

SPECIAL ISSUE

MARCH 2008

THE **C** **COURIER**

THE MAGAZINE OF AFRICA - CARIBBEAN - PACIFIC & EUROPEAN UNION COOPERATION AND RELATIONS

50 years
of ACP-EU
Cooperation





Table of contents

THE COURIER, SPECIAL ISSUE NEW EDITION (N.E.)

Editorial Committee

Co-presidents

Sir John Kaputin, Secretary General
 Secretariat of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
www.acp.int

Mr Stefano Manservigi, Director General of DG Development
 European Commission
ec.europa.eu/development/

Editorial staff

Director and Editor-in-chief

Hegel Goutier

Contributors

François Misser (Deputy Editor-in-chief),
 Debra Percival

Editorial Assistant and Production

Joshua Massarenti

Contributed in this issue

Marie-Martine Buckens

Public Relations and Artistic coordination

Public Relations

Andrea Marchesini Reggiani (Public Relations Manager and Responsible for NGOs' and experts' network)
 Joan Ruiz Valero (Responsible for Networking with EU and National Institutions)

Artistic Coordination

Sandra Federici

Graphic Conception, Layout

Orazio Metello Orsini
 Arketipa

Contract Manager

Claudia Rechten
 Tracey D'After



Cover
 Design by Arketipa

Contact

The Courier
 45, Rue de Trèves
 1040 Brussels
 Belgium (EU)
info@acp-eucourier.info
www.acp-eucourier.info
 Tel : +32 2 2374392
 Fax : +32 2 2801406

Published every two months in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese

For information on subscription, go to our website www.acp-eucourier.info or contact info@acp-eucourier.info

Publisher responsible

Hegel Goutier

Consortium

Gopa-Cartermill - Grand Angle - Lai-momo

The views expressed are those of the authors and do not represent the official view of the EC nor of the ACP countries..

The consortium and the editorial staff decline all responsibility for the articles written by external contributors.



Our privileged partner, the ESPACE SENGHOR

Cultural centre promoting artists from countries in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, and cultural exchanges between communities through performance arts, music, cinema, to the holding conferences. It is a meeting place for Belgians, immigrants of diverse origins and European officials.

Espace Senghor
Centre culturel d'Etterbeek
 Brussels, Belgium
espace.senghor@chello.be
www.senghor.be



The satirical vignettes and illustrations presented in this issue (P. 3, 9, 18, 25, 26 and 27) where realised by European and African cartoonists that have been invited to represent the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights in the project Manifesta! (www.manifestaproject.eu), realised by Africa e Mediterraneo association.

OPENER

Development and relations with the ACP States:
 Europe in action for 50 years

2

EU's 50th birthday:
 Congratulations from the ACP

3

EDITORIAL

The need for Cotonou

4

HISTORY

Unique in the world:
 50 years of north-south cooperation

5

Georgetown:
 The foundation of the ACP group

10

ACP-EU Cooperation: Milestone events

11

WHO DOES WHAT

The institutions of ACP-EU cooperation

15

Non-State actors – bigger players in Cotonou

17

An ACP Civil Society Forum on track for political recognition

18

RESULTS

Success stories

19

Science and technology:
 Cooperation on the road to emancipation

21

Trade protocols and EPAs

23

EXTENDING COOPERATION

EPAs: Trade for regional growth and prosperity

24

WTO dialogue

24

OUTLOOK

The future of ACP-EU cooperation

25

Country strategy papers launch 10th edition of development budget

27

AT A GLANCE

The ACP-EU Agreements

28



* Bernard Petit

Development and relations with the ACP States: Europe in action for 50 years

In addition to being an area of solidarity within its own borders (i.e. regarding regional and social support, cohesion policy), the European Union is leading the way in promoting international solidarity, particularly in the case of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) States.

This cooperation policy with the poorest countries of the world was launched 50 years ago at a time when Europe's founding fathers were adamant about promoting peace and prosperity in the interest of overall stability. Consequently,



millions of people have benefited from this development cooperation policy and its schemes to, for example, combat hunger, provide access to water, and build schools and hospitals. All of these initiatives are a reflection of the values that are the essence of the European enterprise: solidarity, respect for human rights and the rule of law.

After 50 years, now is the time to make an assessment, draw lessons and look towards the future.

The assessment is that millions of lives have been saved, people are living in a more dignified way and economies are developing, primarily thanks to Europe. The EU is the world's leading aid donor and the economic operator offering the widest market access to poor countries. However, this has not been enough to eliminate poverty in the world. Poverty is the scourge of the 21st century.

The lessons are many and have led to relations with the ACP States being recast in the



light of the partnership's key principle. Signed in the year 2000, the Cotonou Agreement is based upon this idea, consolidated by the adoption of the European Consensus on Development which was adopted in 2005. This Consensus meant that a European vision (of Member States and the European Commission) was defined, based on shared values, joint goals and principles, and greatly increased resources.

The keys for development are to be found in an array of policies focused on governance, accountability and the adoption of an effective aid system, sector-specific strategies and trade. The key component of development is good governance and the ACP States can count on firm European Commission support and further aid incentives to encourage them to commit to this approach. Good governance is of fundamental importance; the States need to guarantee each citizen impartial access to courts, administration, health, education and the opportunity to enjoy fundamental freedoms.

The way forward for the development process will be in our ability to take on board all the major problems in the same spirit: globalisation, climate change, energy access, migration management and a knowledge-based society.

The European Commission believes that development is dependent upon a dialogue between partners in a bid to meet all the challenges of a globalised world. If the problems of poor countries are overlooked today, the problems of security, health and the economy will be intensified tomorrow because all regions of the world are now interdependent.

This is Europe's message for the future: taking joint action with its partners to ensure development in the interest of all.

* Deputy Director General, European Commission, DG DEV ■



* Jacques Obia

EU'S 50TH BIRTHDAY: Congratulations from the ACP

On behalf of the ACP States, I take this opportunity to congratulate the European Union (EU) on its 50th anniversary as a political and economic entity. Since the Treaty of Rome was signed on 25 March 1957, the EU – the most successful regional integration process ever attempted – has become a major player in world politics and an indispensable development partner of many developing countries.

National interests do drive the policy initiatives of individual countries. However, the success and endurance of the EU has shown that both national and collective interests in an integrative setting need not be mutually exclusive. Therein lies a characteristic of the EU which demonstrates that unity in diversity is possible. This is an invaluable lesson for the 79-member ACP Group, given its size and far-flung geographical locations around the world.

The European Union has maintained its commitments to the ACP States. This is remarkable considering the challenges that it has to face as it expands its bloc boundaries, confronts new trading arrangements at home and abroad, and attempts to cope with emerging sociopolitical challenges in a globalizing world. The 10th European Development Fund is one of the latest illustrations of the EU's willingness to sustain development endeavours for the ACP States.

This is in full compliance with one of the goals of the ACP Group which is to ensure the realisation of the objectives of the ACP-EC Partnership Agreements, and in particular, aim for the eradication of poverty, sustainable development, and the smooth and gradual integration of the ACP States into the world economy.



Giorgio Sommacal, Untitled, 2007. Manifesta! © Africa e Mediterraneo

The ACP Group agrees that the Economic Partnership Agreements can be effective and efficient tools to achieve this objective, especially if they were truly development-oriented. To do so needs a strong and permanent political impetus. The ACP Group is confident that this underlying political commitment is shared by both the ACP and the EU, and will continue to be the main framework to steady our rich and dynamic partnership.

Once more, a happy 50th birthday to the European Union!

* Dean of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Committee of Ambassadors and Ambassador of the Republic of Congo. ■



Jacques Obia. © EC Photo Library

Page 2

Bernard Petit. © EC Photo Library

25 March 1957: Signing of the Treaty of Rome: Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs (on the left); Jean-Charles Snoy et d'Oppuers, Head of the Belgian Delegation at the Inter-Governmental Conference (on the right). © EC Photo Library

The Treaty of Rome. © EC Photo Library

The need for Cotonou



This special issue of *The Courier* celebrates the 50th birthday of the European Union (EU). The EU embodies the dreams of peace and improved standards of living for people who have, over time, paid a heavy price for the disunity of their countries, not only in Europe but throughout the world. For so many people and countries alike, it has become a model of hope. This is what Jacques Delors probably meant when he spoke of “the need for Europe”.

Europe’s development policy is engrained in the EU and incorporated into its founding act, the Treaty of Rome. The novel character of this policy, namely the contractual nature of its aid to what was to become the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group, was already etched into the Yaoundé Convention, the forerunner to Lomé and Cotonou.

As with negotiations on other agreements, those on the current Cotonou Agreement were tough. Since coming into being, Cotonou’s newest aspect, the gradual implementation of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which implies a shift from a relationship of aid to one of trade partners, has caused feelings to run high. EPAs, which came into force on 1 January 2008 for a number of ACP countries, are seen by some as diluting the altruistic nature of ACP-EU relations that could weakened, in turn, lead to the splitting up of the ACP Group into disparate, isolated regions.

It is not the first time that innovations in the Lomé-Cotonou Conventions have stirred the prophets of doom. There was the time when political dialogue incorporated democratic progress into cooperation. Scepticism also occurred over the considerable opportunities given to non-state actors in cooperation, civil society and the private sector.

A few years on, those who were initially the most nervous about these features of cooperation now see them as having made progress by contributing to positive democratic developments in ACP countries. Several crises have been handled skilfully, such as the recent coup d’état in Fiji and a short time ago, the unrest in Côte d’Ivoire. The entry of Cuba into the ACP Group and the situation in Zimbabwe are also cases in point.

An increasing number of the world’s developing countries aspire to having the Lomé-Cotonou type of model of relations with their wealthier partners.

The need for Europe is well demonstrated; the need for the ACP-EU partnership cannot be denied, if only for the commitment to its founding principle: equality between donor and recipient. It provides a guarantee for the future.

Hegel Goutier
Editor-in-chief

A group of Togolese people engrossed in the event of the day: the EEC-ACP Convention signed at Lomé in February 1975. © EC Photo Library



UNIQUE IN THE WORLD: 50 YEARS OF north-south cooperation

By Hegel Goutier

When Europe’s founding fathers began to negotiate the future Treaty of Rome, with the objective of reconciliation and reducing the prospect of further conflict as experienced in two world wars, there was little reason to think the text would include a chapter on relations with Africa. There was even less reason to believe that half a century later those relationships would include almost 100 different countries around the globe and be a universally recognised model.

> A place for ‘European countries and territories’ in the Treaty of Rome

It was when the Founding Fathers of the European Union, Germany, France, Italy and the three Benelux countries, were on the verge of completing the Treaty of Rome negotiations that France proposed that a place be reserved for an ‘Association Agreement’ with Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) – essentially those countries associated with France.

The outcome was that a text on the Association with Overseas Countries and Territories was added to Section 4 of the treaty, although there had been no negotiation and no agreement signed with the OCTs themselves. In fact, the agreement existed in name only, as the other articles in the Treaty of Rome referring to it were only signed by the six European signatory states.

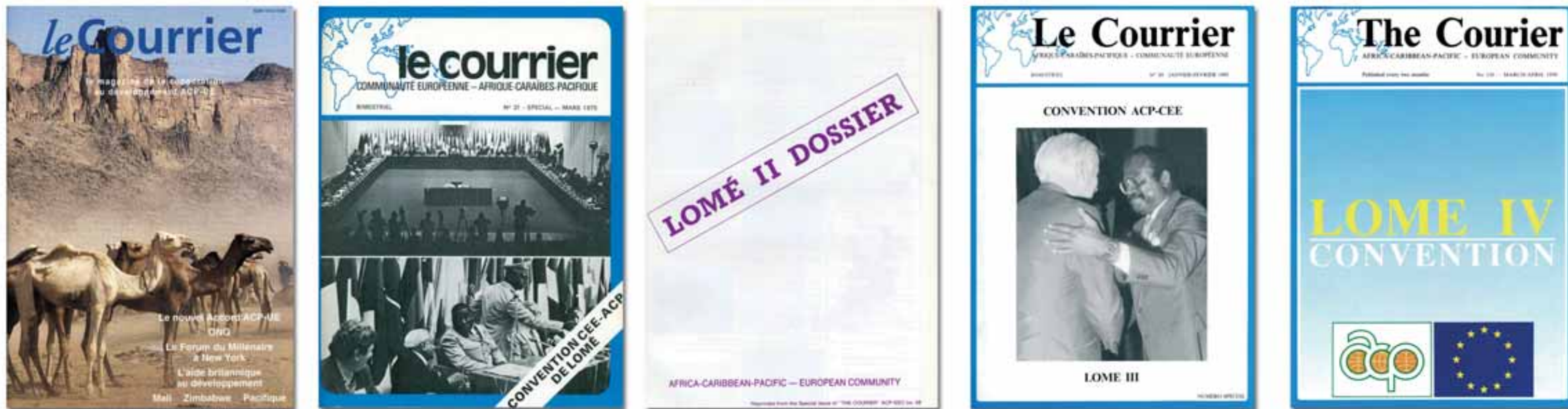
The 1st European Development Fund (EDF) was the financial envelope allocated by the European Community to the Association, an instrument that was to become the backbone of Europe’s political aid

> The ingenuity of Yaoundé: contractual relationship and free trade areas

The independent movement that swept across Africa in the early 1960s prompted a rethink on the position of the Association Agreement with the OCTs in Africa which was still in force (covering a total of 19 countries – 18 former French colonies and Somalia).



View of the Lomé III Convention signing ceremony (1984). © EC Photo Library



The rethink brought forward a pragmatic solution. The 'Association' would continue on a provisional basis with amendments to be made in accordance with the status of newly independent African States. Each State could choose whether to remain a member. In the end, just one "Guinea-Conakry" made the decision to leave although it would later return in 1975 to sign the 1st Lomé Convention.

In 1963, negotiations between 18 African States and the six European countries resulted in the signing of the Yaoundé Convention between the European Communities and the 'Associated African States and Madagascar' for a five-year period (1964–1969).

At first it was all about trade. The Yaoundé Convention was essentially concerned with free trade areas and under its umbrella European products received preferential treatment on the markets of the associated African countries and vice versa. This free trade agreement was also backed up by a financial assistance package – the 2nd and 3rd EDFs for Yaoundé I and Yaoundé II. The 2nd Yaoundé Convention (1971–1976) was signed in 1969.

▶ The birth of the ACP Group: a genuine political choice

As soon as Yaoundé I was signed, the newly independent English-speaking countries voiced a strong dislike to a convention they saw as 'shaped' to preserving links between France and its former territories. Their concerns were shared by EEC members such as Germany and the Netherlands who, since the signing of the Treaty of Rome, had been inclined towards a development policy with a broad spectrum.

To bring about these changes, a special bilateral agreement was signed with Nigeria in 1969 but was never ratified due to the civil war in Biafra. Another agreement, separate from the Yaoundé Convention, the Arusha (trade) Agreement, was signed in 1969 with three East African countries – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. This agreement, implemented on 1 January 1971, at the same time as the Yaoundé II Convention and for the same period of time, brought these three countries into the convention. Mauritius joined the Yaoundé II Convention at a later stage in 1972.

However, by the beginning of the 1970s Europe's development policy was still at a crossroads, with questions being raised about the direction to take, highlighting cooperation with Africa and openings towards other regions. A memorandum of the European Commission put forward the options.¹

In January 1973, the United Kingdom (plus Ireland and Denmark) joined the European Community. This membership was to put everything in a new light. One of the protocols of the Act of Accession opened the door to an

extension of European development policy to an array of Commonwealth countries. These were countries not just in Africa, but in the Caribbean and the Pacific too.

As of August 1973, twenty-one Commonwealth nations were invited to negotiate an association or trade agreement with the European Community that would possibly replace the Yaoundé Convention. All the independent nations of sub-Saharan Africa, except South Africa, were present at the negotiating table. They also included the non-Commonwealth

countries of Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, Equatorial Guinea and Guinea-Bissau.

The negotiations that were opened between the European Community and this group of around 45 countries were to prove a unique experience. All these newly independent countries were used to meeting within large frameworks such as the UN or the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), where the only matters discussed were political. Now, however, they had to agree on questions very close to everyday realities on the benefits of an agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC). Not surprisingly, there were many differences of opinion: between French and English speakers, between large and small countries, between geographical regions. The sheer size of Nigeria, for example, seen even then as a future oil giant, was a concern for some.

The negotiations began at the end of July 1973 with a deadline set on the expiry of Yaoundé II at the end of January 1975. The Lomé Agreement was signed immediately after the deadline at the beginning of February 1975 by 9 EEC and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) States.

More than developing relations with their European partners, it was relations between each other that initially mobilised the African,



A collection of covers of The ACP-EU Courier from Lomé I to Lomé V. © EC Photo Library

The negotiations that were opened between the European Economic Community and the African countries were to prove a unique experience. © EC Photo Library



Signature of the Yaoundé I Convention, 20 July 1963: Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of Cameroon from 1960 until 1982. © EC Photo Library



29 March 1957: Signing of the Treaty of Rome. © EC Photo Library



Michel Cambon, Untitled, 2007, Manifesta! © Africa e Mediterraneo

Cover of an ACP-EU document about the Cotonou Agreement signed the 23 June 2000.



Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. Third-world thinking bound them together and forged their common interests, and they surprised the Europeans by announcing in the spring of 1974, through their spokesman Babacar Ba (cited by Tom Glaser in the special edition of *The Courier*, March–April 1990), with regard to the Lomé IV Convention: “You have before you not three groups expressing harmonised positions with one voice, but a single group of ACP countries which want to recognise their common destiny and the unshakeable desire to achieve positive results at these negotiations.”

This is how the ACP Group was born and its constitution was finalised with the ratification of the Georgetown Agreement of 6 June 1975, just a few months after the signing of Lomé I on 28 February 1975 by 44 ACP countries. These States had made a genuine political choice of their own, contrary to the frequently held belief that it was a decision taken under outside pressure.

➤ Lomé: a new kind of partnership?

Lomé I (1975–1980) retained the strong points of Yaoundé, especially its character, including the contractual nature of aid and an additional number of provisions. This was obvious at the political level with the affirmation of the sovereignty of each State and respect for its choices. For example, during the Cold War period, Europe maintained privi-

leged relations with both the Soviet Union and US-aligned countries.

At the commercial level, Lomé awarded the ACP countries preferential and non-reciprocal trade terms, protocols on selected products (e.g. sugar, bananas and beef) and also guaranteed the ACP countries higher prices than those on world markets. A system of compensation for trade deficits brought about by price fluctuations (Stabex) also provided a guarantee for the ACP producers (see p.23). All this was seen as a commitment by Europe to the creation of a fairer world economic order.

At the sectoral level, the principal priority was agricultural infrastructure, while at the institutional level, Lomé moved forward by creating common institutions between donor countries and recipient countries: the EU-ACP Council of Ministers, the CDI (Centre for Development of Industry), later the CDE (Centre for the Development of Enterprises), and the CTA (Technical Centre for Agricultural Cooperation).

The **Lomé II Convention** (1980–1985) signed by 58 ACP countries in 1979 was very much a continuation of what had gone before. The sole major innovation was Sysmin, a mechanism for minerals that resembled Stabex and made it possible to help ACP countries maintain their production capacities or diversify their mining sector economies.

Then in 1985 with **Lomé III** (1985–1990), cooperation started to be viewed in a different

light. A feeling of ‘aid fatigue’ began to surface and the optimism of the 1960s and 1970s on the future of former colonies had long since evaporated. Administrative chaos in some countries and the teething problems of fledgling democracies caused donors to lose their enthusiasm. At the same time, the citizens of the richer nations began to sense the end of the post-war boom and demanded rather less generosity from their governments towards the developing world.

The first warning shot that all was not well after the signing of Lomé III was the introduction of a debate on policies that rendered negotiations on the allocation of resources more strained than before. Even so, Lomé III recognised another emerging trend with a reference to ‘the importance of human dignity’, although the expression ‘human rights’ was still not included in the text. But a corner had been turned and this was the first blow dealt to the up-to-now sacrosanct neutrality of the agreement, where it was customary to turn a blind eye to the political aberrations taking place in ACP countries.

➤ In praise of rigour

Lomé IV (1990–2000) was an even more important turning point. The fall of the Berlin Wall changed the geopolitical map overnight and Europe was looking at reunification. Also, the good times looked like they were over as two oil crises in a row shook the

world’s economies and the populations of wealthy countries had a new concern: the erosion of their material security. Moreover, it was becoming increasingly clear that aid had not greatly improved the development of certain countries, especially in Africa. Worse than that, many of them had actually become poorer. On the eve of the Lomé IV negotiations these worries and concerns were all too clear in Europe.

The negotiators of the 12 European Member States and 68 ACP countries could not ignore these new realities. Negotiations were difficult but the final agreement included a chapter on human rights. From now on, human rights would be a fundamental clause in relations between the two sides, with the consequence of suspended cooperation for any country that violated them.

At the same time, control over the use of funds became ever stricter. That was the stick. The carrot was that the convention would be valid for double the period, a total of 10 years, with the aim of providing a better continuity of development programmes. There was also support for countries needing to make painful structural adjustments, as well as for the diversification of ACP economies, their regional cooperation projects and the promotion of their private sectors.

The mid-term review of the convention was a lot more extensive than planned, for exam-

ple giving greater priority to the political dimension.

➤ Cotonou (2000–2020): transition leading to completion of the process

Cotonou gave a bigger role to civil society and the private sector (which were to be involved as a new set of cooperative players) and refined development strategies by awarding priority to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). It also prioritised regional integration of the ACP countries and brought in the idea of flexibility enabling additional resources to be granted to countries that use their funds most efficiently. Another pillar of the convention was an extension of political dialogue to include consolidation of peace and conflict resolution as well as conflict prevention.

The revision of the Cotonou Agreement in 2005 brought the opportunity for political dialogue between partners.

The EUFOR mission to support the Blue Helmets in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2006 and support for the African Union (AU) mission in Darfur, both authorised by the ACP and using available European Development Funds, bears witness to the usefulness of this Cotonou innovation. Another symbol of political dialogue was the joint meeting between the European Commission and the Commission for African Union in October 2006. It was the first

time in its history that the Commission had met outside the EU.

With the announcement of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) under Cotonou, it seemed that cooperation between ACP-EU countries had turned full circle. Free trade had been mooted under the Yaoundé Convention. Long debates ensued about whether or not to continue cooperation in the conventional way because the revised Cotonou Agreement brought about a fundamental change by stating that EPAs should be concluded by the end of 2007, the reason being that preferences granted by the EU to the ACP contravene the World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules. The aim is to facilitate the harmonious integration of ACP countries into the world economy, where competition is much fiercer than in the Lomé-Cotonou process. This leap into the unknown has left some ACP countries and European civil society actors puzzled.

It has been recognised that cooperation is a work constantly in progress. It has already proved itself and will continue to provide an element of security in a world full of uncertainty.

1 - The ‘Memorandum Deniau’ of 4 April 1973, defined the characteristics of cooperation whilst retaining the established parts of Yaoundé, such as access to the European market and guaranteed aid, but also brought in novelties such as a system to protect developing country partners against sudden falls in commodity prices. In accepting this memorandum the Commission was for the first time given a mandate to negotiate a cooperation agreement. ■

Debra Percival

GEORGETOWN

the foundation of the ACP group

Signed in 1975, the Georgetown Agreement is the foundation of the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group. Over the years its membership has swelled to 79 nations. The agreement was revised in 2003 to bring in aspects of the new ACP-EU Partnership Agreement, under the Cotonou Agreement. All 79 ACP members, except Cuba, are signatories to Cotonou, signed in Benin's capital.

The Georgetown Agreement defines the objectives of the ACP Group, its institutions and decision-making process. The ACP Group has its own internal decision-making process and its joint bodies also interplay with EU institutions to take decisions affecting all 79 ACP and 27 EU Member States of the partnership.

The ACP grouping currently numbers 48 sub-Saharan African countries, 16 from the Caribbean and 15 from the Pacific (see synoptic table p.28). The objectives of the amended Georgetown Agreement are the eradication of poverty, sustainable development of its members, their gradual integration into the world economy, peace and stability in a free and democratic society, and greater ACP integration overall through cementing economic, political, social and cultural ties.

A summit of Heads of State of the 79 ACP countries tops the decision-making pyramid but since its meetings are infrequent, decisions are often in the hands of the ACP Council of Ministers. This ordinarily meets twice a year but special sessions gathering a limited number of ministers on a particular topic assemble when necessary. For example, at the end of 2007, there were frequent meetings of ACP ministers responsible for sugar in the wake of the EU's denouncing of the Sugar Protocol.

A bureau of the Council of Ministers, consisting of ministers from each of the four African regions, the Caribbean and the Pacific, and the rotating President of the Council and outgoing

and incoming Presidents, looks after the Council of Ministers' agenda (see separate article on the activities of all ACP-EU institutions).

➤ ACP Secretariat

ACP ministers take major policy decisions and elect every five years a Brussels-based secretary general, currently Sir John Kaputin from Papua New Guinea, who guides the work of the Brussels-based ACP Secretariat comprised of nationals from the ACP States. These are technical experts and administrative staff who work in all areas of the ACP-EU partnership from commodities to culture.

The ACP Committee of Ambassadors of Brussels-based diplomatic staff from each ACP state sets an agenda and backs up the work of the Council. It works closely with the ACP Council and can take decisions and resolutions by a consensus of its members.

It reports on its activities to the ACP Council and it too has a coordinating bureau at Ambassador level, of the same nine-country composition as the Council's bureau.

The ACP States interact with other EU bodies in reaching joint decisions (see article on the institutions p.15-16). The EU's 27 Member States have their own tiered structure with heads of state at the top. They meet infrequently with their ACP counterparts: the last one took place with African countries in Lisbon in 2007 to inject political impetus into Africa-EU links.

Day-to-day policies and strategies are drawn up by the EU Commissioner for Development, currently Belgian Louis Michel, and the EU Directorate for Development and relations with ACP States, headed by Italian Director-General, Stefano Manservigi. Brussels-based Europeaid set up in 2001 and led by Dutch Director General, Koos Richelle, deals with the technical management of projects.

The EU's Council of Ministers of Foreign Ministers approves EU strategies towards the ACP States whereas joint decisions can be taken at meetings of ACP and EU Ministers (see separate article on ACP-EU institutions).

A Parliamentary Assembly of ACP Members of Parliament meets a statutory twice a year prior to its biannual meetings with 79 members of the European Parliament who represent the 27 EU Member States. These gatherings, known as the Joint Parliamentary Assembly (JPA), generally take place once every six months rotating between ACP and EU states.

The ACP-EU Joint Assembly does not take binding decisions but issues opinions on EU strategies towards ACP nations and its debates on policies in ACP nations are often timely and always lively. Other EU and ACP institutions often take the lead from the JPA's own initiative reports, which are full of very useful factual research, often drafted jointly by an ACP parliamentarian and an EU counterpart. Exchanges with attending senior EU officials are frank and there is much media interest in the gatherings. ■

François Misser

ACP-EU COOPERATION: MILESTONE EVENTS

Cooperation between Europe and its ACP partners – which marked its 50th anniversary in 2007 – came about as the result of an historical accident; however, it has continued as an example for the development of relations between the EU and other developing countries. This is certainly the view of one of the key figures in EU-ACP cooperation and this Courier report examines his analysis and thoughts (plus a few anecdotes) on a type of cooperation between countries that, despite many differences, is still vaunted as a model of how to do it.

Sometimes the real significance of an event only becomes clear with the passage of time. For Dieter Frisch (Director General for Development at the European Commission 1982 – 1993) the first milestone event was the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Why? Because the Yaoundé Convention of 1965 would never have taken place if the French, during the negotiations on this treaty, had not insisted on the inclusion of the overseas countries and territories that were then under their control.

➤ Cooperation born of an “historical accident”

In retrospect, we can all be grateful to France for its insistence but, says Frisch, Europe's development policy is not the result of rational consideration. Rather, it is an historical accident.

In 1965, following the great wave of independence, 18 countries – all French-speaking except for Somalia – signed a cooperation agreement with the six countries of the European Community – the Yaoundé Convention. This convention led to the creation of the first European Development Fund and the introduction of a free trade regime between these 18 countries and Europe. Later, the second Yaoundé Convention marked a major step in assisting African countries move towards industrialisation.

➤ Adapting to the notion of Pan-Africanism

Dieter Frisch recalls that the Pan-African institutions of the time criticised Europe for maintaining and consolidating a “colonial structure”



Technical agreements were a significant step in the cooperation between the EU and ACP countries. Top picture: an indicative programme of technical and financial cooperation between the ECC and Ghana. © EC Photo Library

that constituted an “obstacle to the Pan-African movement.” At the Commission, and also in Bonn and The Hague, opinion was that it was time to open up cooperation to some of the English-speaking African countries such as Nigeria and Kenya and, looking beyond that, to the rest of the world. This was the stepping off point for a development policy worthy of the name.

There was a shift, from a policy that Frisch describes as “honest, benevolent paternalism” to a policy based on responsible partnership, inspired by the European Commissioner Claude Cheysson. His basic view was that: “The time when we told them what to do is over.” Frisch said Cheysson was famous for saying, “the European Development Funds, it’s your money – use it for your priorities and if you need technical advice, we are here to help you.”

However, this was not an easy call, owing to opposition from French-speaking African states who feared that an increase in the number of beneficiaries would affect the financial and commercial rights they had already gained. The then Senegalese President Léopold Sédar Senghor led this protest, even being prepared to fully maintain the commercial regime of Yaoundé, that gave preferential treatment to European goods in the markets of French-speaking Africa.

The English-speaking African states did not want to give this kind of preferential treatment to the European Community and Frisch recalls that they didn’t like the term “association” at all as, in their opinion, it meant a second class membership of a post-colonial nature. Eventually, the term “association” was abolished and replaced by the ACP-EEC Lomé Agreement, under which the Africans continued to enjoy preferential treatment on the European market, but the special conditions for Europe on the African market were removed. Several developments then took place, the first being the Caribbean and Pacific states joining with Africa to achieve greater bargaining power in negotiations with Europe. Indeed, in 1975, a number of ex-British colonies, from the Caribbean and the Pacific alongside with the English-speaking African states, became partners of the European Union as signatories of the Lomé I Agreement, two years after the United Kingdom joined the EEC.

> Lomé brings about a real revolution

The first Lomé Agreement brought about a series of revolutionary changes. At that time they were talking about Lomé “from Peking to Washington,” recalled Claude Cheysson in an interview with *The Courier* published in 1977.

In Frisch’s view, the most important change was the preferential trade regime that provided non-reciprocal access for ACP products to the European market. Then came Stabex (see p.23), the European Community’s contribution to creating a new global economic order. However, throughout these North-South discussions, demand for the stabilisation of the price of commodities was met with ideological objections from those who argued it was not compatible with a true market economy.

“It was technically and politically inconceivable,” Frisch explained. But at the same time, Cheysson’s team wanted to do something. According to Ghebray Berhane (Secretary General of the ACP Group 1990-1995), a participant in the Lomé negotiations as ambassador of Ethiopia, one of the major achievements was that the ACP countries gained access to the European market and the European Development Fund increased year after year. “That is why the agreements are considered to have fully satisfied both parties,” he said.

Added Frisch, “And the group to group relationship provided a much better political balance – because North-South relationships are by definition unequal – by bringing together both rich and poor countries. But such a large number of countries negotiating together is not at all easy,” explained Frisch.

Finally, the Community framework provided what the former Director General called a “significant political plus-point,” due to the fact that the politically-neutral Community was cooperating with states practising a market economy as well as countries close to the now defunct Soviet bloc. This turned, a weakness – its lack of responsibility in foreign policy –, into a strength. And although EU Member States deployed a policy that may have seemed a little schizophrenic, they succeeded in holding talks with countries and political figures with which they did not have bilateral relationships. For example, the Community held official discussions with several heads of liberation movements well before the independence of these countries. Leaders such as Sam Nujoma, of the South-West African Peoples Organisation, formed in 1960, was received by the Commission in 1978, twelve years before Namibia’s independence.

> An ideological shift: the political dialogue

“The third Lomé Agreement marked a significant change in approach concerning the management of financial and technical cooperation,” said Frisch. The Commission realised that results were not always good enough and improvement was needed. But it was not easy to change tack and say, “We are partners and we want this to work, so let’s engage in real dialogue on policies. By saying that we don’t mean ‘political dialogue’ in the modern sense, meaning discussion on weapons of mass destruction, for example.” What the Commission wanted, on the eve of the signing of the 3rd Lomé Agreement (1985), under Commissioner Edgar Pisani, was to open dialogue on development policies.

The agreements that were concluded involved reciprocal commitments. That approach was different from that of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which, said Frisch, had introduced “this wretched concept of conditionality,” that came across “like a diktat from outside.” The Pisani team did

not believe that reform imposed from the outside – not wanted by the government or accepted by the people – was feasible. However, the introduction of political dialogue into the third Lomé Agreement was not without difficulties. Frisch remembers the time it took to convince a Tanzanian minister that he represented his country rather than a new kind of IMF mission.

Frisch also recollects post-agreement discussions with the former Ethiopian dictator, Mengistu Haïlé Mariam, to convince him to offer price incentives for small peasant farmers, a concept that was completely at odds with the Marxist ideology of the Addis Ababa regime of the day.

Ghebray Berhane revealed how the ACP countries responded to the idea of political dialogue by saying, “you introduce conditionality and that is your right. We are not against it. But you have to have the means to achieve your goals if you want the ACP to accept certain conditions.” In any case, Berhane, like Frisch, believes that the EEC-ACP negotiations were real negotiations. “An anecdote, which Berhane gave exclusively to the *Courier*, underlines his feelings. He said: “During the negotiations, which went on until four o’clock in the morning, the Europeans had deliberately chosen small rooms in the European Council building which only had room for ministerial spokespersons. The experts found themselves sidelined. A colleague and I went into the

Dieter Frisch (on the right): a key European negotiator during the Lomé Conventions. © EC Photo Library

A road financed by the first European Development Fund (EDF) in the French part of Martinique. At the time, the EDF contributed to the development not only of the countries associated with Africa and Madagascar, but also the French Overseas Territories. © EC Photo Library





interpreters' booth next to one of these rooms from where we followed the discussions. From our vantage point we were able to slip a piece of paper to the ACP negotiators. The talks on the EDF amounts and the products to be included went on until the end of the third Lomé negotiations. The EU Council security staff noticed that a room was being used by people who shouldn't have been there and they almost frogmarched us out". They wanted to get rid of the troublemakers!, says Berhane laughing.

"Such a scenario is plausible", comments, smiling, a retired European official who also participated in the Lomé negotiations. "In fact, there is always a moment when the bosses want to talk between themselves. This is common practice when the negotiations reach their political stage. Yet, I can assure you that there has never been any intention to marginalize the ACP negotiators", he points out.

But Lomé had an impact in other ways, not least, according to Frisch, that this form of cooperation – in particular Lomé's inclusion of English and Portuguese-speaking countries – had an effect on other cooperation agreements. He recalled that it was in the wake of the first Lomé Agreement that the initial cooperation agreements between the EEC and the Mediterranean countries were made and aid for Asia and Latin America appeared in the European budget for the first time. Claude Cheysson only refers to "the extension of Lomé to the south of the Mediterranean."

> Maastricht: the great watershed

Dieter Frisch believes that the Maastricht Treaty, which came into force in November 1993, was another major turning point. Coming four years after

the fall of the Berlin Wall and the signing of the 4th Lomé Agreement, it was the first EU Treaty to include a chapter on development cooperation. But more importantly it marked a break with previous policy. Before the 4th Lomé Agreement, everyone was welcome to join the club, even Mengistu's Ethiopia was accepted which would be unthinkable today.

"This Treaty also contributed to the inclusion of foreign and security policy into the Community's external relations and the need for coherence between these policies and development policy," noted Frisch. Moreover, the second pillar of the Treaty, enshrining the common foreign and security policy, forced European partners to harmonise their actions in areas ranging from security and the environment to trade and development.

This led to an analysis of the respective roles and importance of the policies in relation to each other and this debate continues today. There is a tendency to make peace and stability a development condition and the question remains as to whether military or quasi-military action should be financed with funds earmarked for development. Frisch himself believes that it should come from the CFSP (EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy) budget. The same applies to migration – only symptoms are being dealt with and a "wall" is being built around the Community. But, what's really needed is to tackle poverty and provide people with decent living conditions in their own countries. When home office ministers understand that development policy can prevent mass migration, measures can be taken to benefit both sides. Development policy, which has been sidelined for so long, must be seen as offering mainstream solutions. ■

Signature of the Treaty of Maastricht: Roland Dumas, French Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1988 until 1993 (on the left); Pierre Bérégovoy (on the right), French Prime Minister from 1992 until 1993. © EC Photo Library



THE INSTITUTIONS of ACP-EU cooperation

The institutions responsible for the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement are the ACP-EU Council of Ministers, the ACP-EU Committee of Ambassadors and the Joint Parliamentary Assembly (JPA) which groups representatives from the European Parliament and the Parliaments of the ACP States.

THE ACP-EU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Comprised of ministers of the ACP States and members of the EU Council of Ministers and the European Commission, it is presided over in rotation by a European minister and an ACP minister. The Council meets once a year and whenever the presidency deems it necessary. Its mission is to conduct political dialogue, adopt policy guidelines and take decisions to apply the Agreement as well as to resolve problems that present obstacles for the implementation of cooperation.

The Council examines and takes into account resolutions and recommendations of the ACP-EU JPA. It also meets with the economic and social partners and other civil society stakeholders. Decisions of the Council can be binding.

Find out more: www.acp.int/en/parliamentary_assembly_e.htm
www.eu.2007.de
www.consilium.europa.eu

THE ACP-EU COMMITTEE OF AMBASSADORS

This is formed of permanent representatives of the EU and the European Commission alongside ambassadors to the EU of the ACP States and is alternately chaired by an ACP or a European diplomat. Its mission is to assist the Council of Ministers in accomplishing its tasks and to act when necessary to carry out any mandate which the Council of Ministers may entrust to it. It also prepares Council meetings.

Find out more: www.acp.int

THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY (JPA)

This is one of the most original institutions of ACP-EU cooperation. It is made up of an equal number of representatives from the European Parliament and the parliaments of the ACP States; however the latter are often replaced by the ambassador of the country in question. Its role is to promote democratic processes through dialogue and consultation, facilitate better understanding between the peoples of the EU and the ACP States, and generate public interest in development issues. It debates and then submits resolutions and rec-

ommendations to the Council of Ministers with the aim of achieving the objectives of the Cotonou Agreement. It also seeks to strengthen regional integration in the ACP countries and cooperation with the parliaments of the ACP countries and the Pan-African Parliament.

Find out more: www.acp.int/en/parliamentary_assembly_e.htm
www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/acp/

THE CENTRE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENTERPRISE (CDE)

A joint ACP Group and EU institution created in 2000, in the framework of the Cotonou Agreement, the CDE manages (under European Commission supervision) the ProInvest partnership programme that allocates €100M from the European Development Fund. Its aim is to support the development of ACP private sector companies, with particular emphasis on encouraging technology transfers and penetrating new markets. The CDE is a continuation of the Centre for the Development of Industry (CDI) that was created in 1977 under the Lomé I Convention.

Find out more: www.cde.int

Conversation between Stefano Manservigi, Alpha Oumar Konaré and Louis Michel (from left to right) during the inauguration of the Julius Nyerere conference room at the DG-DEV of the EC. © EC Photo Library



THE TECHNICAL CENTRE FOR AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION (CTA)

Set up in 1983 within the framework of the Lomé Convention, the CTA's mission is to develop and provide services that improve access by the ACP countries to information on agricultural and rural development, and to strengthen the capacity of these countries to produce, exchange and exploit information in this field.

Find out more: www.cta.int

THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Charged with implementing EU common policies, including development policy (a competence it shares with the individual Member States), the European Commission is the EU's executive body responsible to the European Parliament and as such is guardian of the Union treaties, initiator of legislation and engine for the harmonisation of European policy in this field. It is the Commission that manages the European Development Fund (EDF) that has a global budget under the 10th EDF of €22.6 billion for 2008-2013.

Find out more: www.ec.europa.eu

ACP SECRETARIAT

Set up by the Georgetown Agreement (1975), the ACP Secretariat, based in Brussels, is charged with the administrative management of the ACP group. It is responsible for implementing the group's international policy as well as organising and coordinating cooperation

policy. Placed under the authority of the Summit of ACP Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers and the Committee of Ambassadors, its mission is to carry out tasks conferred by these institutions and by the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly. It helps implement the decisions taken by these bodies and assists them, as well as the joint bodies set up in the framework of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreements.

Find out more: www.acp.int

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE

A consultative assembly of European economic and social partners, the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) allows its voice to be heard through formal opinions submitted to the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament, including the field of development policy. Its external affairs section follows up relations between the EU and its partners in the rest of the world, including the ACP zone. This is done through the intermediary of a Monitoring Committee, a Joint Consultative Committee and a Contact Group. Close relations with the economic and social partners in the ACP countries have been established to discuss matters of common interest and the strengthening of civil society. Article 6, Chapter 2 of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement, mentions economic and social partners, including trade union organisations among the non-state actors of cooperation. Article 6 does not mention explicitly the ESC, which is a European institution. However, the role of the ESC has been strengthened by the 2000 Cotonou Agreement. In Protocol I to this Agreement, EU and ACP Ministers made this body responsible for organising meetings with ACP-EU economic and social interest groups. It is considered as the architect of civil society's participation in ACP-EU relations.

Find out more: www.eesc.europa.eu

THE EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK (EIB)

An EU body granting long-term loans, the EIB is one of the principal development partners for most of the ACP countries and overseas countries and territories with constitutional links with the EU dating back 30 or more years. In particular, it manages the Cotonou Investment Facility (€1.7 billion) as well as contributions out of its own funds (€2 billion). It has five regional offices in ACP countries: Dakar (West Africa), Nairobi (East and Central Africa), Pretoria (Southern Africa), Fort-de-France (Caribbean) and Sydney (Pacific).

Find out more: www.bei.org

F.M.

A view of the European Parliament
© Photo European Parliament



Non-STATE ACTORS – BIGGER PLAYERS IN COTONOU

With partnership at the core of Cotonou, civil society in all its diversity has been attributed a more prominent role and bigger say in ACP-EU cooperation, 2000–2020.

Under former ACP-EU Conventions, non-governmental organisation (NGOs) were allocated funds under decentralised cooperation for project implementation but dialogue on EU policies towards ACP nations was not cemented into the agreements.

Under Cotonou, a broad range of non-state actors, north and south, are not only recipients of aid but consult with EU institutions on a full range of policies towards ACPs as an integral part of the partnership accord.

Article 6 of the Cotonou Convention embraces non-state actors, “in all its forms according to national characteristics”. They include the business sector, economic and social partners, trade unions, non-governmental development organisations, human rights groups, grass roots organisations, women's associations, environmental groups, farmers' organisations, indigenous peoples' groups and religious organisations, research institutes, cultural bodies and the media.

The aim is to harness and build on the dynamics of civil society and improve ownership of development strategies, putting people in control of their own development.

Since its outset seven years ago, non-state actors have been keeping a close track on whether Cotonou has achieved what it set out to do in this field.

Florent Sebban of CONCORD, the European confederation of devel-

opment and relief NGOs, which was set up in 2003 and gathers some 1.200 development and relief NGOs in Europe, is currently looking at how Cotonou's commitments towards civil society are shaping up in practice. This is also under the microscope in the permanent Cotonou Monitoring Group, gathering a cross-section of its members.

Sebban applauds what Cotonou set out to do in terms of a greater say for NGOs and an increase in their project funding – 15% of the 10th European Development Fund (EDF) (2008–2013) is allocated to civil society.

► The litmus test

As far as the success of policy dialogue is concerned, the litmus test is the extent of EU institution-civil society consultation on the Country Strategy Documents (CSP), which also include the National or Regional Indicative Plans (NIP/RIP), the EU's five-year policy planning and programming for individual ACP countries under the 10th EDF.

Even though non-state actor consultation with the EU may fall below expectations for Cotonou, its meetings with the Commission feeling more like sessions to exchange information rather than real dialogue, their increasing voice is being felt in many EU fora. They are an active and diverse lobby in the European Parliament, its Committees, the Joint ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly and the

annual European Development Days (EDD) event where non-state actors from the EU, in particular, have stands to inform the public about their activities and mount side events that stimulate open discussion on EU development policies.

NGOs from francophone West Africa have been especially vocal in the EU media over their fears that Economic Partnerships Agreement (EPAs) with the EU will mean cheaper food on their markets harming local farmers.

The influence of ACP NGOs on EU policy often depends on how well organized they are locally. Florent Sebban points out that, in Cameroon, NGOs have organised *Les jeudis de Cotonou*, (Cotonou Thursdays) which meet every Thursday just to discuss the convention.

And there is always a plethora of position papers by civil society on Cotonou at each ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly, especially on the EPAs.

The platform of ACP businesses, already established in 1998, bringing ACP and EU companies closer to embark on joint investment schemes is active in many fora, including the December 2007 meeting of African and EU Heads of State in Lisbon. An ACP-EU local government platform was also set up in 2001 by mayors and representatives of existing ACP local government associations to heighten the advocacy of local government in ACP-EU cooperation.

D.P.■

Activité commerciale, Bamako 2007.
© Afrique in visu /Baptiste de Ville d'Avray



Marie-Martine Buckens

An ACP Civil Society Forum on track for political recognition

Community-based organisations from the ACP group of countries staged their first forum in 2001. Dr Natallie Corrie-Kordas, the ACP Secretariat expert in charge of Humanitarian Affairs and Civil Society, recalls that “the event signalled the genesis of a dynamic process where, for the first time, representatives of civil society organisations from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific recognised the importance of developing a common understanding of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the Cotonou Agreement. This resulted in the sustained resolve to secure increased levels of participation in the process of the implementation of a wide range of development activities.”

Since then, the ACP Group of States and its Secretariat have set about ensuring that all projects and programmes include special provisions for civil society organisations to become fully involved in the 9th EDF-sponsored projects.

The main priority of civil society organisations was the challenge to become organised then strengthen the required structures, in order to become more involved in projects financed as part of the ACP-EU cooperation. To facilitate this process, and at the initiative of the ACP Group and its Secretariat, a joint ACP-EU Eligibility Criteria for non-state actors was defined and politically endorsed in December 2002. These criteria, *inter alia*, encouraged civil society organisations to be fully transparent, to manage their activities in a responsible and accountable manner and, in particular, to cater to the specific development needs of the local population. To assist in understanding the ‘rules’, the ACP Secretariat published a *User’s guide for non-state actors*, which set out in detail the rules for non-government players (e.g. community-based organisations), and the conditions in place to ensure their effective participation in all activities related to the Cotonou Agreement.

At the second forum in 2006, community-based organisations made it clear that they were keen to participate in policy dialogue as well in EDF projects and programmes. The ACP Declaration and Plan of Action made specific reference to the ACP-EU facilities (energy, water and natural disaster), the global effort to combat AIDS, the consultative processes of the EPA negotiations, the development of cultural industries, and so on. The immediate challenge which remains, therefore, lies in its ongoing efforts to become a legal and politically recognised entity, and to create a holistic all-ACP Civil Society Forum.



“ACP civil society now must become recognised as a political entity both within its constituency as well as *vis à vis* key government players”, stresses ACP’s Dr Natallie Corrie-Kordas, who remains optimistic in her analysis. “This should not be too daunting a task because the 9th EDF development programmes underway show that ACP States have already paved the way to ensure that special provisions are in place to encourage a more involved and participatory role of community-based structures that are well organised within the ACP States”, she adds.

The answer to this call for a more organised structure of an all-ACP civil society will be forthcoming during the next meeting of the forum, scheduled for 2008 . ■

Top picture: Dr Natallie Corrie-Kordas, Expert in Humanitarian Matters & Civil Society



Didier Viode, Untitled. 2007, Manifesta! © Africa e Mediterraneo



SUCCESS STORIES

One of the issues facing European Commissioner Louis Michel when he took office was how to express in concrete terms the considerable sums allocated to cooperation with ACP countries: €13.5 billion for the period 2002-2007 and €22.6 billion for 2008-2013. A closer look behind the figures shows a number of undeniable successes in EU-ACP cooperation.

A case in point is Mauritius, a principal beneficiary of the Sugar Protocol. By being paid considerably more than the going global rate for its sugar exports to the EU, the country has been able to diversify its economy into textiles, tourism and service industries. Furthermore, the free and non-reciprocal access to European markets for Mauritian textiles has seen the manufacturing sector take off. Also, the European

Investment Bank (EIB) has financed innovative technologies to make the most of local resources like the Bellevue coal-bagasse combined cycle power station.

In the Seychelles, EDF money has been targeted at improving living conditions among the local population. Equally, in its July/August 1997 edition, *The Courier* highlighted the positive results of this cooperation in Barbados, a country which has invested heavily in people and now enjoys a higher human development index than some European countries. A success story that is down to local leadership with the wisdom to allocate European funds to education, both university and skills teaching, which has produced a workforce trained for growth sectors like tourism and communication technologies.

Activité commerciale, Bamako 2007. © Afrique in visu /Baptiste de Ville d'Avray



In Congo-Brazzaville, Liberia and Djibouti, EU funds have been used to distribute that most precious of all commodities – peace. This is thanks to the financing of programmes for the demobilisation and rehabilitation of combatants after civil wars. In Mali, the European Commission recorded a major success by financing development programmes in the north of the country that also played a role in preventing conflict by making the people involved understand that the government of Bamako and the EU didn't mean them to be left behind in their quest for a better day-to-day existence. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the supervision of democratic elections by EUFOR was another sign that EU Member States' aid can make a significant and lasting impact on a nation.

Countries such as Tanzania, Rwanda and many others are indebted to the EU for the construction of their main trunk roads. In Liberia too, the EU contributed to reconstruction by financing the re-establishment of the electricity grid after the civil war. In Uganda and St Vincent, the EU has invested in the renovation of school buildings.

All these examples are testimony to the diversity of sectors, actions and countries – the on-the-ground 'theatres' of ACP-EU cooperation. A more complete round up should include the fact that the number of African countries which have held pluralistic elections has risen from three to forty between 1973 and 2005, with, in the majority of cases, European support. Another example: thanks to the Centre for the Development of Enterprise (CDE), the Ethiopian company Dire Industries multiplied its production of shoes by 16 to 2,500 pairs a day between 2004 and 2007 and its staff has grown five fold over the same period.

The EU's and other donors' interventions have helped the enrolment in African primary schools to rise from 72% to 93% in 2004. The EU's and other donors' focused attention on HIV/AIDS is also beginning to pay off. In the last two years, 28 of the 36 countries reporting data are showing reductions over time in HIV prevalence. **F.M.** ■



Activité commerciale, Bamako 2007.

© Afrique in visu /Baptiste de Ville d'Avray

Madagascan traditional textile & clothing clusters.

© Centre for the Development of Enterprise (CDE)

Political rally in Goma (South-Kivu) the day before historical Congolese elections were organised in 2006 with the support of the European Commission.

© Joshua Massarenti

Hospital complex in Bujumbura, Burundi 2007.

Joshua Massarenti

SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY

COOPERATION ON THE ROAD TO EMANCIPATION

July 2002 is an important date in the history of cooperation between the ACP and EU in the field of research and development (R&D), a cooperation still in its infancy at the time. It was then that the two parties met in Cape Town, on the initiative of the ACP Secretariat and the European Commission, and agreed to lay down the foundations of a genuine partnership in the fields of science and technology. At the meeting, ACP science ministers adopted a declaration that formally pledged to review their R&D budgets, with plans to increase them to at least 1% of gross domestic product (GDP) within a decade. The declaration also stressed the importance of pursuing programmes that would allow the ACP States to participate effectively in the global economy while still maintaining their intellectual property rights, traditional know-how and biodiversity.

> Reducing the technology gap

The undertaking given in South Africa's capital is important in that it implies possibly difficult changes in terms of policy as well as of investment. It is based on the belief – also expressed in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – that reducing the technology gap between north and south is a major factor in resolving the problem of the widening socio-economic divide between rich and poor nations. Certainly, there is no disputing the figures: the world's industrialised countries currently invest about 2.5% of their GDP in R&D, while most developing countries invest less than 0.5%. Furthermore, at the Barcelona summit in 2002, the EU pledged to increase its R&D invest-

Academies in search of networks and capacity

If the ACP universities and research centres are to survive and flourish there is not only a need for increased cooperation with their European counterparts but also for more links between the ACP research organisations themselves. It was with this in mind that in 2001, 13 African scientific institutions formed the Network of African Science Academies (NASAC) to strengthen cooperation between the African Union (AU) and the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development). The ultimate aim was to represent the 53 AU Member States. The network seeks to enable African scientists to find project partners more effectively and to join European research consortiums, particularly those eligible for financing under the EU's framework programme for R&D. For many universities in developing countries with diminished resources, this is far from easy.

1 - Members of the Network of African Science Academies (NASAC) include the African Academy of Sciences, Cameroon Academy of Sciences, Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, Kenya National Academy of Sciences, Académie Nationale Malgache, Nigerian Academy of Sciences, Académie des Sciences et Techniques du Sénégal, Uganda National Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Science of South Africa. ■

Edulink, the first ACP-EU cooperation programme

Cooperation between ACP and EU scientists will be further strengthened following the launch of the Edulink programme in 2006. This is the first cooperation programme in the field of higher education with the ACP regions, which is open to all ACP States and the 15 EU Member States that are signatories to the 9th EDF (2001–2007). Its aim is to strengthen institutional and academic competences – in particular by improving the excellence of teaching, consolidating local research capacity, and importing and adapting scientific innovations. Additionally, it seeks to improve the regional integration of higher education in the ACP countries by setting up institutional networks. The programme was the subject of three calls for tender during the 2006–2008 period for a total amount of €30.5M and will fund projects submitted by at least three higher education establishments from at least two different ACP States. It is not obligatory for European universities to participate, but they are “welcome”. (www.acp-edulink.eu) ■

Cheikh Anta Diop University, Library,
Dakar 2005.
© Elisabetta Degli Esposti Merli



ments from 2.2% to 3% of gross national income by 2010, two-thirds of which should be financed by the private sector.

R&D has become an established feature of new strategies developed by the EU in the field of cooperation. This is clearly illustrated by the new EU-Africa partnership recently adopted at the Lisbon Summit in December 2007 which gives a major role to research, particularly in the fields of agriculture and food security, and information and communication technology. In the past, the EU's approach to R&D was to give priority to a vertical involvement within a specific programme (namely INCO on international cooperation). It also funded sub-regional agricultural research organisations in Africa (through the EDF) as well as agricultural research programmes under the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), financed out of the Food Security budget. The new Seventh R&D Framework Programme (FP7) (2007-2013) has adopted a horizontal approach that includes specific mechanisms to enable developing countries to participate based on their real needs. This last development is important, as it was only possible to pay out €80M of the €285M foreseen in the INCO programme under the FP6 agreement (2002-2006).



An african researcher.
© EC Photo Library

The Cape Town Declaration has, however, not lacked constructive follow-up. In May 2003 the ACP-EU Council approved this new approach and decided to allocate an EDF grant of €30M to strengthen the science and technology capacities in the ACP countries (see below). **M-M.B.** ■

Aids, malaria, tuberculosis: the clinical counter-offensive

In 2001, in partnership with scientists and health officials in the most affected countries, the EU launched a major clinical research programme to halt the progress of three transmissible pandemics that were ravaging sub-Saharan Africa. The EDCTP (European and Developing Countries Clinical Trials Programme on poverty-related diseases) project aims to increase and coordinate clinical trials using new vaccines and forms of treatment in the fight against Aids, tuberculosis and malaria. The EU contributed €200M to implementing the EDCTP initiative in addition to national and international funds.

The challenge is formidable as each pandemic adopts different forms and poses problems of diagnosis, treatment and prevention which are also dependent on specific local conditions, both geographic and social. For example, *plasmodium falciparum*, which is present across the whole of Africa, is a very severe form of malaria that is proving increasingly resistant to known anti-malaria medicines and is responsible for an ever-growing mortality rate among newborns and pregnant women. To counter this it is necessary to test new combinations of treatment and to try possible new vaccines, and at the same time develop new generations of protection based on insecticides. In the case of Aids, the genetic diversity of the HIV virus in Africa poses a major problem, as the use of complex forms of preventative or therapeutic vaccines that are the subject of intense research in the developed countries are, at present, unrealistic for Africa. Research and clinical trials therefore focus on forms of prevention/treatment/vaccination that are adapted to the supply and consumption capacities of the poor countries. Finally, in the face of the resurgence of a particularly acute and multi-resistant form of tuberculosis, there is not only a lack of new medicines but also of the research to develop them in the first place. ■

Trade protocols and EPAs

Introduced as part of the first Lomé Convention (1975–1980), trade protocols have become one of the characteristics of EU-ACP cooperation, significantly promoting economic development. For example, the banana protocol ensured exemption from customs duties for specific quotas, primarily exported by Caribbean countries. Equally, under the sugar protocol – which expires in two years' time – 18 ACP exporting countries can sell a quota of 1.3 million tonnes on the EU market at a guaranteed price which is aligned with internal European prices that are considerably higher than the price on the global market. This protocol has promoted economic development in countries like Mauritius, Fiji, Guyana and Barbados. Finally, the meat protocol provides for a reimbursement of 90% of the tax on beef imports from several southern African countries, in particular Botswana and Namibia.

During 2008, the new Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the EU and all six ACP regions should come into force, and the trade protocols and current non-reciprocal preferential regime will disappear to be replaced by a new reciprocal but asymmetric trade regime. In other words, the EU will offer duty-free and tariff-free entry into its market as soon as EPAs come into force, except for sugar and rice which are subject to a short transition period. ACP countries, on the other hand, will scale back tariffs on imports from the EU gradually over the next 25 years. Simply put, Europe will speed up the opening of its markets while at the same time the ACP market openings are designed to encourage investment, employment and boost growth.

Stabex (1976–2000)

Stabex is the abbreviation for the fund for the stabilisation of export revenue from agricultural products, introduced as part of Lomé I. It has compensated for losses in revenue from exports of products to the EU by ACP countries as a result of fluctuations in prices on the global market. This is on the condition that the losses represented a significant portion of their trade balance. The major beneficiaries of Stabex have been the large-scale producers of cocoa, cotton, coffee, groundnuts and tea. Since 2000, this compensation mechanism has been replaced by another called Flex, which stands for the compensation fund for the short-term fluctuations of export revenues, triggered by both losses of these revenues and the subsequent deterioration of the public deficit.

Sysmin (1981–2000)

The Sysmin fund, introduced under the Lomé II Convention, has enabled countries dependent on particular minerals to receive loans, and subsequently grants, to maintain their production capacity and, if necessary, to diversify their economies. The principal beneficiaries have been Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (then called Zaire), Guinea-Conakry and Jamaica.

This instrument has been replaced by the Flex (see the paragraph above on Stabex). The EU's support to the ACP mining sector has also been provided so far through the European Investment Bank (EIB). **F.M.** ■



Market in Cotonou, Benin.
© EC/G. Barton



Developing a Fairtrade cotton system in West Africa.
© CDE



EPA's: Trade for regional growth and prosperity

The six regions of the ACP group: Central Africa, East Africa, Southern Africa, West Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, were expected to conclude Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the EU by 31 December 2007. Tailor-made for each region, the EPAs free trade terms are to replace the existing waiver for Cotonou's trade preferences in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which expired at midnight on 31 December 2007.

EU officials stress the innovative nature of these regional accords which go further than opening access for goods and products. On the table are also trade in services, public procurement and investment, and changes to the rules of origin to add value to ACP merchandise.

EU aid to underpin EPAs is an important chapter in the agreements. In addition to the €22.682 billion from the 10th European Development Fund (EDF) for ACP states over five years (2008-2013), the European Commission has agreed to an additional €1

billion to help trade in developing countries until 2010 and a further €1 billion from the EU's 27 Member States, of which half has been earmarked for ACP nations.

EU officials say that EPAs will fast-forward regional integration in each ACP, which will lead to an increased foothold on the global economy and eventually bring greater growth and prosperity.

The centrepiece of the agreements is open access to one another's markets. Under WTO rules, these agreements must cover "substantially all trade" although the degree of market access is open to interpretation. In April 2007 the EU put its offer on the table to open its market to all imports from ACP nations from 1 January 2008, apart from sugar and rice. Due to the sensitive nature of these products in the global marketplace, the EU proposed lengthier liberalisation timetables for both commodities.

NGOs in particular have voiced reservations about harmful competition for domestic pro-

ducers and some ACP governments fear import tariff revenue losses in signing up for an EPA. At the end of December, only one regional group, the 14-member Cariforum¹ and the Dominican Republic, had initialled a fully-fledged EPA, including goods and other aspects, to assist greater movement of trade within the region and between regions, such as trade in services, investment, government procurement and sustainable development. Several sub-regions within the six ACP regions and individual countries had submitted offers to open the substantial part of their markets to EU goods, paving the way for 'goods only' EPAs to be signed by the end of 2007. These 'interim agreements' will give more time to discuss the EPAs' trade-related content, which will lead to finalising fully-fledged agreements with each by the end of 2008.

1 - The 14 members of the Caribbean Forum of states (Cariforum) are: Antigua & Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, St Kitts & Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent & the Grenadines, Surinam, and Trinidad and Tobago.

D.P. ■

The future of ACP-EU cooperation

What form will future cooperation between the EU and the ACP countries take? Glenys Kinnock, co-president of the Joint Parliamentary Assembly (JPA), responded to that question by considering the immediate future: finalising the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs).

Over the course of 2008, Glenys Kinnock will be following the progress of the EPA negotiations, observing that so far the agreements already signed with various ACP regions only concern trade in goods. Because of that it is still difficult to gauge what the impact of the agreements on the countries will be. Kinnock also explains that the EPA negotiations have created a certain bitterness on the part of some ACP countries, and that if they were to perceive the slightest sense of betrayal, they could easily turn to other partners – China, India, or, in the case of the Caribbean countries, the United States.

Former French prime minister and member of the European Parliament, Michel Rocard thinks that it would be fitting if the conditions imposed on aid being made available focused primarily on issues like "putting

an end to arbitrary arrests, the elimination of the use of torture in certain countries, independence of the judiciary and effective controls on the police", because we must remember that "pluralistic democratic elections are the apotheosis of a system whose end point is democracy, but they are never the beginning". "A dictatorship cannot be transformed into a democracy, but a dictatorship can be transformed into enlightened despotism, and represent a move forward that defines what follows," concludes Rocard.

Referring to Africa in particular, Kinnock says she is convinced that relations with the EU will "grow and deepen". "What we must do on the European side is quite simply take our responsibility seriously and work together to bring people out of poverty." She adds, "Political will is all we need to secure change." She points out that progress has already been made. Gross domestic product figures are rising, inflation is falling and the flow of direct foreign investment is increasing. Added to that, the percentage of primary school-aged children receiving full-time education in Africa has risen from 71% to 93% between 1991 and 2004. Kinnock emphasises the unique character of the

WTO DIALOGUE

The Cotonou Agreement envisages dialogue between the ACP and European Union (EU) countries in international bodies. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is one of those world stages where this widened cooperation is on display, the two partners finding common ground or begging to differ, according to the subject of debate. A particular example was Doha where the ACP States sought a waiver from WTO rules

for the EU's price guarantees for such commodities as ACP sugar and bananas.

In principle, it was the European Commission that should have requested this point be on the WTO's agenda. Due to a belated request the session began without this point included. Prior to the meeting, the ACP States had pursued quiet, but all-out diplomacy, sending sherpas to speak with the WTO main players and States that

could be swayed.

Negotiating for the whole of the EU, Commissioner Pascal Lamy encouraged this initiative whilst urging ACP States not to shoulder the responsibility for the failure of the entire conference. On the final day of the meeting, the protest bloc of ACP-LDC-African Union, along with other less sizeable stumbling blocks, brought the conference to a standstill. As the biggest global forum post-

September 11, Doha couldn't be seen to be a failure. Everyone held their breath over the ensuing ACP-EU-Latin and Central America consultations over bananas. There were some heated exchanges between the negotiating parties with the European Commission bearing the brunt. In the end, however, an agreement was finally found within Cotonou; the EU gave more concessions to third countries and, in return, the waiver was given for goods. H.G. ■



Paola Baistocchi, *Liberi di incontrare gli amici per costruire*, 2007, Manifesta! © Africa e Mediterraneo



The EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon: the President of the EU Commission, José Manuel Barroso, and John Kufuor the Chairperson of African Union from 2007 to 2008. © EC Photo Library

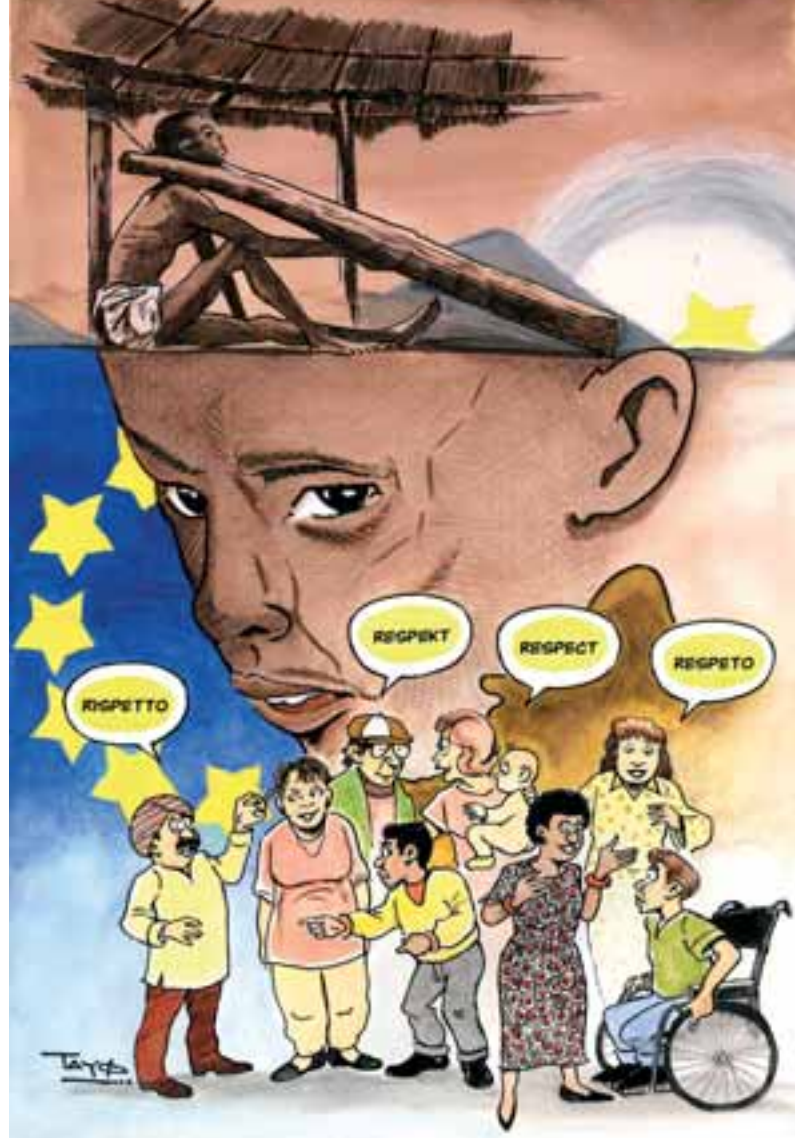
Cotonou Agreement; she calls it a very special agreement, which links the two sides and defines many aspects of development.

As for the future of the ACP group itself, Glenys Kinnock asserts that the ACP countries are a strange hybrid. But the mixture is a mixture that works, resulting in a remarkable solidarity that shows during the JPA sessions. On his part, the former secretary general of the ACP group, Ghebray Berhane, says that in the past, the ACP countries wanted to convince themselves that the ACP's *raison d'être* wasn't necessarily the cooperation agreement with the EU, but the Georgetown Agreement. Unfortunately, they were unable to give the agreement sufficient substance as trade between regions was almost negligible. That said, he admits that during negotiations with the EU, the ACP countries came to realise that coming together with unified negotiating positions gave them a great advantage.

The new shape of cooperation with the EU, with its distinct agreements with different ACP regions, constitutes a major challenge. The ACP countries now need to find a new momentum and a new ambition in their discussions with Europe, whilst retaining their unity. This new momentum, says Berhane, will come in discussions on the major challenges that cannot be dealt with on a purely regional level, such as climate change or other global issues that confront all of us.

Former EU Director General for Development, Dieter Frisch points to a new reality that will undoubtedly characterise EU/ACP relations in the future: the politics of development are coming out of their isolation. Indeed, European interior ministers in charge of migration issues and their colleagues in foreign affairs are increasingly coming to recognise a common thread between immigration policies and development questions.

As a final word, former Senegalese trade minister, Seydina Oumar Sy, is of the opinion that Africa's first priority is to reconsider the situation, take a good look at itself and begin to take the necessary steps to becoming a dependable partner in the global economy. Africa must take charge of its responsibilities and rely primarily on its own strengths. Only if Africa shows itself capable of producing sound and



Tayo Fatunla, Untitled, 2007, Manifesta! © Africa e Mediterraneo

convincing plans, and is able to demonstrate a common willingness to succeed, will it, in his view, receive the necessary external support to complement its own efforts and make them effective.

The debate, of course, is still open.

F.M. ■

Country strategy papers launch 10th edition of development budget

Drawn up by The EC Directorate-General for Development in consultation with numerous stakeholders, the individual strategy papers for the 78 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) States map out €22.682 billion¹ of development spending over five years under the 10th European Development Fund (EDF) (2008–2013).

At the time of going to press, 43 of the individual papers had been signed with African and Pacific countries, bringing annual commitments from the 10th EDF to sub-Saharan Africa alone to €3.3 billion.

Respective individual spending plans for the next five years are known as National Indicative Programmes (NIPs), with ACP regions benefiting from Regional Indicative Programmes (RIPs). These regional funds specifically target the integration of regional groupings. The 10th EDF's RIPs highlight the fact that the regional integration of ACP groupings has doubled, if not tripled, under the 10th EDF. Projects which underpin the new Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are particularly targeted.

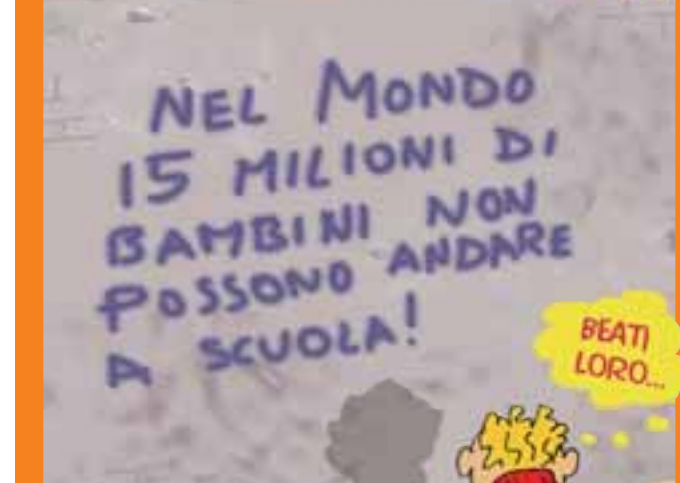
The strategy papers are much more than budgets. Each contains a diagnosis of an ACP State. The

idea is for each paper to explain why funds are earmarked to any one focal sector in the recipient ACP State or regional grouping. There are policy commitments to make on the part of the ACP State and national goals to be achieved by the end of the EDF in 2013.

The EC Development Directorate compiles the papers alongside its delegations in ACP States and in concert with domestic authorities. Consultation with non-state actors is a priority. Each paper is tailor-made to an ACP State and region, reflecting an ACP State's own domestic development priorities.

► Good governance incentive

Of major importance under the 10th EDF in ACP states are projects to promote Cotonou's 'essential elements': the democratic rule of law and human rights, and the 'fundamental element' of good governance. The 10th EDF will for the first time see a €2.7 billion



10th EDF breakdown

Of the €22.682 billion in the 10th EDF (2008–2013), €21.966 billion will go to ACP countries, €286M to Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) and €430M to the Commission as support for programming and implementation of the EDF. The overall amount for the ACP countries includes €17.766 billion to the national and regional indicative programmes, €2.7 billion to intra-ACP and intra-regional cooperation, and €1.5 billion to investment facilities. The EDF will see more focus on regional programmes to underpin the implementation of the European Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and also 'incentive amounts' for good governance. ■

Bruno Bozzetto, Liberi di incontrare gli amici per costruire, 2007, Manifesta! © Africa e Mediterraneo

'incentive tranche' to assist countries with good governance, which also encompasses the good management of financial, tax and legal systems.

"You will not catch me moralising you," said EU Commissioner for Development, Louis Michel. "What I am interested in is supporting what is or what has the potential to come good. What really matters are your commitments, your ambitions in terms of governance, in terms of increasing your capacity to deliver services to your people." He was speaking at the Pacific Forum meeting in Tonga in October 2007 where 13 Pacific States signed NIPs totalling €276 M and an RIP of €95M.

Aiming to excel at what it does best and to avoid duplicating the initiatives of other donors, the 10th EDF limits its range of sectors for focal spending essentially to trade and regional integration; the environment and sustainable management of resources; infrastructure, communication and transport;

water and energy; territorial planning, agriculture and food security; governance, democracy and human rights; support for economic and institutional reform; conflict prevention and fragile states; and human development, social cohesion and employment. Non-focal spending may include such things as funding for non-state actors or culture.

"In signing these papers we are moving into an ambitious partnership. Africa and Europe now share the same vision of the future and have agreed on practical steps to be taken," said Commissioner Michel at the signing of 31 papers for Africa at the Africa-EU Heads of State Summit on 6 December, which amounted to €8 billion. He added, "The strategy papers are a guarantee of results. They set out clearly, country by country, the priorities and results expected in 2013."

1- This figure includes €286M for OCTs (see box). ■



80 EU and African Heads of State and Government meet at the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon between the 8 and the 9 December 2007. © EC Photo Library



The ACP-EU Agreements

Africa – Caribbean – Pacific and European Union countries

1957 – Treaty of Rome. Convention of Application - EDF 1

EEC (6 COUNTRIES)	PARTNERS (31 OCTs)
France	French West Africa comprising: Dahomey, Guinea ¹ , Côte d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Sudan, Upper Volta French Equatorial Africa, comprising: Cameroon (Trust Territory), Chad, Middle Congo, Gabon, Ubangi-Chari Other French Territories: autonomous Republic of Togo, Madagascar, Comoros, French Polynesia, French Southern and Antarctic territories, Algeria, Réunion, Guyane, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St Pierre and Miquelon, French Somaliland, New Caledonia and dependencies, Surinam (became effectively associated on 1 September 1962)
Belgium	Congo, Ruanda-Urundi
Italy	Somaliland
Netherlands	New Guinea
Luxembourg	
Federal Republic of Germany	

(1) Guinea left the Association in 1958, but returned for Lomé I
Note: A "declaration of intent" left open the possibility of association to Surinam, Netherlands Antilles, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya.

1963 – Yaoundé I Convention - EDF 2

EEC (6)	AASM (Associated African States and Madagascar) (18)*
As before	Burundi (formerly part of Ruanda-Urundi), United Republic of Cameroon ¹ , Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville (Formerly French Congo), Congo Leopoldville (Formerly Belgian Congo), Dahomey, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Mali (for merly part of French Sudan), Mauritania (formerly part of French Sudan), Niger, Rwanda (formerly part of Ruanda-Urundi), Senegal, Somalia ² , Togo, Upper Volta

* OCTs remaining to Member States of the EEC were the subject of a Council decision, renewed in 1970 after Yaoundé II and regularly thereafter. They are not part of the 18 AASM.
1- formed in 1961, through the union of French and British Trust Territories of Cameroon.
2- Comprising former British Somaliland (1960)

1969 – Yaoundé II Convention - EDF 3

EEC (6)	AASM (Associated African States and Madagascar) (19)
As before	Burundi, United Republic of Cameroon ¹ , Central African Republic, Chad, People Republic of Congo (formerly Congo-Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius (joined in 1972), Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Upper Volta, Zaire (formerly Congo-Kinshasa and before that Congo Leopoldville)

(1) Later the Federal Republic of Cameroon

1975 – Lomé I Convention - EDF 4

EEC (9)	ACP GROUP, CREATED IN 1975 (46 : 37 AFRICA, 6 CARIB, 3 PAC)
As before plus: Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom (which joined in 1973)	As before plus: Commonwealth countries Bahamas, Barbados, Botswana, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, , Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Western Samoa, Zambia

Non Commonwealth Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guinea (will join later), Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sudan

1980 – Lomé II Convention - EDF 5

EEC (10)	ACP ⁽¹⁾ (59 : 43 Afr, 9 CARIB, 7 PAC)
As before, plus Greece (which joined in 1981)	As before, plus: Cape Verde, Comoros, Djibouti, Dominica, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, St Lucia, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Surinam, Tuvalu, Zimbabwe (joined in 1980 after the convention has been signed by the ACPs)

(the following have changed their names since joining: Dahomey is Benin, Upper Volta is Burkina Faso)

1985 – Lomé III Convention - EDF 6

EEC (12)	ACP (66: 45 Afr, 13 CARIB, 8 PAC)
As before, plus Spain and Portugal, (which joined in 1981)	As before, plus: Angola (joined in 1980 after the convention has been signed by the ACPs), Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Mozambique, St. Christopher and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Vanuatu

1990 – Lomé IV Convention - EDF 7

EEC (12)	ACP (69: 46 Africa, 15 Caribbean, 8 Pacific)
As before	As before, plus: Dominican Republic, Haiti, Namibia (will join after independence in April 1990)

1995 – Revised Lomé IV Convention - EDF 8

EEC (15)	ACP (70 : 47 Africa, 15 Caribbean, 8 Pacific)
As before Plus Austria, Finland, Sweden (which joined on 1 January 1995)	As before, plus: Eritrea

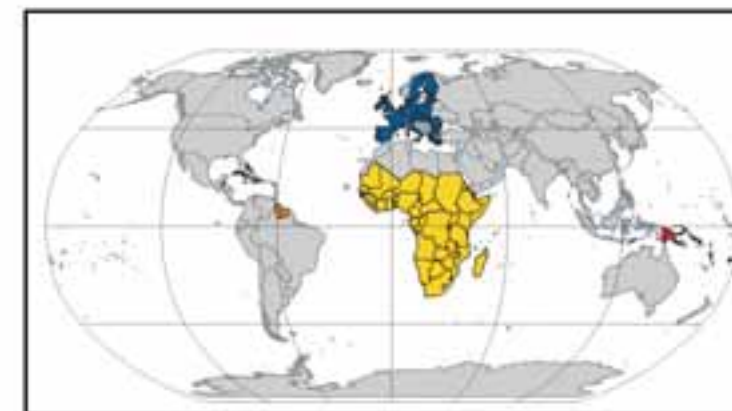
2000 – Cotonou Agreement - EDF 9

EEC (15)	ACP (77: 48 AFRICA, 15 CARIBBEAN, 14 PACIFIC)
As before	As before, plus: Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, South Africa

2005 – Revised Cotonou Agreement - EDF 10

EEC (25)	ACP (78*: 48 AFRICA, 15 CARIBBEAN*, 15 PACIFIC)
As before plus Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia which joined on 1 May 2004 (Romania and Bulgaria to join on 1 January 2007)	As before, plus: Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, South Africa, Timor Leste

* Cuba which joined the ACP Group in December 2002, is not included as it is not part of the ACP-EU cooperation



The lists of countries published by The Courier do not prejudice the status of these countries and territories now or in the future. The Courier uses maps from a variety of sources. Their use does not imply recognition of any particular boundaries nor prejudice the status of any state or territory.

