOs to the European Union, NGDO Charter, Basic Principles of Development and Humanitarian NGOs in the European Union, Brussels, March 1977.
- Liaison Committee of Development NGOs to the European Union, The Future of the Lomé Convention. European Development NGO *Position Paper*, Brussels, September 1997.
- Lomé IV Convention, as revised by the agreement signed in Mauritius on 4 November 1995, *The Courier*, No. 155, January-February 1996.
- Malhotra, K., Renewing the Governance of the Global Economy, *Paper* prepared for the Conference on "Economic Sovereignty in a Globalized World," Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, March 23-26, 1999.
- Maxwell, S., Catch the Tiger by its Tail, Counterpart Funds in the Evaluation of Programme aid, *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 27, No. 4, 1996.

- McQueen, M., *The Impact Studies on the Effects of REPAs between the ACP and the EU*, University of Reading, March 1999.
- Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, *Programma Hulp*, Den Haag, 1997.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Strategies for individual organisations, Annex to the Plan of Action for Active Multilateralism*, Danida, Copenhagen, 1996.
- Montes, C., et al., Evaluation of European Union Aid managed by the Commission to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, *Synthesis Report*, Investment Development Consultancy, November 1998.
- National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia, *Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Economics on the Possible Implications of the Proposed EU – South Africa Free Trade Agreement*, National Assembly, Windhoek, September 1996.
- Netherlands Economic Institute, Introducing Reciprocity into the Trade Relations between the EU and the Pacific ACP countries, *Final Report*, Rotterdam, 1998.
- Panyakul, V., The Rise and Fall of Thai Cassava: EC's CAP and Export Quota, In: *Europe-Asia Trade: The Real Costs of Greater Growth*, (eds. Brennan, B., et al.), Transnational Institute & Initiatives for International Dialogue, Amsterdam, 1998.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, *Submission on Preparation of a South African Mandate for Negotiations of a Bilateral Trade Agreement with the European Union*, 1996.
- Reed, D., *Structural Adjustment, the Environment, and Sustainable Development*, Earthscan, 1996.
- Reisen, van M., European Union, In: *Reality of Aid 1997-1998* (eds. German T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, 1997b.
- Reisen, van M., European Union, in: *Reality of Aid 1998-1999*, (eds. German, T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, 1998.
- Reisen, van M., and Laryea, G., ASEM and Europe-Asia trade: a development perspective, In: *Europe-Asia Trade: The Real Costs of Greater Growth*, (eds. Brennan, B., et al.), TNI, Amsterdam, March/April 1998.
- Reisen, van M., *Global Player EU. Die Nord-Süd-Politik der Europäischen Union*, terre des hommes Deutschland e. V. and WEED, Bonn, April 1999.
- Reisen, van M., Regional Programme Changes of NGOs in the European Union in the period 1989-1995, Catholic University of Nijmegen, Department of Policy Studies, *Occasional Paper*, Nijmegen, March 1997a.
- Reisen, van M., The EU and Africa, *Reality of Aid 1997-1998*, (eds. German, T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, London, 1997c.
- Reisen, van M., The European Union and the ECDP, In: *Reality of Aid 1996* (eds. German, T., & Randel, J.), Earthscan, 1996;
- Rocamora, J., Asia-Europe Economic Relations: Challenges to Progressive Solidarity, In: *ASEM Trading New Silk Routes, published by the Transnational Institute and Focus on the Global South*, (eds. Brennan, B., et al.), Amsterdam, 1997.
- Schmidt, R., *A feasible foreign exchange transactions tax*, North-South Institute, Ottawa, March 1999
- Searles, A Lawyer's Perspective on Individual Treatment in EU-Anti Dumping Cases, *International Law and News*, Presented at the Seminar "The anti-dumping of the EU", Brussels, April 21 1997.