

VENRO
Working Paper on
„The Future of the EU-ACP
Cooperation“

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Summary of the VENRO Working Paper

The road towards a negotiation mandate for the EU Commission

On January 28th, 1998, the European Commission passed its proposal for a negotiation mandate concerning the renewal of the Lomé Agreement and provided the governments of the EU member states with this information. According to the regulations of the actual Lomé IV Treaty, which expires at the end of February 2000, the latest date for negotiations on a following agreement to begin is September 1998. The EU Council of Ministers is expected to decide on the actual layout of the negotiation mandate before the end of June 1998.

In order to set off a process of discussing the contours of future EU-ACP cooperation, the EU Commission has, already in November 1996, published a "Green Paper". In this paper, the Commission renders obvious that it not only wishes a mere continuation of the prevailing Lomé cooperation, but that it strongly supports fundamental reform of the Lomé model in the face of economic globalization, of the geopolitical changes since 1989 and the end of "post colonial times" (Commissioner Pinheiro). In October 1997, after a process of extensive public consultations, the considerations laid out in the Green Paper have been amended by more precisely formulated "Guidelines". These guidelines advocate for

- maintaining the ACP group as a whole, while, at the same time, applying geographic differentiation,
- a more intensive political dialogue,
- economic regional agreements in conformity with WTO regulations and
- orienting the classical area of development aid towards poverty alleviation as well as a simplification and rationalization of the set of instruments.

The position of ACP governments and ACP NGO's

On November 7th, 1997, in Entebbe/Uganda, the heads of the ACP states together with some ACP NGO's have taken a stand on the proposals of the European Commission. Essentially, ACP governments are calling for a continuation of the current agreement and its instruments without substantial changes. At the same time, they expressed the greatest concern about the proposals of the Commission in the area of "trade and investment". The ACP governments warned about potentially negative economic and social consequences of a hasty and unprotected trade liberalization, especially concerning trade in agriculture. NGO's of ACP countries share this opinion and demand a reform of WTO regulations as well as an alignment of EU economic relations towards "fair trade". Another central point of their critique are the destructive results of external debt and structural adjustment programs. In addition, ACP NGO's demand greater opening of EU-ACP cooperation towards parliamentary participation and partnership with civil societies.

NGO critique of the stance of the Federal Government

Several times, the German Federal Government has been explicitly taking a stand on the reform of the Lomé Convention, especially in responding to a Great Joint Interpellation of the German Parliament (Bundestag) as well as in a position paper of September 1997. However, in the view of NGO's

working in the field of development policy, the genuine profile of development economics turns out to be too weak, especially in the position paper which has been drawn up by various ministries.

- VENRO is convinced - together with other remaining European NGO's - that poverty alleviation and stimulation of sustainable economic and social development has to be the focus of a future Lomé Agreement. The Commission has responded to the respective NGOs' critique by paying more attention to that kind of cooperation in its "Guidelines". While, at present, the Federal Government seems to trust more in the effects of trade liberalization to foster development, it should follow and support more distinctively the course outlined above.

- Furthermore, until now, the Federal Government has rather verbally than actually been promoting the importance of both participation of civil societies and decentralized cooperation, emphasized by the EU Commission. Lomé has to depart more decisively than before from being a model for pure government cooperation. It has to also become open towards NGO's and other bodies of society (e. g. in the private economy sector).

- From the NGO's point of view, further deficits exist, in the area of gender-related issues, in the field of ecological sustainability and concerning the political dimension of partnership. Regarding the latter, the aspect of human rights has to have top priority. Also, ACP states must not be viewed primarily as a potential threat for the EU states (in terms of illegal immigration, drug traffic or terrorism), but have to be accepted as partners for positive, sustainable, global development.

- VENRO supports the Federal Government and the Commission in their effort to regionalize those parts of the Lomé Agreement that are concerned with economic and trade policy and to open the arrangement for other countries willing to join. Instead of focusing on the establishment of bilateral free trade zones with the EU, regional integration of the respective groups of states should be of central interest. Not only for the least developed countries (LLDC's) but also for already further developed states, preferences, exception clauses and generous transition terms continue to be important. VENRO is concerned about the rigorous liberalization of trade and investment which might cause further weakening of ACP states, especially of those, that suffer from particular sluggish growth rates and development processes. Instead of believing that it is best to expose ACP states to free trade without a transitional period, first and foremost, the capabilities of those states to export have to be strengthened through further incentives, knowledge transfer and attendant development policy measures - without interfering with the population's ability to provide themselves.

- It is not only the ACP states but also the EU itself that which has to comply with the demand for trade liberalization. Especially, if agriculture is concerned, the EU still has to make strong efforts to fulfill the regulations. In order to implement the objectives of economic policy envisaged by a future Lomé Agreement's, the precept of coherence stipulated in the Maastricht Treaty has to be actually applied, in particular, when agriculture as well as fishing policies, but also trade, foreign and environmental policies are concerned.

- Compatibility with WTO rules does not come by itself. The EU has, together with the ACP states, to strive for a better recognition of issues in development policy, human rights and ecology by the WTO. In the same way, they have to pursue this goal while negotiating with other international bodies (e. g. the negotiations about an investment agreement (the MAI) under the roof of the OECD). Regular coordination in international committees should be part of the political dialogue. Such coordination requires new institutions, for example the foundation of an EU-ACP negotiation bureau at the WTO in Geneva.

- A reform of institutions and instruments of EU-ACP cooperation, as demanded by the Federal Government and the EU Commission, is necessary. The parity bodies are, to a considerable extent, in need of further democratization. So far, they have been mainly focusing on efficiency criteria. Due to reasons of budget clarity and democratic control, the EDF is to be extended and integrated into the budget of the EU Commission.

1. Lomé cooperation as a central element of European development cooperation

The Lomé IV Agreement currently regulates the relations between the EU and the 71 ACP states from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. The contract terms of this arrangement determine it to expire on February 29th, 2000. At the same time, the waivers, which had been granted by the WTO in the area of trade policy, expire, too. On January 28th, 1998, the European Commission has passed its proposal to vest the EU member governments with a negotiation mandate. This mandate is likely to be approved in the summer of 1998, since, according to the Lomé IV Treaty, the ACP states and the EU have to start negotiations about a new agreement no later than September 1998.

These negotiations to renew the Lomé Agreement come at a time, when the EU itself is changing - after the northern enlargement and prior to the envisioned eastern enlargement. This time is also a period of trying to increasingly incorporate development cooperation into the European context through the Amsterdam Treaty which provides for an extension of the rights of the European Parliament (EP). Through the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht, which emphasizes on coherence, coordination and complementarity, EU development cooperation was provided with a new foundation. The objectives of this cooperation - fostering sustainable economic and social development (especially in the LLDC's), harmonic gradual integration of developing countries into the global economy and poverty alleviation - have to be the scale for new negotiations of the Lomé Agreement. VENRO expects the Federal Government to actively support a reformed arrangement with the ACP states. Furthermore, it should evaluate and try to ensure efficiency of the passed measures in development policy in a more decisive manner than before. Finally, the German Government is expected to support the tendency towards enlargement and regional integration by cutting historically grown colonial ties.

From the point of view of NGO's working in the area of development policy, there is no doubt that the Lomé Treaties are in need of reform. However, this need of reform should not be taken as a reason to finally leave the path of the main concept of Lomé cooperation. So far, the prevailing ACP-EU arrangements have proven capable of change. Instead of being a static element they have been, for the past 25 years, subject to permanent change and reform processes, also concerning their geographical scope. For example, the first Lomé Agreement, which had been concluded with the former French colonies in the year 1975 in continuation of the Yaunde Agreement, originally comprised only 46 ACP negotiation partners and was later gradually extended to comprise 71 states to date.

Since 1975, the Lomé Cooperation is one of the central pillars of EU development cooperation. Its goal was not only to foster economic development through transfer of resources, but to develop a new model of relations between industrialized and developing countries. In Article 1 of the 1989 Lomé IV Treaty, the EU together with the ACP states define high expectations concerning their cooperation: The cooperation agreement should not only be conducive to "fostering and accelerating economic, cultural and social development of ACP states", but also contribute to the creation of a role model for the relations between developed and developing countries thus aiming at a fairer and more balanced order of the world economy. Also inherent to the character of the Lomé model was the foundation of a partnership based on contractual terms. The General System of Preferences (GSP), on the

contrary, did not provide for that. The Lomé Treaty stipulates mutual liability, i. e., the donor of development aid, too, is bound by legally fixed contractual obligations. Partnership relations are underlined by parity-based institutions, such as the parliamentary ACP-EU assembly, where a formally equal dialogue is being carried out among the development partners.

"The goal of cooperation is development directed at the people as main driving force and beneficiaries of development. Therefore, development requires general respect and support of human rights." This is the way in which Article 5 of the Lomé IV Treaty defines the political dimension of the agreement. In addition, the following article recurs to "lasting and balanced development" granting priority to protection of the environment and preservation of natural resources. Also from the start, the trade sphere had been incorporated into the Lomé cooperation according to the concept of "trade and aid". Trade and traditional (financial) development aid were supposed to reinforce each other and contribute complementarily to comprehensive development in the ACP states. The effect of generous customs preferences for products from ACP states on trade development, however, turned out to be generally disappointing, even according to the Commission. Therefore, this concept can only be successfully reformed, if prevailing experiences and a reflection both on the ethical values underlying this cooperation and on the target groups in the respective societies are being considered.

2. The proposals of the EU Commission for the future of Lomé

In the "Green Paper on relations between the European Union and the ACP countries on the eve of the 21st century", which had been published by the Commission on November 20th, 1996 (1), an initial survey of the above mentioned preconditions for successful reform as well as some broader ensuing considerations are laid down.

The first part of the Green Paper briefly takes stock of the prevailing Lomé cooperation. The report is based on external analyses and appears as strikingly self-critical. Success of EU aid is said to vary significantly in the different ACP states. In general, however, empirical data suggest only weak effects of development aid on growth, investment and health indicators. Reasons for this weak effectiveness are to be found, according to the Commission, first of all in the unsatisfying basic conditions concerning institutions and economic policy in the ACP states. When viewed from this perspective, the blame is put on ACP states only; a fact which these, in return, oppose vigorously. At the German consultation forum in Bonn in April, 1997, the German NGO's that are gathered under the roof of VENRO have welcomed the tendency of the considerations laid down in the Green Book. However, at the same time, they have pointed out a number of deficits - for example with respect to parity committees, policy coherence and a strengthening of civil societies through decentralized cooperation (2).

The second part of the Green Paper, in which the Commission submits its reflections and options for a new partnership, served as prelude to a structured discussion. Since it was the distinct intention of the Green Paper to initiate a consultation phase, it did not contain any formal proposals of the Commission. However, the choice of topics, the structure of the paper as well as some options and statements give a clear idea of the Commission's preferences for future ACP cooperation. At the same time, by initiating this formal process of consultations, Commissioner Pinheiro undoubtedly succeeded in supplying the proposals of the EU with

another democratic legitimation. These formal consultations should serve as a role model for further discussions both on the European and on the national level.

This phase of consultations was concluded after public consultations in all EU states and in the three ACP regions at an international conference in Brussels at the end of September 1997. A little less than a month later, on October 29th, 1997, the Commission submitted its "Guidelines for the negotiation of new cooperation agreements with the ACP countries" (3). The proposal of the Commission comprises five basic lines of orientation. 1.) The political dimension of a new EU-ACP partnership should be reinforced. Proposed political criteria for cooperation are: respect of human rights, safeguarding of democratic principles and rule of law, moreover good governance and conflict prevention. The dialogue about the application of conditionality criteria should be more open than before. 2.) Furthermore, the Commission recommends an integrated concept for poverty alleviation that is to equally emphasize both economic and social considerations. Economic aspects, besides world market integration, mainly focus on the development of local markets, on regional integration and on fostering private economic activity (also in the informal sector). In the social sphere, particular emphasis is put on promoting a policy of high employment, supporting social basic services (health and education) and improving the situation of women. 3.) The Commission attaches relatively high importance to the concept of new economic partnership. It proposes to negotiate three regional agreements with Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific Region. The prevailing, unilaterally granted trade preferences are to be gradually transformed, after a transition period, into a reciprocal open market regime. In the long run, the creation of free trade zones between the respective regions and the EU is to be aimed at. However, the Commission intends to first subject these options to an evaluation of their effectiveness and to a feasibility test. In the trade sphere, measures are to be directed, in future, more pronouncedly towards economic capability or neediness of states. While unilateral trade preferences for newly industrializing economies are to be cut, ACP trade preferences shall, in future, be made available to all LLDC's. 4.) Instruments of (financial) cooperation have to be made subject to an evaluation of their effectiveness, before being bundled and directed towards efficiency criteria. 5.) The goal is to reach a global agreement respecting the historic ACP identity and solidarity, but, at the same time, remaining open to other countries that are willing to join.

3. Points of view of governments and NGO's of ACP states

The points of view taken by the ACP group are very important for VENRO to define its own stance in the context of northern NGO's championing the interests and rights especially of the poor population groups in the societies of the South. Also in line with the concept of partnership underlying the Lomé Treaty, it is important to pay more attention to the voices of ACP states in the European discussion. The ACP states dispose of their own office in Brussels. However, the lack of resources as well as the still underdeveloped common political identity within the ACP group have even prevented this office from assuming the role of a partner which is only slightly equal to the Commission.

In the "Libreville Declaration" (4) passed on November 7th, 1997, the heads of states of the ACP group have, for the first time, made a common binding statement on the future of Lomé. They explicitly favour the preservation of the ACP group in its present shape and call for a strengthening of their political identity, e. g. through acting, in future, unanimously at international forums such as the UN or the WTO. In the political sphere, the ACP states aim

at a more intensive dialogue with the EU and remind of the EU declarations on environment, on the "20:20 compact", on gender-related issues, and on the obligation to the 0.7% goal. On their own side, the ACP group recognizes the responsibility for democracy, the rule of law, human rights and good governance. The most pressing concerns appear to be, according to the heads of states, the negative economic and social consequences of a hurried and unprotected liberalization of trade (especially in agriculture), besides problems of indebtedness, securing food supply and the fight against poverty and marginalization. Alluding to the verdict of the WTO panel against the EU banana market regulation, they complain about rigorous application of WTO regulations and obligations, demanding instead a fair global trade regime which allows for preferential treatment of developing countries, especially of the poorest and geographically disadvantaged among them (e. g. the little island states). The ACP heads of states made positive comments on the aspect of regional integration, which they view, however, primarily as a matter of increasing ACP-internal cooperation. In the field of trade and investment, they urge the EU to preserve non-reciprocal trade preferences, also in respect to the advantages from the "special protocols for agricultural products" (like sugar, bananas, rice, rum and beef). In addition, they request the extension of the regulations concerning the rules of origin. Further, they request the preservation and expansion of STABEX and SYSMIN, of the Centre for the Development of Industry (CDI) and of the Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation (TCA). Finally, they demand the creation of new financial instruments, such as means for an "Investment Guarantee Agency" and a new EU budget line enabling reconstruction in the aftermath of wars and similar catastrophes.

Although the ACP heads of states commit themselves, in the "Libreville Declaration" (under Article 31), to promote a "socially responsible private sector", the paper does not mention the support of NGO activities at all. In the same way, parliamentary accompaniment in realizing a future ACP-EU agreement is addressed only briefly. The declaration instructs the ACP Council of Ministers to organize in time a smooth transition towards a new ACP-EU parity assembly in order to ensure continuity. However, in the decision on a revision of institutional aspects of the ACP group, this "Joint Assembly" is not further mentioned. Concerning the inclusion of civil societies and democratic control through parliaments, VENRO thus detects obvious deficits of the Libreville Declaration.

These deficits could be eliminated by means of a better information policy and the systematic inclusion of ACP NGO's into the Lomé cooperation. The "Liaison Committee" could serve as an example. This committee is a representative platform for ACP NGO's which was called for at the first ACP NGO conference from October 28th - 31st, 1997 in Entebbe/Uganda. The final declaration (5) welcomes the decision to grant NGO's an observatory status at EU-ACP parity assembly. Members of this assembly shall no longer be recruited from ACP ambassadors, but exclusively from directly elected members of parliaments of the ACP states. The members of the European Parliament have been making this demand for several years now, which has not been fulfilled yet by the amendment to Article 32, paragraph 1, at the midterm review of the Lomé IV Agreement. Other than that, NGO's from ACP states have a rather critical view towards political dialogue and conditionality in their prevailing form. A basic idea is that democratization cannot be subject of negotiations between EU states and the ACP group. It rather has to grow independently, out of the ACP states' own resources, through encouraging and strengthening of groups of civil society in the respective ACP states. The chapter on "trade and investment in times of globalization" complains about the marginalization of ACP states which is exacerbated by the WTO rules. ACP NGO's request, however, that ACP states and the EU commit their economic relations to the rules of fair trade. In this context, acknowledged social and ecological minimum standards are mentioned explicitly. ACP

NGO's are strongly in favour of applying anti-dumping measures also in the food sector and in terms of the quality of agricultural products (not only with respect to their price). In the area of development cooperation, ACP NGO's particularly point out the destructive consequences of indebtedness and structural adjustment programs while calling for an plan of action of the EU, in cooperation with actors of civil society, to achieve reduction of debt in the ACP region.

4. NGO positions on the future of Lomé

4.1 Priority of poverty alleviation

EU NGO's which focus on the area of developmental policy consider poverty alleviation the criterion for success or failure of EU development policy. The Treaty of Maastricht, too, recognizes, under Article 130 u, sustainable economic and social development, especially of the LLDC's, as well as poverty alleviation in developing countries as central issue of EU development cooperation. The EU governments have committed themselves repeatedly, through various Council declarations (e. g. in December 1993 and November 1995) as well as the final declarations of the 90s (especially of the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995), to the goal of poverty alleviation. Therefore, this goal will also have to be in the center of a future agreement following the Lomé Treaties. Achieving this goal necessitates differentiated procedures and the application of various instruments. Programs to support particularly underprivileged groups of society could coexist besides programs to support whole groups of countries, e. g. through comprehensive debt releases for highly indebted states or improved market access for LLDC's.

In their paper on the future of the Lomé Convention, submitted in September 1997 (6), the European NGO's gathered in the "Liaison Committee of Development NGO's to the EU" and working on development cooperation, have already criticized in detail the weakness of the "Green Paper" concerning the priority of poverty alleviation. The more encouraging is it that the goals of poverty alleviation and social development have been addressed to a greater extent in the Commission's "Guidelines" of October 29th, 1997. Nevertheless, the goal, which is described therein as "granting outmost priority to poverty alleviation and, therefore, extending the social dimension of cooperation" (p. 20), will have to be scrutinized more thoroughly concerning its accordance with expanded goals of trade policy and other economic policy issues listed under point 5.

4.2 Economic and social development

Poverty alleviation and comprehensive social development are not feasible without economic development. Social development, however, does not automatically benefit from the economic development, which has been achieved so far, and its incorporation into a strategy of world market integration. Therefore, NGO's do not regard the goal of world market integration, which is highly championed by both the Commission and the Federal Government, as equal to the goal of poverty alleviation and social development. It is crucial for the social consequences of world market integration that the state play an active role to enhance social sustainability. The goal of establishing a welfare state should be, besides such criteria as rule of law, democracy and reliable budgeting entered into a comprehensive concept of good governance. This means not only that ACP states are obliged to create

efficient administrative systems, to fight corruption and to refrain from over-arming, but it also requires them to initiate measures to create a system of social security (7). To date, the goals of the World Summit for Social Development - especially the 20/20 initiative - have been implemented only in a highly unsatisfactory way. In future, the EU should show increased commitment in this area, among others also through committing ACP states to allot a minimum share of 50% of potential future budget aid to the support of basic social security.

In order to achieve sustainable economic and social development in the ACP states, greater demands are placed on the involvement of the private sector economy, too. The Commission was right to point out in its "Guidelines" under point 4.2.1 that creating adequate basic conditions through administrative, institutional and legislative reform and through the creation of an efficient banking system are prerequisites for the promotion of private sector activity. Furthermore, the goal of gradual integration of the informal sector into the field of regular economic activity is to be welcomed, in principle. This approval, however, should only be given under the condition that this goal does not contribute to the destruction of survival strategies of the poorest groups of society (subsistence production) or to associate this kind of activities with criminal acts. A lot of ACP states dispose of untapped internal resources for investment activities. These financial resources should, as demanded by the ACP NGO's, be made accessible, too, through adequate strategies for fostering development. In this respect, great significance accrues to the creation of an efficient tax system. Since the question of mobilizing local investment capacities appears to be a key issue for long-term, sustainable development, even greater importance should be attached to the connection of this area with the sectors of foreign direct investment and financing development.

4.3 The gender issue as cross section task

Besides poverty alleviation and sustainable development, equal rights and the promotion of equal social opportunities between genders as well as respecting children's rights should represent the guidelines for a future agreement. Every single instrument of a future agreement is to be analyzed specifically in regards to its effects on women living in poverty. However, this claim does not intend to reduce the gender issue to a dependent variable of poverty alleviation. The Articles 4, 13, and 159 of the Lomé IV agreement already contain contractual regulations for the consideration of women-specific aspects. However, the implementation of these regulations remains unsatisfactory (8). The Commission seems to be aware of these deficits and, therefore, in June, 1997, submitted a proposal for a decree in order to be able to consider gender-specific issues more appropriately in future development cooperation (9). After additional critique of the Green Paper's deficits by NGO's, the "gender-concept" can now be found in the "Guidelines" of the Commission of October 1997 as one of the new "three horizontal directions" of future EU-ACP cooperation. Hopefully, this NGO critique will not only lead to a change in rhetoric but also to real change in a future agreement. Equal participation of women in planing, realization, control and evaluation of all measures is a precondition for the recognition of goals and demands on development cooperation in gender-related issues as a cross section task. Political dialogue and development cooperation have to state unambiguously, that true democracy and sustainable social development cannot exist without granting equal legal, economic, political and social status to women.

4.4 Decentralized cooperation and participation

Future ACP-EU cooperation has to avoid being simply a model of mere government cooperation. Instead, it has to leave more room for an opening towards civil society and give greater leeway to private initiative than before. In the long run, only augmenting chances of real social participation can guarantee success of the Lomé cooperation. This applies to both the policies of poverty alleviation - where affected target groups have to be made participate actively from the beginning - as well as to promoting private economic initiative in the ACP states as a necessary (although not sufficient) precondition for successful world market integration. The embodiment of "decentralized cooperation" in the set of agreements counts for one of the most important innovations of the Lomé IV Treaty. Decentralized cooperation provides for local authorities, rural cooperatives, unions, trade associations, NGO's and other organizations to be eligible to access to EDF funding. In addition, partnerships between similar decentralized bodies of north and south are fostered. However, the allocation of funds will continue to need approval of financial authorities in the respective ACP state.

Decentralized cooperation enhances democratization in the ACP states by reinforcing their non-central structures and strengthening civil society as a whole. This type of cooperation not only favors non-profit organizations, but also contributes to promoting private economic initiative, especially in the sector of small and medium-sized enterprises. In its "Guidelines" (p. 13), the Commission cites "partnership, whose character is strongly based on participation, implying consultations with the bodies of economic and social life" as one of the fundamental goals of a new partnership based on the ownership-principle. NGO's are welcoming these objectives to a great extent, however, the set of instruments of decentralized cooperation has proved too complicated. NGO's of the south have had only very limited and insufficient access to EDF funds of their countries during the past years. In the course of expanding decentralized cooperation, a third fund (besides the fund for long-term development cooperation and conflict situations) should be established within the EDF to directly support the various groups of civil society.

Political partnership and a more intensive dialogue cannot be realized without the creation of appropriate institutions. To foster participation, such institutions which include both the parliamentary level and the level of civil society have to be preserved, expanded, or newly developed. With comprehensive reform of EU-ACP institutions under way, augmenting work-related contacts and reducing mere official representational meetings should be explicitly pressed for. A central role in future ACP-EU dialogue might accrue to a reformed parity assembly and the creation of a ACP NGO platform. At the same time, it is important to be aware of the potential threat of new clientele-type relations which might emerge from privileging certain groups of society. Such relations would only hamper the establishment of a true partnership.

4.5 Human rights and conditionality

Another essential part of the agreement is defined in Article 5 of the Lomé Treaty: the respect of all human rights defined in various UN conventions, including economic, social and cultural human rights (Article 5.2). In 1995, at the midterm review of the agreement, a sanction clause had been added (Article 366a), that explicitly provides for the suspension of the cooperation agreement in case of a violation of "constituent parts" of the agreement, such as violation of human rights, of democratic principles and of the rule of law. NGO's working in the field of development policy assess this clause in a positive way, but they point out the importance of applying this clause without bias, oriented at equal standards and with the highest degree of transparency. While in the past, we have repeatedly witnessed suspensions

of the Lomé Convention due to insufficient progress towards democratization and implementation of the rule of law as well as due to violations of fundamental political rights, in practice, only little importance has been attached to economic, social and cultural rights. Per definition, economic and social basic rights connected to the level of socio-economic development of a society in a much closer way than traditional civil rights. In accordance with the declarations of the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development and with the proposals of the Commission regarding the definition of a coherent strategy to enhance respect of human rights (10), the EU should especially champion a policy of incentives, as also proposed in the Commission's Guidelines (point 4.2.2). However, in case of deliberate denial or violation of basic economic, social and cultural rights, this policy, too, should allow for the possibility of sanctioning measures (e. g., in case of forced labour or prohibition of the freedom to form coalitions).

4.6 Political dialogue: demands on the EU

Human rights issues are only one element of the political dimension of ACP-EU partnership. The political dialogue must not be reduced to demands and conditionalities, which the EU imposes unilaterally on the ACP states. The ACP states, too, can request to discuss topics of mutual interest. One option would be to have an in-depth discussion and mutual coordination of the EU and ACP positions prior to international conferences, as ACP NGO's have demanded in Entebbe and ACP governments in Libreville. Another possibility would consist of regular preceding talks on common strategies within the WTO, as carried out already within the so-called "Quad" group among the EU, Japan, Canada and the US. Within these international organizations, the EU should act as advocate for developing countries. Championing their cause turns out to be even more important during the course of negotiations on a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which are being held within the OECD at this time. Developing countries themselves do not participate in these negotiations, but will be requested to comply with the regulations ensuing these talks once the negotiations will be concluded.

4.7 Trade cooperation

According to NGO's, in times of globalization, issues of trade and economic policy have to assume an important role in an agreement following Lomé IV. Even the Commission has observed at various occasions that the relatively generous customs preferences for the ACP states have not been able to prevent their share in EU imports from further decreasing. The relative value of specific customs preferences has decreased with the lowered customs rates that came in effect after the conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the foundation of the WTO. This erosion of preferences which also affects those developing countries, that can only benefit from the General System of Preferences (GSP), lessens the chances of non-competitive countries or industries to hold their own in the world market. The position of the poorest developing countries (to which belong 41 out of the 71 ACP states), especially of the net importers of food products, has been deteriorating even further in the past years after the foundation of the WTO. The liberalization of world trade is affecting the more and more heterogeneous group of developing countries in different ways. Although some of the African states, like Mauritius and Botswana, were able to achieve considerable success, the majority of the African ACP states has not reached by far the stage of being competitive in the world market. An opening of their markets along the pattern of WTO rules and according to the principle of mutuality in those countries would be very detrimental to small-scale industries,

that are often still in their infancy, and finally destroy them. Instead of free trade without barriers, EU-ACP cooperation should devote itself to fair trade. Trade should be understood as an instrument to reach ecologically and socially sustainable development. On the international level, this requires a stronger commitment of the EU for ecological and social standards as well as for food safeguarding clauses. Development interests have to be embodied in the world trade system through a comprehensive reform of the WTO rules. A renewed exception clause, a so-called "waiver" of the World Trade Organization for non-reciprocal trade preferences of ACP states (and for all developing countries of the same level of development) has to be aimed at. On top of that, the EU should commit itself more distinctly than before to an active promotion of trade and investment, especially in favour of small-scale businesses, cooperatives, and handicraft production, as well as in the area of "fair trade". Especially in the area of agricultural exports, particularly concerning bananas, for many years, NGO's and, several times, the European Parliament, too, have been calling for a "fair trade quota". Although an opinion poll, published in the end of November 1997 on behalf of the EU Commission, revealed that 37% of European consumers would favour "fair trade bananas", the Commission could not bring itself to include such an instrument in its latest proposal of January 14th, 1998 for a new, WTO-compatible Council Regulation on the common organisation of the market in bananas.

Similar maxims apply to the sphere of investment: They are indispensable for sustainable development, but they can only exhibit their positive effects when embedded into a framework which is favorable to development (e. g. labour law, laws on environmental protection and an efficient tax system). However, private direct investment cannot substitute public development aid in the foreseeable future, the more since the enormous inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) is completely bypassing the poorest ACP states.

4.8 Orientation at the goal of ecological sustainability

Development can no longer be reduced to mere economic growth. Already in the Lomé IV Agreement of December 1989, special attention is paid to aspects of environmental protection, e. g. in Article 4 and 6 (Objectives and Principles of Cooperation) and in Articles 33-41 (Title I of the areas of ACP-EEC Cooperation). In the 90s, ecological problems aggravated further. Already in 1992, at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio, growing awareness of these various problems has led to defining the goal of socially balanced and environmentally sustainable development as a commonly binding direction for development. Under Article 130 r, the Treaty of Maastricht, concluded in the same year, also emphasizes the necessity to "promote measures to cope with regional or global environmental problems on the international level". Regarding the increasing number of problems and consequent pressure since 1989, a future Lomé Agreement has to pay more attention to the area of environmental protection and sustainability. In its orientation guidelines of October 1997, the EU Commission has declared the protection of resources and of the environment one of the three horizontal directions of EU-ACP cooperation. NGO's can only agree to those objectives, such as recognizing a link between poverty alleviation and environmental problems, gradual internalization of ecological costs and the establishment of partnership for technology transfer. It has to be added that ecological issues should become a permanent element of political dialogue. In this context, the EU could press for the ACP states to enter all Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) while offering additional help to comply with the obligations ensuing from entering those agreements.

VENRO welcomes the fact that, obviously, also the German Government favours a more distinct embodiment of ecological aspects into future ACP-EU cooperation. This can be concluded, for example, from the answer to the question No. 54 of the parliamentary faction of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) of September 30th, 1997 (11), in which the Federal Government is of the opinion that the instrument of testing for environmental compatibility is to be further expanded and that its application becomes mandatory whenever a project with effects on the environment is concerned.

4.9 Political coherence

Since the conclusion of the Maastricht Treaty (Article 130 u and v), the precept of coherence belongs to the cornerstones of European development cooperation and has been corroborated by different resolutions of the Council of Ministers (November 1994, December 1995, June 1997). The so far latest resolution of the Council of June 1997 defines four main areas of political coherence, among them conflict prevention and safeguarding of food supply. The Commission announces in its orientation guidelines (in chapter 3.1) to allocate more funds to conflict prevention in future. However, the following statements convey the impression that development policy has to be submitted to the goals of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. This would degrade the Lomé cooperation and turn it into a dependent variable of the EU's strategic interests (12). The Commission describes the control and limitation of buying weapons and of arms trade as well as the ban on land mines as potential areas of a "new political dialogue". However, this obliges, first of all, the EU itself to ensure tight restrictions and control of its own exports of arms - especially after the Maastricht Treaty has come into effect. NGO's have since long been proposing a restrictive codex of conduct with respect to trade in arms. This codex provides for a general cease of arms exports in case of serious violation of human rights in the country of final destination and in case of a threat to peace and stability in the respective region (13). The codex of conduct stipulates binding standards of evaluating arms sales, thus also serving as an instrument to monitor the government's handling of arms exports. Finally, in its resolution on the Green Paper of the Commission under Article 17, the European Parliament has endorsed the NGO's cause by demanding to draw up and apply a Code of Conduct for the European Union and the ACP countries. This codex should be implemented in order to prevent trade in arms with countries in those regions that are conflict-prone or in which armed conflicts are actually being carried out and in order to cut any supply of arms into these countries (14).

Concerning the safeguarding of food, priority is attached to introducing changes to the Common Agricultural Policy and to cutting export subsidies for agricultural products. For example, only after massive interventions of European and Namibian NGO's and stock farming associations at the EU Commission, an agreement was reached in spring, 1997, to gradually lower export subsidies for beef exports to South Africa. Thus, another case of beef dumping to the disadvantage of local producers could be successfully successfully addressed after a relatively short period of time.

Political coherence also means that the EU should better adjust its conduct at international organizations to the needs of ACP states. One example is the World Trade Organization mentioned above. Another platform that requires coordination and further initiatives are the World Bank and the IMF. The majority of the Severely Indebted Low Income Countries (SILIC's) are part of the African ACP states. Therefore, the EU should assume a leading role in supporting fast and comprehensive debt releases for these states - especially when dealing

with the IMF and the World Bank. Furthermore, debt release should be closely tied to appropriating the ensuing funds for social development and poverty alleviation.

5. Evaluation of the German Government's position

5.1 Orientation of development policy: a blind spot

The area of development cooperation comes almost last on the agenda of the "German Thoughts on Reforming the Lomé Convention", published by the German Government on September 8th, 1997, under the aegis of Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (15). The order of reform proposals already clearly conveys this low priority. VENRO and the Liaison Committee of European development NGO's are strongly convinced that the goal of poverty alleviation must assume a central role in a reformed Lomé Agreement. However, the goals of poverty alleviation and social development are not mentioned at all in the Government's paper, or if, only in passing. On top of that, the paper completely refrains from proposing any concrete measures to reach these goals. Instead, the contributing ministries seem to trust solely in the invisible hand of the market. Poverty alleviation and social development only appear as secondary goals that are supposed to be reached automatically through increasing trade, fostering private direct investment and through unrestricted activity of private companies.

The importance of strengthening the civil society for lasting, sustainable development is another blind spot in the paper of the Federal Government. Although the role of the private economy is repeatedly considered with all due respect, decentralized cooperation and NGO cooperation, however, is only once addressed explicitly as a form of cooperation with "developing countries, that are not sufficiently committed to reform and development yet" (chapter 4.2). Finally, the gender issue is only insufficiently addressed. The fact that only later, this clause was added to the chapter concerning development cooperation additionally fosters the impression, that this has been done merely out of a sense of rhetoric duty.

5.2 Political dimension of partnership

The considerations of the German Government concerning political dialogue with the ACP states are unsatisfactory due to similar reasons. The first of its five most important orientation guidelines to be mentioned by the Commission is: "redesigning the partnership and strengthening its political dimension". In this respect, too, the statement of the Federal Government is unable to convey that its goal is genuinely directed towards development policy. VENRO supports a strengthening of the political dimension through intensified dialogue among the Lomé partners. However, the order in which the examples are listed in the statement of the Federal Government clearly portrays a ranking of priorities that VENRO does not approve of: The first issues to be mentioned in that paper are: migration, drug traffic and international terrorism. Only at the very end - and further weakened by the qualifying conjunction: "but also" - the dimension of common values and human rights issues is addressed. The demand to include in the next Lomé Agreement the obligation to take back asylum seekers who have not been accepted and illegal immigrants was deemed worth by the German Government a separate subchapter. Thus, returning such people seems to be the most important concern of the German Government in the whole area of political cooperation,

although the figures for asylum seekers from ACP states are comparably small (16). Furthermore, it is another concern of the Federal Government to limit political dialogue to the core issues of ACP-EU cooperation, in order to avoid duplication of the dialogue at other discussion forums, such as the UN. As a matter of fact, merely duplicating the dialogue at just another platform would make no sense. However, from a development policy point of view, it would make sense to coordinate interests of the EU and ACP states concerning a common strategy in front of international organizations like the WTO, which was also demanded by the ACP states themselves.

5.3 Trade and investment

Two aspects in the position paper of the German Government attract attention: First, the priority of short-term self-interests over long-term goals and interests, and second, the strong emphasis on trade and investment. A general idealization of free trade can be discerned throughout the chapter on trade policy. Free trade, as it is favoured in that paper, is not even put in perspective through some self-criticism towards the EU's agricultural protectionism. The Federal Government clearly advocates free trade areas with the three ACP regions. In these free trade zones, the principle of reciprocity with respect to opening markets should replace the prevailing rule of unilaterally granted customs preferences. Only the LLDC's shall be exempt from the obligation to open their markets completely within a period of ten years. From a development policy point of view, it is to be welcomed that the LLDC's of the Lomé group will not lose their preferential access to the EU market and that also the remaining LLDC's will be able to benefit from these trade preferences. The weaker partners in global trade are in special need of protection and support through development cooperation in order to be able to actually seize their opportunities in a liberalized global economy. States above the income threshold for LLDC's will neither be able to dispense with the protection of longer transition phases and exception clauses. The experiences with the customs union between the EU and Turkey show that mainly economically stronger regions and sectors benefit from strategies that are purely free trade oriented, without respective accommodating measures. Strategies that lead to new divisions in the affected societies thwart the initiatives to fight poverty and to assure basic social security. A reciprocal opening of the markets between the EU and those ACP states that are not classified as LLDC's will also impede regional economic cooperation among the poorest countries and those countries of that region that are already a little further developed. Thus, reciprocal market opening will interfere with regional economic cooperation, which is, otherwise, given priority by the EU.

On the one hand, the considerations of the German Government and of the Commission to grant equal preferences to all LLDC's - allowing for improved EU market access - and to expand the accumulation of rules of origin are absolutely to be approved of. On the other hand, the concerns of many ACP states about a total liberalization of investment activity should be respected. A regulation of the future Lomé Convention could - as demanded by the German Government in chapter 3.4 of its reform proposals - force the ACP states to enter the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) that is currently being negotiated within the OECD. Everything should be done to avoid this. It is paradoxical to call for intensified political dialogue, on the one hand, and to drastically diminish the abilities of the governments to design their own economic policy, on the other. Concerning global economic policy, it seems to be equally paradoxical to repeatedly stress the values of partnership and equality in discussions on Lomé, but to force the ACP states into a set of agreements in whose negotiation they have not been able to participate. Instead, a new Lomé Convention should take up the consideration to include into a future investment rule of a following Lomé

Agreement - as well as into the MAI - regulations to improve environmental standards. This consideration was expressed by the German Government in its paper under point 3.

5.4 Geographic scope and structure of the Agreement

Essentially, from the point of view of development policy, the option suggested by the Federal Government and by the EU Commission to split up the future Lomé Treaty, can be approved of, except for the reciprocity regulation. This option envisions to split the Lomé Treaty into a global agreement (taking care of basic political conditions) and into three regional agreements (especially concerning the areas of trade and economic cooperation). However, a division of the political dialogue into regional discussion platforms or, as in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, into sub-regions that are still to be defined, appears to make little sense.

Essentially, a future Lomé Agreement should be open to other states willing to access, even though they might be located at the periphery of the three ACP regions (e. g. the Marshall Islands, the Maldives, Cuba). Furthermore, it is worth to consider a partial expansion of the agreement to LLDC's in Asia (like Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan or Laos). Even though, in this case, the option of establishing a regional agreement seems to make little sense, at least the benefits of Lomé in the field of trade policy should be made fully available to those states.

The Lomé Treaties finally have to leave their post-colonial history behind, as repeatedly stressed by Commissioner Pinheiro. Since Germany has already come to terms with her colonial history after the First World War, she should actually be able to deal with this issue in a much more relaxed and unbiased way than, for example, France or the United Kingdom. Therefore, it is even more astonishing, that the term "colonialism" is not mentioned once in the whole paper of the Federal Government. Instead, only "special relations" are euphemistically spoken of.

The farewell to post colonial times, however, must not imply that the EU unilaterally declares the preferential relations with the ACP states as obsolete. Europe cannot just withdraw from the historic responsibility for colonialism, since its consequences are still perceptible. In addition, some EU member states, first of all France, still reign over a little remainder of the former colonial empires. Especially with the present UN Decade on de-colonization in mind, it has to be the objective of a reformed Lomé Treaty to fully integrate these Overseas Countries and Territories into the respective regional economic areas.

5.5 Reform of institutions and parity bodies

Under point 2 of its reform proposals, the German Government calls for a fundamental restructuring of the prevailing convention. It demands to make the convention more concise and to reform the current institutions and parity bodies. In chapter 4 (development cooperation), similar propositions with respect to the number of instruments and the concentration and coordination of development cooperation brought up. From a development policy perspective, it can only be welcomed to strive for increasing efficiency and a better allocation of existing funds. On the one hand, lean institutions, cost consciousness and the prevention of clientele structures can be doubtless beneficial to development. On the other hand, to the same extent, one has to make sure not to impede the existing attempts to establish democratic exchange among EU and ACP states on an equal basis. A strengthening of the

Committee of Ambassadors vis-à-vis the Council of Ministers, as proposed by the Federal Government, could, in fact, contribute to increased efficiency and cost saving. However, weakening the parity-based EU-ACP Parliamentary Assembly would be the wrong solution to the efficiency problem. Instead, the political dialogue should be intensified on the parliamentary level, too, and be expanded to relevant groups of civil societies.

5.6 Instruments of Lomé cooperation

In its paper, the German Government proposes the fading-out of SYSMIN and the termination of STABEX in its present form. The problems inherent in both instruments, e. g. the unequal access to those funds or the prevention of export diversification, are obvious. Nevertheless, these instruments should not be abolished without appropriate substitution or compensation. On the one hand, these instruments could not meet the expectations that were placed in them. On the other hand, also the Federal Government noticed, that the fluctuations of export revenues continue to represent a big problem for the affected ACP states. Especially with respect to STABEX, it is important to await the results of the current evaluations before presenting further reform proposals. However, NGO's, too, consider the transformation of the STABEX fond into a kind of direct budget aid a possible alternative.

5.7 The European Development Fond (EDF)

Due to budgetary reasons, the German Government continues to oppose the incorporation of the EDF into the budget of the EU Commission. As can be inferred from its answer to the Great Interpellation of the SPD (Question No. 45) the Federal Government expects a considerable additional financial burden for the Federal budget if the EDF is integrated into the EU budget. However, due to reasons of development policy, such a step is to be highly recommended. In addition, the German Government also recognizes the problem of budget clarity in case the present situation remains unchanged. Another argument of the Federal Government consists in the fact that funding from national budgets guarantees more efficient control of expenses. When asking the deputies of the AWZ, the Committee on Development and Cooperation of the Bundestag (German Parliament), they claim that strong parliamentary control based on development policy does not take place, at least not within the AWZ. So far, this right to control has obviously been able to contribute only little to actually recommend European development cooperation to the members of the Bundestag. Due to reasons of greater political coherence, democratic accountability and transparency in a future Lomé Agreement, VENRO advocates to include the EDF into the EU budget, thus making it subject to the budget planing and control of the European Parliament. Budgeting of the EDF should go along with comprehensive reform, which aims, among others, at improving the access of decentralized actors to the EDF funds in the respective country.

6. Expectations of German NGO's from the Federal Government and the German Bundestag

The first and most important expectation of German development-related NGO's from the Federal Government and the parties represented in the German Parliament (Bundestag) consists of showing the willingness to show stronger commitment, in future, concerning topics of European development cooperation - especially cooperation with the ACP states.

VENRO is aware of the fact, that, concerning this issue, German NGO's will be measured by their own standards. Therefore, VENRO will encourage them to deal with this area in greater depth.

A consultation process, as initiated by the EU Commission through the publication of the Green Paper, should serve as a role model for the process of decision making within each single state. Therefore, VENRO expects the German Government to immediately subject the Commission's proposal for a negotiation mandate (which has to be passed by the Council of Ministers at the latest by September 1998) to consultations among all interested groups in society.

Since the German public (including the Bundestag and the Ministries) regard ACP-EU cooperation as the domain of France and the UK in continuation of their former colonial ties, particular efforts are necessary to provide this cooperation with another legitimation - especially in times of growing developmental weariness and Euro-skepticism. In order to attain renewed recognition, the Lomé Cooperation has to be freed from its post-colonial clientele structures as well as from strategic interests that are not related to development. In France and the UK, too, dissatisfaction is growing about the course of the prevailing EU-ACP cooperation. Germany, which is, due to her history, mostly free from post-colonial self-interests, should perceive this part of her historic heritage as a chance. Germany should actively champion - maybe together with the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries - her own concept for future EU development policy, directed at interests in a future of socially and economically sustainable development. In the debate on ACP-EU cooperation in the past years, the German Government has stood out mainly due to the fact that it vigorously favored cutting Germany's own contributions to the EDF at the midterm review of the last Lomé Agreement. To the contrary, a first clear sign against a threatening re-nationalization of the European development policy should consist in the German Government supporting a considerable increase in funding for the Lomé Cooperation, in order to achieve complete integration of the EDF into the Community's budgeting.

Concerning the debate about the negotiation mandate for the EU Commission, VENRO expects the German Government to first of all speak out for a future Lomé Agreement which is primarily oriented at development policy. Clearly, poverty alleviation and promoting sustainable social and economic development have to be the main focus of attention. The integration of ACP states into the global economy should come into effect only gradually and harmonically, i. e. while partially maintaining preferential relations, and not through rash and reciprocal liberalization of trade and investment. This demand is also laid down in the Treaty of Maastricht. From a development policy point of view, regional integration in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific Region should be fostered. However, there is doubt whether this regional integration is to be achieved through reciprocal free trade zones with the EU or whether such free trade zones are more likely to lead to new social deformations in the ACP states. Instead of only paying attention to WTO conformity of a new Lomé Agreement, the EU and the ACP states should rather make a joint effort to support a reform of the WTO, the introduction of binding social and ecological minimum standards, food safety clauses and further steps towards fair trade. Global trade has to be organized in a fashion that is more conducive to development. In order to proceed towards this goal, small steps, that can be implemented fast, are as much helpful as necessary. As a first step in this direction, VENRO and the European development NGO's propose to establish a common ACP-EU bureau at the WTO in Geneva.

Furthermore, the German Government should be requested to pay more attention to the importance of the NGO's contribution to a future Lomé Agreement in its declarations on the Government's position. The NGO's' tasks are not limited to organizing and implementing - together with their partners in the ACP states - projects, that are co-financed by the EU. An important task is to attach more importance to the voices of the poorest groups in society in the South in the context of political dialogue within the EU. In general, the BMZ (German Ministry for Development and Cooperation) assigns an important role to NGO's in the field of development cooperation due to their proximity to these groups. "The strength of NGO's is rooted in their proximity to poor, underprivileged groups of the population, as well as in their ability to mobilize the willingness and the initiative of these groups to help themselves." (17) In order to reinforce participation and a broader concept of "ownership", NGO's from the North and the South should actively be included into the process of decision making concerning all basic political issues.

The question of a further "Europeanization" of development policy would constitute, for example, such a basic decision. In the introduction to the "German thoughts on Reforming the Lomé Convention", the German Government stands up for a multilateral approach within the EU to face the increasingly global aspect of present problems (in addition to the prevailing bilateral approaches). VENRO (as a hub for NGO's) is strongly in favour of further strengthening this multilateral approach - especially concerning ACP-EU cooperation - and to complement it by means of increasing participation of bodies of civil societies as well as more efficient parliamentary control.

Notes and References:

- 1) Commission of the European Communities, Green Paper on relations between the European Union and the ACP countries on the eve of the 21. Century – Challenges and options for a new partnership, Nov. 20th, 1996. - COM(96)570(final).
- 2) cf. the contribution of Volker Kasch in : Europäische Kommission, EU und AKP auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Partnerschaft? Dokumentation des Konsultationsforums vom 16. April 1997, in: Europäische Gespräche 3/97, ed. by Uwe Holtz.
- 3) EU-Commission, Guidelines for the negotiation of new cooperation agreements with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, Oct. 29th, 1997. - COM(97)537 (final).
- 4) The Libreville Declaration, adopted by the First Summit of ACP Heads of State and Government in Libreville, Gabon, Nov. 7th, 1997, ACP/28/051/97 (final).
- 5) Declaration of ACP NGOs on ACP-EU Relationship in the 21st Century, Entebbe, Uganda, Oct. 31st, 1997.

- 6) Liaison Committee of Development NGOs to the EU, The Future of the Lomé Convention - European Development NGO Position Statement, September 1997.
- 7) also compare the "Guidelines" of the Commission, l. c., p.18.
- 8) cf. Karin Junker: Report of the European Parliament on the Proposal of the Commission concerning the Consideration of Gender Issues in Development Cooperation, A4-0318/97, passed on Nov. 19th, 1997.
- 9) Proposal of the EU Commission for a Council of Regulation on the Consideration of Gender Issues in Development Cooperation of June 9th, 1997. - COM(97)265.
- 10) e. g. EU Commission: Human Rights in Foreign Relations of the European Union: From Rome to Maastricht and beyond. - COM(95)567 (final).
- 11) Response of the German Federal Government to the Great Interpellation by the Members of Parliament Reinhold Robbe, Adelheid Tröscher, Brigitte Adler and others, and the SPD Faction on: „The Politics of the Federal Government concerning the field of Lomé Conventions.“, German Parliament Printed Matter 13/7882, Sept. 30th, 1997.
- 12) also compare the Liaison Committee's critique in its letter of Dec. 17th, 1997 to Bernard Petit of DGVIII of the EU Commission, and the EUROSTEP Position Paper on the “Guidelines” of the Commission of Nov. 19th, 1997.
- 13) Saferworld/ WDM/ BASIC: A European Codex of Conduct for Trade in Arms; Proposals on the Extension and Implementation of Common European Control for the Regulation of the Transfer and Exports of Military, Security and Police Equipment, Technology, Education and Staff, Saferworld, London.
- 14) European Parliament: Resolution on the Green Paper of the Commission on relations between the EU and the ACP countries on the eve of the 21st Century, Oct. 2nd, 1997, by: Wilfried Martens, A4-274/97.
- 15) BMWi/ AA/ BMF/ BMI/ BML/ BMZ: German thoughts on reforming the Lomé Convention, Bonn, Sept. 8th, 1997.
- 16) In the annual statistics of asylum seekers (1997), published by the German Ministry for Domestic Affairs on Jan. 13th, 1998, position 10 is the highest rank occupied by an ACP state: The Dem. Rep. of Congo (the former Zaire). The share of the 1920 asylum seekers from Zaire is less than 2% of the total figure of asylum seekers. According to a preliminary statistics of the Department for Refugees (Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge (BAFl)), asylum seekers from all ACP States (especially from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Togo and Somalia) only account for some 10% of the total number.
- 17) BMZ, Journalisten-Handbuch, Entwicklungspolitik 1997/98, p.192.

About VENRO:

The Association of German Development NGOs (Verband Entwicklungspolitik Deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen - VENRO) was founded in Bonn in December 1995 as an umbrella organization of currently 80 NGO's working in the area of education in development policy, development cooperation and humanitarian aid. The organization's main task is to promote coherent development policy in Germany and the EU. In addition, the association fosters the exchange of experiences as well as cooperation among its member organizations to make both politics and society pay increased attention to their common interests. As a "German Platform", VENRO is member of the "Liaison Committee of Development NGO's to the European Union" in Brussels. The present paper was compiled by the VENRO group working on "European Development Policy".