

**I N T R A   A C P   C O O P E R A T I O N**

**Notes Toward An Operational Conceptualisation  
And Agenda For Phased Implementation**

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**INTRA ACP COOPERATION: Notes Toward An Operational  
Conceptualisation And Agenda For Phased Implementation**

**By Reginald Herbold Green**

To plan is to choose.  
Choose to go forward.

- Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

It is useless to talk of ends  
Without specifying means.

- Chairman Mao Tse Tung

**I. South-South Cooperation and The Lome Arrangements**

1. In one sense the ACP side of the ACP-EEC arrangements embodied in successive Lome Conventions is by definition South-South cooperation for collective, coordinated negotiation with the North (EEC) side. That has been - and realistically will for the foreseeable future remain - the central focus of the ACP institutions at ministerial, ambassadorial and secretariat levels.
2. The Lome Conventions have specifically encouraged, and the EDF's specifically funded, regional and sub-regional cooperation within the ACP group and between its members and their non-member regional neighbours. This it should be recalled is after struggle by the ACP states. This implies a useful coordinating and information exchange role at ACP level in regard to these arrangements and to negotiating improvements with respect to them in Lome IV (a negotiating process beginning next year).

3. Beyond this set of EEC related cooperation activities ACP (at all levels) has always aspired to South-South cooperation promotion, support and operation roles. Ringing declamations abound, a number of preliminary consultative meetings have been held and comprehensive agendas drawn up. Unfortunately attention to choice, means and sequences has not matched commitment in principle resulting in a great deal being said but rather little being done. This meeting of major ACP member regional and sub-regional organisations and the concrete proposals for a limited ACP wide initial programme inter-regional cooperation is an attempt to begin building an operational record to match commitments and mandates.
4. This broader approach requires considering what we mean by intra-ACP cooperation/coordination. It also raises questions of how ACP member cooperation at all levels relates to broader South-South cooperation fora. For example, the African Programme for Priority Economic Recovery (APPER) is a central theme at national and regional levels in Sub-Saharan Africa. How should ACP sub-regional groupings and the ACP Secretariat relate to APPER? UNCTAD fairly regularly has workshops and consultations on, e.g. new avenues for raising returns from commodities in SSA, problems of landlocked and/or island economies. In each case ACP members form a significant proportion of the countries concerned. Should the Secretariat seek to be a spokesperson for and to make inputs on behalf of the member states?
5. Finally, it is necessary to face the scarcity of resources squarely. Intra ACP cooperation at all levels - not least at that of the Secretariat - has been underfunded and understaffed. It is easy to say this should be corrected. But there are more programmes valid in themselves than can be financed. What priority can realistically be argued for what types of intra-ACP cooperation and coordination? At what levels? With what specific comparative advantages over national action or coordination through other fora?

## II. What Is Intra-ACP Cooperation?

6. Intra-ACP cooperation is any cooperation including two or more ACP member states (and possibly one or more non-ACP states). To attempt any narrower conceptualisation is artificial and - more serious - likely to be divisive. If Trinidad and Fiji were to have a joint technology project in respect to - say - uses of sugar by-products that would be intra-ACP cooperation. So too is the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (of SADCC) two of whose previously regionally prioritised projects appear in the Secretariat's concrete proposals for cooperation at ACP wide level. But operationally there is a need to categorize different levels and types of cooperation to the extent that facilities identifying what input ACP - and specifically its ongoing operational arm, the Secretariat - could usefully make and what participation by ACP the cooperating countries and regional/sub-regional would welcome.
  
7. Three levels or types which may be relevant for this application are:
  - a. cooperation among two or more ACP member states;
  - b. cooperation and coordination activities of ACP (or ACP and non-ACP neighbour) regional and sub-regional groups;
  - c. inter-regional ACP wide cooperation/coordination.
  
8. The issue is not whether one or the other is valid. All are valid. Probably each is most suitable for certain purposes and in particular contexts. The immediate issues are whether in each there are roles for ACP. If so, which ones? And how can they be funded?

## III. Cross-National Cooperation

9. There are numerous cases of cooperation among two or three or four or more ACP member states. Most are on quite specific topics or topic clusters. Some are quite small and some quite large. Mozambique has a series of joint cooperation commissions with each of its neighbours which

agree an agenda for cooperation and identify the actual implementing agencies for each specific item. The "Northern Corridor" group (Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire) coordinates national action to upgrade physical and coordinate institutional (e.g. transit traffic and licence rules) infrastructure on land routes from Mombasa to the landlocked states (and vice versa). While the latter case is close to being a sub-regional body and is broadly within the PTA's (Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa) transport coordination programme, it is probably better seen at present as a semi-formal, ad hoc form of inter-state cooperation on issues of common concern.

10. Much such cooperation is valuable. If there is a mutual interest which can be acted on more effectively jointly than severally, then there is a case for cooperation/coordination. If it can be pursued without formal superstructure and a large number of states then bilateral and/or ad hoc coordination is likely to be suitable.
11. This type of cooperation does - or can - relate to EEC (EDF) and, therefore, to ACP. Some such projects, e.g. the Ghana link in the West African coastal highway, the Tanzania-Rwanda road link have been financed out of EDF regional allocations. Therefore, the issue of how to ensure proper ACP regional member state involvement in the overall programming of EDF regional allocations is relevant (and is addressed in the next section).
12. Beyond that it is not clear that any general case exists for ACP involvement in case by case cooperation among small clusters of its member states (usually adjacent or near each other). Reporting of such ventures and experiences to ACP to provide a bank of information - or at least contact addresses - which states considering such ventures could draw on would, however, be a good idea. Its difficulty - judging from parallel experiences by other organisations - would be getting the member states to send the data as a regular, routine operation.
13. However, one specific role - TCDC - might usefully be carried out by ACP if the demand exists and the finance can be mobilised. The experiences and expert personnel of one member state of ACP should be available as technical assistance to others - e.g. Jamaica on bananas to - say -

Somalia and Cameroon or Fiji (or vice versa as the case may be); Northern and Central Corridor (Eastern Africa) and SATCC experience on unification of shipping and customs documentation to West African, Caribbean or Pacific states. Much of the technical assistance now secured from the North or from international organisations is available from fellow ACP members if only one knew where to look and could provide finance. Since many main-line technical assistance personnel and consultancy firms learn on the job (often at their initial clients' expense) there is a case both that such ACP-ACP technical cooperation can often be more appropriate and that the (inevitable to some extent) on the job training costs be invested in our own people and institutions.

14. The relevant models to study are probably the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) and its Technical Assistance Group (TAG). CFTC has a small coordinating and core expert staff (Commonwealth wide not primarily Northern Commonwealth) but its bread and butter operations are locating technical assistance personnel or consultants or specialised training places in one developing Commonwealth country to meet the need identified by another developing Commonwealth country. TAG is a small core team (augmented for particular consultancies) which has specialised in economic negotiations and public enterprise issues, e.g. mining and petroleum legislation; major contract negotiations in these areas; restructuring of parastatals, sorting out organisational, structural and financial issues arising out of nationalisation; preparing draft investment codes and or guidelines for enterprise privatisation or acquisition. Technically of course the Commonwealth is a North/South body but CFTC and TAG have clearly achieved the status of being seen as "us" by most developing Commonwealth members - a status not all international technical assistance bodies can claim - and a high proportion of personnel and places (especially in CFTC) are South-South.
15. CFTC/TAG are not large. They specialise in being quick and able to meet smallish but urgent needs. They are responsible ultimately to the main Commonwealth Governmental Organisations and have a London based supervisory committee of High Commissioners. Until quite recently their annual budget was in the £15-20 million range and a bit over a decade ago (when the programme was already substantial) it was perhaps £10 million. Total professional staff based in London (depending how one counts

professionals used from other departments of the Commonwealth Secretariat) are at most 100 and could be seen to be as low as 50 full-time equivalents.

16. Funding would need to be identified. There are two evident possibilities:

- a. inclusion in Lome IV as an interregional cooperation fund component;
- b. eligibility for ta, consultancy and training contracts within Lome III (and subsequent) country allocations. Conceivably this already exists as presumably any ACP (as well as any EEC state is eligible for such "procurement" even though this does not appear to happen very often.

17. If there is an indication that substantial interest in such an initiative exists several preliminary steps should be taken prior to the beginning of Lome IV negotiations:

- a. a feasibility study (probably ideally by CFTC/TAG);
- b. preliminary indications of likely types of requests and availabilities of expertise;
- c. identification of the appropriate initial core coordinating and expert team staff (perhaps 15 to 20 professionals);
- d. setting up channels for requests to ACP and for ACP to secure prompt indications of availability via Ambassadors to Brussels and by building up its own data bank of individuals, institutions and specialised training places;
- e. working out a draft budget and some system for allocating "quotas" to member states (i.e. entitlements to call for services);
- f. securing ACP Council approval for the proposals and their inscription on the Lome IV negotiating agenda.



18. An analogous - but simpler - operation would be serving as a central clearing and information despatch centre for information on all EDF contracts coming up for tender. Enterprises in/of ACP states are eligible to bid for these and, in certain circumstances, have a preference. In principle EEC Delegates provide this information to governments/enterprises. In practice this system rarely works well.
19. This failure to have a means to enjoy a benefit provided for in the Convention is not trivial. A significant number of ACP enterprises (in both manufacturing and construction) could win contracts - usually in their own sub-region but some (e.g. Nigerian and Trinidadian contractors, Zimbabwean and Mozambican railway rolling stock manufacturers, Tanzania's electrical distribution and switchgear apparatus producing enterprise) might be more widely competitive. That is, they could win contracts if they knew of the opportunities in good time and contracts were compartmentalised so as not to discriminate against smaller or limited range of product bidders.
20. This approach could have a not insignificant impact on intra-ACP trade. EDF financed contracts would avoid the problems of hard currency shortages by purchasers and lack of competitive export credit by producers. While not directly leading to the formation of multi-ACP country enterprises such enhanced trade in goods (especially engineering and capital goods) and construction services could create a climate of mutual knowledge and commercial relations conducive to their establishment.
21. A possible procedure is:
  - a. the ACP Council formally to request the EEC to make the ACP Secretariat a depository for all tender and related documents on contracts open to tender at all appropriate times (including pre-tender qualification stage);
  - b. the ACP Secretariat - via the Committee of Ambassadors - to secure precise member state contact points (preferably enterprises or Chambers of Commerce as well as Ministries) to inform;

- c. the Secretariat to send basic information by telex to appropriate contact points;
  - d. when interested contact point (or enterprise alerted by them) to telex or 'phone Secretariat for complete details on that specific contract by fastest appropriate means.
22. There would be a substantial investment of time in getting the contact point list. Thereafter one officer with a secretary and a telex/dispatch clerk could handle the operation. The basic cost would be telexes and express airmail (or overnight air delivery system) costs.
23. If there is interest, a project memo and a draft budget could be sent to the next Council of Ministers meeting after preparation by the Secretariat and review/approval by the Council of Ministers.

#### IV. Regional, Sub-Regional Cooperation

24. The main dynamic for broad based and specialised multi-ACP state cooperation and coordination are regional and sub-regional organisations. In the Suva Declaration a decade ago the ACP stressed that "initial steps in the realisation of these measures [toward an 'Action Programme for Intra-ACP Cooperation'] should give emphasis to and be built on regional cooperation". A number of the components within the Intra-ACP (Harare) Programme of Action of 1985 and of the Air and Maritime Transport programmes prepared by the ACP Secretariat in 1986-87 are to strengthen existing, or to initiate priority proposed, regional or sub-regional intra-ACP organisation projects. The Lome Convention's have allocated rising sums and augmented proportion of EDF to funds for supporting regional cooperation.
25. However, a number of problems exist which hamper full mobilisation of the potential embodied in these organisations: generally, in utilising ACP channels for interaction and in control over the actual uses to which EDF regional funds are put. To overcome them it is necessary first to review them frankly.

26. None of ACP's three geographic regions has only one regional organisation. Indeed only in the Caribbean and Pacific Regions is there an overarching organisation embracing all member states. Even in these cases there are special purpose regional organisations and entities with valid roles to play in the process of regional cooperation building.
27. In Africa there are four main sub-regions: Western (Mauritania through Nigeria), Central (Cameroon through Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi), Southern (Lesotho through Angola and Tanzania) and Eastern (Sudan through Kenya plus Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania who are inherently cross sub-regional in links and concerns). In each region there are general purpose cooperation institutions (ECOWAS, CEEAC, SADCC, PTA). However, PTA's membership - with good reason - overlaps that of CEEAC and SADCC. Further, within ECOWAS and CEEAC are older, smaller general economic cooperation groupings (CEAO and UDEAC and CEPGL respectively) which cannot be merged fully into the larger ones until their operational programmes reach the same degree and level as those existing within the smaller ones (an analogue in a sense to the role of Benelux especially in the early years of building Western European economic cooperation). General purpose, geographically limited bodies - e.g. those of the Kagera Basin and Senegal Basin states also exist and have a distinctive role not easily subsumed in broader groupings as do the East and West African drought/desertification focused bodies (IGAD and SILLS). In the case of the PTA-SADCC overlap a complementary difference in approaches and main programme areas results in different logical membership areas and operational emphases. PTA's main thrust is toward free trade and inter-member convertible clearing with other programmes basically ancillary and facilitating. Thus it needs a broad catchment area, i.e. Khartoum to Maseru and Kigali to Port Louis. SADCC is centred on sectoral coordination and reduction of external dependence (especially on South Africa). Therefore it needs a more compact membership with real concern with the focused dependence reduction and sectoral linkages (present or medium term potential) justifying close coordination, i.e. Maseru to Dar es Salaam and Maputo to Luanda. As it happens Tanzania is a logical member of both groups just as Rwanda and Burundi (given the realities of practicable trade and transport links) are logical members of PTA as well as of CEEAC.

28. In addition to the specific African sub-regional overlaps, there are certain others. The African Association of Central Banks and the African Development Bank for example, are specialist regional bodies grouping all, or virtually all, African ACP member states plus the Mahgrebian states. SATCC is an organisation with an international treaty basis specialising in transport and communication as well as an integral part of the SADCC structure but the Northern and Central Corridor groups of states in East Africa are transport coordination ad hoc groupings which are institutionally and operationally distinct from PTA. In the Caribbean the special concerns of the least developed Eastern Caribbean States have given rise to the OECS which provides for special mutual cooperation measures among themselves complementary to, but distinct from those within the broader CARICOM with its four economically larger and stronger members. Finally, in each region, across sub-regions and sometimes among ACP member states and non-ACP neighbours there are specialist bodies in respect to education and training, insect pandemic control, culture, etc.
29. It is easy to say that multiplicity or organisation creates problems of overlap and non-coordination. It is even easier to point to instances of largely duplicatory and or unfunded/unfundable bodies which do not in practice succeed in promoting cooperation and are wrongly used by critics as examples of its supposed inherent unviability. Not only is it easy to assert this, it is up to a point true. Unfortunately it is also trite and gives little guidance as to how to proceed.
30. Monolithic all-purpose organisations with no overlaps in membership and no independent specialist regional bodies for the Caribbean, the Pacific and the four African sub-regions would not be an attainable 'solution' nor would they prove viable if established. Historic and political reasons and perspectives (as well as, in certain cases, the interests of non-ACP partners or supporters) guarantee non-attainability. So does common sense. The logical catchment areas of central banks, development banks, river basin development coordination, free trade areas and clearing schemes, shipping lines and sectoral coordination (to take a few examples) will rarely coincide. They may well do so in the Pacific. They certainly do not in Africa. In the ACP Caribbean they may at present, but if Caribbean Basin cooperation were to broaden to include -

e.g. - Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Central American states and Panama then both overlapping membership, differentiation and ACP- non-ACP mixed membership cases would presumably arise.

31. There is a need for focused coordination among organisations in each region or sub-region and inter sub-regionally in the case of overlaps:
- a. to achieve mutual knowledge and understanding of what each other is (are doing);
  - b. to identify areas of complementarity and of potential duplication or conflict;
  - c. to organise programmes so that potential complementarity is made actual and potential overlap transformed into actual complementarity by full or selective division of labour and/or joint programmes;
  - d. to identify gaps and who could best fill them;
  - e. to establish mutual trust;
  - f. to identify potential conflict before it becomes real in order to avoid its becoming overt, and
  - g. to engage in dialogue to end actual conflicts which do more than dissipate resources and raise doubts among the countries affected - they provide opportunities for outside manipulation and domination (and are sometimes fanned for precisely that reason) and are used outside the ACP to discredit our regional cooperation endeavours by those who do not wish them well.
32. The foregoing process must be regionally or sub-regionally based. Whether the ACP Secretariat, if requested, could play a useful role is not clear. It may vary from case to case. Under certain circumstances Brussels may be a convenient clearing house for information, a better equipped place for a meeting or a source for an independent consultancy study. However, this is certainly likely to be peripheral to

intra-regional or to ACP-regional cooperation.

33. What role the ACP can play at regional level requires careful exploration with regional and sub-regional organisations. Examples include:
- a. the TCDC programme proposed above;
  - b. meetings at which regional and sub-regional ACP state organisations can meet and exchange experiences, develop contacts, advise on ACP's inter-regional cooperation programme;
  - c. a clearing house of information and - probably more important - contact addresses so that the experiences of one organisation can be effectively available to others;
  - d. building project components of special interest to ACP regional/sub-regional organisations into ACP's sectoral inter-regional programmes of cooperation.
34. One concrete area in which ACP wide cooperation is appropriate in respect to intra-regional cooperation relates to Lome IV and to the administration of and resources allocated to - its regional funds. This is an area in which it would be desirable to achieve clear agreed recommendations to form the basis for an ACP Secretariat paper for the Council of Ministers following discussion and advice by the Committee of Ambassadors.
35. Regional and sub-regional organisations need to work out itemised proposals for support desired from Lome IV to submit to their own governments (through whatever channels are appropriate in each case) to be negotiated and agreed by them, coordinated at Council of Ministers level and fed into the Lome negotiating process. Simply asking for more in an undifferentiated, unspecified way can lead to conflicts among regional and national aspirations for resources and give room for negotiators on the other side to play off ACP members against each other by juggling the same sum between or among categories. That regional governmental backing can raise regional fund allocations became clear in the Lome III negotiations, perhaps most notably (but not only) in the

case of the Southern African sub-region.

36. The administration of regional funds - more precisely the allocation of resources to precise projects - has historically been very unsatisfactory and, however intended, has left almost all decision-taking power with DG VIII in a way very different from that pertaining to country allocations. Substantial breakthroughs have been achieved in the case of the Southern African Sub-Region in 1986 and of the Caribbean Region in 1987. It should be a negotiating target in respect to Lome IV to consolidate and to generalise these achievements.
37. Regional fund use proposals historically could come from any regional government or organisation. It was in practice easy to agree to low priority or to teleguide desired proposals with the suggestion that here was money to be had which would otherwise go to someone else. Because no agreed framework for allocation (analogous to country level national indicative programmes) existed DG VIII and EEC more generally not only could, but were virtually required to, pick and choose unilaterally. This can hardly be said to be consistent with the spirit of Lome.
38. In 1986 the SADCC Member ACP States negotiated a convention with the EEC covering the allocation and programming of Lome III's regional fund. This built on a record of ongoing SADCC-EEC relations and ACP Southern African states concerns - expressed through SADCC - that Lome II's Southern African regional fund had been allocated without overall consultation with the sub-regional ACP states or with SADCC, their sub-regional institution for agreeing priority programmes of cooperation projects. The 1986 (Harare) convention set out agreed procedural guidelines and broad sectoral allocations and provided the basis for subsequent indicative regional programme negotiation and project presentation and approval. To facilitate this EEC in Lome III had separated its fund for South African and Namibian support projects from the Southern African regional fund, a necessary step for functional, cooperative, agreed allocations of either.
39. A somewhat similar - but later - process resulted in an ACP Caribbean States-EEC agreement, in this case with CARICOM as the coordinating body in the ACP member side. While there was some preliminary discussion at

the time of the Lome III negotiations, it appears that no similar process has come to fruition in respect of the Pacific Region.

40. The success of the Southern African and Caribbean initiatives has been made possible by two common characteristics:
  - a. there was a single, strong regional/sub-regional organisation regularly used by the relevant ACP member states for agreeing on priorities among multi-state cooperation projects;
  - b. the states and the organisation were able to work out a detailed set of procedural and allocational proposals to put to and negotiate with the EEC with their regional organisation playing a full role in the negotiations.
  
41. If the Pacific ACP states wish to pursue a similar path, both conditions appear - at least potentially - to be present there. They do not, at present, exist in the other three African sub-regions because there is no single sub-regional organisation which could alone be seen as a priority ordering forum or the single negotiating partner/executing body to complement/group the relevant ACP states vis a vis EEC. An apparent second problem - that EEC regional fund boundaries do not coincide with those of ACP or of sub-regional organisations - is much less significant. Tanzania has been able to participate in EEC funded support for SADCC's Programme of Action (Southern African EDF Region) and in Central Corridor and Kagera Basin projects involving, or of interest to, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Zaire (Central Corridor grouping and Kagera Basin Authority - falling into EDF's Eastern and, conceivably, Central African regions).
  
42. Successful negotiations of conventions, protocols or arrangements parallel to those for Southern Africa and the Caribbean will require:
  - a. an agreed set of procedures on the side of the ACP member states;
  - b. a mechanism for agreeing on indicative allocations by sector and by priority regional institution (whether internationally executed or prioritised) so that an indicative programme can be negotiated with EEC;



- c. a negotiating team (whether or not including one or more regional bodies) to negotiate with EEC;
  - d. a set of agreed contact points/implementation channels for proceeding from the indicative programme through project approval to implementation and disbursement.
43. Until these are in place in each region/sub-region, EEC can, quite reasonably, say it is unable to operate a regional fund allocation procedure analogous to that in Southern Africa or the Caribbean.
44. The simplest way to achieve those preconditions might be:
- a. for the ACP states of the sub-region to agree on regional organisations to be eligible and a first draft overall target amount;
  - b. to ask each included body to prepare a draft programme or project list with indicative funding totals and amounts wished to be included in the EDF regional allocation;
  - c. to hold a governmental/organisational level meeting to agree on (ultimately for governments to decide on) allocations and to define procedures (including the role of the organisations) for negotiating the agreement, indicative programme and projects with EEC;
  - d. to hold a subsequent meeting after Lome IV if the overall regional fund diverges from the total used as the basis for allocation;
  - e. to provide for prompt reporting to governments on the process of implementations to allow prompt action in the case of lags, hitches or breakdowns in detailed project negotiations.
45. These processes must by their very nature be regional and sub-regional. The ACP Secretariat can at most provide limited technical assistance. What the Secretariat can do, if desired, is to formulate for the Committee of Ambassadors and Council of Ministers draft provisions for Lome IV covering procedures for indicative programming final project

approval and disbursement of regional funds. These could be modelled on the provisions relating to the national quotas and draw on the Southern African and Caribbean models. If not all Regions/Sub-Regions desire to, or are yet in a position to implement such a system by 1990, the article could provide that it came into force in respect to any region or sub-region when a formal request for such activation was received from the ACP states who comprised it. One role the ACP Secretariat should not play is that of a broker between individual regional or sub-regional organisations acting outside a framework agreed by their member ACP states and the EEC. That way lies at best confusion and at worst short circuiting the responsibility of these organisations to their member governments and the creation of opportunities for EEC, however well intentioned, to determine the uses of regional funds unilaterally without clear consultation with all of the concerned (regional or sub-regional) ACP states.

V. African, Caribbean and Pacific: ACP-Wide Cooperation

46. As has already become evident the distinctions between inter-state, intra-regional and ACP-wide cooperation are far from watertight. The proposed TCDC and EDF contract document distribution projects can be seen as servicing inter-state and intra-regional cooperation but can also be seen as mechanisms for operational cooperation among the ACP states on an inter-regional basis.
47. The basic problem with cross-regional cooperation in the ACP context lies in identifying desirable, practicable and viable programmes and projects. Each region has an internal logic and dynamic of its own. Each has a real interest in cooperating with the others in negotiating with EEC. Within each there are certain states with particular common interests linking them to states in the other regions (e.g. Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Swaziland, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Fiji in respect to world as well as EEC sugar issues). Each region has certain sectoral programmes and problems analogous or similar to those of the others. But by itself these are not enough to define a concrete cooperation programme. It is, therefore, of importance to be realistic in testing proposals for viability. False starts do more than waste resources; they

erode confidence and lead to cheap derision by outsiders. To take a non-ACP example it may well be true that a series of road links from Botswana to Zambia, Zambia to Tanzania, Tanzania to Kenya, Kenya to Uganda and Uganda to the Sudan are all viable and in most cases priorities for national and inter-state traffic. But to package, design and promote them as the Khartoum-Gaborone Highway Project is counter-productive; that whole is very much less than the sum of its parts.

48. The ACP Secretariat can play an exchange of information role which facilitates intra-regional cooperation but is itself inter-regional. Maintaining data and categorised contact point lists is one aspect of this, TCDC another and meetings like the September 1987 Meeting of Heads of Regional Organisations (or analogous sectorally specialised meetings) another. To play this role the Secretariat will require personnel, finance and - above all - the active cooperation of regional and sub-regional organisations of ACP states. Unless data, identification of consultants - areas of expertise - specialised contact points and suggestions for and inputs into meetings flow in regularly, the programmes will be stillborn. To have requests and no information on which to act to meet them would be to raise expectations up, merely to dash them down.
49. Sectoral cooperation at A, C, and P level can be of two types (beyond information exchange):
- a. coordinated regional programmes packaged for planning and promotion purposes as ACP-wide and learning from each other's experiences, e.g. through annual meetings of the operational units;
  - b. institutions actually servicing ACP member states from all three Regions.
50. As the ACP Secretariat's 1986/87 proposals in respect to Air and Maritime Transport demonstrate, the first category does offer a number of genuine opportunities for cooperation through strengthening regional/sub-regional programmes simultaneously. The easiest ones to identify appear to be in training or provision of other specialised services but this is not

necessarily always or permanently the case.

51. Immediately obvious inter-regional operational programme areas for cooperation are less numerous. A training programme at a non-ACP institution (in the Maritime Transport case) or a specially created ACP one, may on occasion be desirable if regional numbers do not make a region oriented one, viable. In the field of trade and trade finance, it is doubtless practicable to create A-C-P-wide financing or preference system arrangements. Most of their work would be within regions but at least in the Caribbean-African case there could be not insignificant inter-regional business. After all, by sea, Trinidad, in the Caribbean, is closer to the Banjul-Lobito range of ports in Western, Central and Southern African than is Mombasa in East Africa or - in some cases - than Maputo in Southern Africa, let alone Hamburg or Copenhagen or Marseilles in the EEC.
52. What is needed is a successful start, a track record of success on which to build and an alertness to identify new possibilities. Six items discussed above or included in present ACP Secretariat papers appear - if adopted, funded and operated to provide a more than adequate short and medium term agenda:
- a. the Maritime and Sea Transport proposals;
  - b. the proposed studies on Trade and Trade financing;
  - c. negotiating a full ACP member state role in the management of EDF regional funds;
  - d. serving to facilitate ACP enterprises having data in time to win EDF funded contracts;
  - e. exploring selected multi-national enterprise, technology and cultural cooperation topics;
  - f. facilitating a process of communication among ACP member state regional and sub-regional bodies (by information exchange and referral plus periodic workshops).

53. Doubtless other areas are possible. However, especially given the decade which has passed since the Suva Declaration was adopted, the pressing need is to identify, plan, fund and implement one or more significant programmes. There is a limit to what can be done at the first stage. The priority is to avoid further delay which can only add to the doubts expressed in some quarters as to whether the ACP can ever play a functional role in cooperation while at the same time avoiding false starts which would be even more damaging.

VI. Inter-regional Opportunities: Enterprises, Technology, Information, Culture

54. Multi-state enterprises, technology and its transfer, information dissemination and exchange and culture are all areas cited in the Suva Declaration. Multi-national enterprises, technology transfer and culture are specifically on the short list of areas for inter-regional cooperation adopted at Harare. Each is an area in which there is South-South experience, evidence of real problems in making progress - as well as evidence of progress made and an evident need to be selective if anything useful is to be accomplished.
55. Multi-national (inter-state) enterprises of developing countries are in principle a sound idea. They allow South-South cooperation in fields of production and commerce not well handled by standard inter-governmental bodies. In practice there have been certain standard problems: too many owners seeking to direct and to pursue special interests often leading to anarchic autonomy by managers and to chronic losses is perhaps the classic one. In principle there is the problem of ensuring that mutual concerns are strong enough to override or reconcile particular national ones and that there is an economically viable basis for an enterprise on which to build. These problems do not indicate that multinational enterprises should be set aside but do warn that meticulous pre inaugural planning, identification of a viable set of operations and care in setting up a structure allowing both accountability and enterprise autonomy in pursuing clearly specified objectives are crucial for success.

56. Multi-national enterprises in fact seem more likely to be practicable at the multi-country, sub-regional or regional than at the ACP wide level. Areas in which specific explorations could usefully be carried to pre-feasibility or feasibility level include:
- a. shipping lines (e.g. intra-regional in the two island regions, coastal and littoral-island in the African region and South-South from the regions to destinations with potential traffic not well served by existing conference lines);
  - b. air lines (grouped national, regional and/or inter-continental);
  - c. specialised large scale construction companies (to economise in high cost equipment and scarce personnel and to be able to tender competitively outside their home base);
  - d. commercial companies (e.g. purchasing companies analogous to the Crown Agents and/or the Scandinavian Wholesale Co-operative Federation; marketing companies to achieve economies of scale in commercial information acquisition and use for traditional and non-traditional exports).
57. In some of these areas explorations have been begun at national sub-regional and regional levels. In each the ACP needs advice as to whether and how its services would be useful before embarking on significant investment in detailed studies. Such studies can only be justified when a clear, self defined clientele exists.
58. Technology and technology transfer are fashionable areas for cooperation. There are some, modest, functioning examples and a large volume of interesting, indeed provocative studies which, however, are rather short on identifying sharply defined, practicable projects. The ACP should take care to settle issues of what, for whom, with what intended output at an early stage of its work in this sector.
59. High technology (e.g. applied micro-technology or bio-technology) and "appropriate" technology (contextually specific innovations built on

improved use of existing resources and skills) are in practice relatively distinct fields. Each is important; the same institution is rarely effective in more than one - indeed in high technology usually only in one sub-sector. Similarly specialised training, consultancy and innovation/adaptation all fill defineable needs. But the requirements of institutions to meet these three needs diverge so that - at least initially - specialising in (or concentrating on) one is usually appropriate.

60. Perhaps more specifically important in the ACP context is determining what the most likely effective geographic coverage of different institutional approaches is likely to be and what - if any - functions can be performed usefully at inter-regional level, and in particular, by the ACP. Cooperation among two or more ACP states, sub-regionally and regionally already exists - in these areas the question is what, if anything, can the ACP do to service, strengthen and accelerate the development of such cooperation?
  
61. The initial area for exploration of an ACP role might be "appropriate" technology. However, inter-regional cooperation will be viable only if at least some regional and sub-regional cooperation exists as foundations. In, e.g., light engineering, food processing and preserving, agricultural equipment, housing and small scale civil engineering materials and techniques, rural water technology there are interesting initiatives at national level. In Eastern and Southern Africa the agricultural equipment ones are loosely coordinated via an annual exhibition - trade fair - workshop plus a technical sub-committee holding annual workshops within SADCC's food security sector. Exchange of information and inter-regional workshops might prove valuable in this field or in other specifically bounded appropriate technology areas because, as opposed to high technology (or Northern led intermediate technology) these Southern innovations have no natural transmission mechanisms for diffusion, especially from the Caribbean to the Pacific and African or vica versa. However, detailed exploration including a workshop composed of national experts would be needed before a practicable project could be defined. The international agency with the greatest applied expertise in this field is probably the ILO who might be able to provide valuable insites and data on national experiences and

their application as well as on the problems of diffusion.

62. In the case of high technology the most viable short to medium run possibilities of inter-regional level probably lie in:
- a. exchange of information (an ACP data bank and - especially - annotated and categorised index of institutions with expertise and experience);
  - b. exchange of personnel among institutions (e.g. through ensuring eligibility for EEC training or study awards);
  - c. specific topic workshops;
  - d. TDCC (as discussed above).

These are, of course, all relevant to "appropriate" technology as well. However, in that case some joint training and/or multi-institute coordinated research may prove practicable in the short run. Actually seeking to set up ACP regional centres in high tech areas, such as bio-technology, appears to be at most a long term goal. Attempts to develop relations with larger South country programmes (e.g. Mexico and Brazil in respect to the Caribbean) or to achieve CGIAR (Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research) backing for inclusion of more bio-tech in existing or newly created International Crops Research Institutes (ICRI) would appear to be more promising avenues for ACP Member States or regional/sub-regional organisations.

63. Information is a branch of communications, of training and of culture. Treated as a separate topic it presumably relates primarily to South-South news agencies and informational (or exhibitional) links among publishers. At the global level South-South news agency and feature initiatives do exist. In Africa there is a Pan African News Agency and an annual publishers conference and exhibition. Presumably similar initiatives exist in the Caribbean and Pacific, albeit if they are less advanced some TCDC, via regional workshops with African consultants might be useful. ACP states should not seek to set up parallel bodies. The existing ones are weak primarily because of inadequate professional staff



and financial allocations, additional ones would tend to weaken, not strengthen, South-South and South-North communication of information flows.

64. However, ACP, as noted, suffers from having a very low profile in its member states. One method of improving this situation might be to create a feature desk in the ACP secretariat which produced regular 1,000-2,000 word features on ACP or ACP related programmes as well as 500-1,000 word background stories on major ACP or ACP related events. These would be primarily directed to ACP national newsagencies; to African, Caribbean and Pacific regional agencies; to global South-South agencies and to specialised development topic press agencies based in the North (e.g. Gemini) because these are the ones more likely to provide regular pickup. However, they should also go to the main global news agencies (A. P. Reuters, Tass, AFP, Tsinhua, UPI, etc) and to interested feature or news-services linked to major papers (e.g. Washington Post - New York Times - Los Angeles Times - International Herald Tribune net). In the first place the ACP does need more Northern coverage and in the second ACP national newspaper pickup of international news is largely from these sources. To be effective such features must be informative and lively, not stock public relations releases.
65. Cultural cooperation is a valid area. Beyond exchange of cultural groups and joint performances/exhibitions in the North, it is one usually characterised by more passionate commitment than practical programming. One reason is that culture is rarely defined concretely as a basis for identifying cooperation by whom about what through what means. Another is that most South-South cooperation workshops and conferences are dominated by economic and technical topics and end with culture packed into the odd hour's discussion, a performance or two and a vague paragraph or three in the final report.
66. The historical record and the two problems identified suggest that a carefully planned workshop of specialists from ACP member states with several pre-distributed think piece papers by participants might be a valid and valuable first step toward definition and articulation. However, pre-planning is necessary both to arrive at manageable agenda and to suggest possible avenues for cooperation. Dance, drama, graphic

arts, poetry, fiction, (with traditional, modern, "applied" variants in each case) are all appropriate or potentially appropriate topics. So are history and linguistics (both pure and applied - e.g. "vernacular" modernisation and use, development of national languages such as Swahili). However, it may be more appropriate to have a narrower spectrum for the initial workshop e.g. dance, drama and history.

67. One purpose of the initial workshop would be to identify what ongoing cooperation would be both culturally valid and practicable. Examples may include:

- a. workshops on specific topics (e.g. modern drama in domestic or national languages);
- b. exchange of experts and practitioners (e.g. among universities, cultural centres, national theatres, museums);
- c. exchange of cultural exhibitions (video tapes of performances, art objects etc) or performances (albeit at least inter-regionally this may be financially difficult unless linked to a Northern tour);
- d. collaborative performing groups or exhibitions in the North (primarily to deepen knowledge by Northerners but also to exchange it among participating artists and to achieve at least modest financial surpluses to plough back into cultural support work broadly defined).

The ACP could facilitate (e.g. help raise finance for, cooperate in locating sponsors, advise on logistics) for some of these activities. However, the Secretariat is not in a position to identify what should be done, to prioritise among competing options nor to build up national support for cultural cooperation. It can - at most - play a catalytic role toward these ends by convening one or more specialised workshops of cultural experts and practitioners - a project which should be able to secure financial assistance from UNESCO.

VII. Funding: An Obstacle and a Strategy for Surmounting It

68. In three senses it is not very useful to talk about ACP cooperation goals without looking at means:

- a. actual, useful programmes and projects to give substance to cooperation;
- b. institutional structures (including personnel) adequate to implement these programmes and projects;
- c. finance to provide the basis for operating both the institutions and projects.

69. Up to this point the first two categories of means have been considered but not the third. Unless it too is tackled no amount of commitment ideas and studies can create a healthy living ACP cooperation.

70. Financial requirements fall into six categories:

- a. the inter regional programme proper;
- b. inter regional communication (including material and conferences);
- c. the proposed TCDC operation;
- d. the proposed EDF contract tender opportunity informational system;
- e. the expanded representational role in broader cooperation bodies proposed in Section IX;
- f. the present functions of the ACP Secretariat (which are primarily servicing ACP cooperation in relations with EEC).

71. The first three items are perhaps best placed together as an ACP Inter-regional Fund and the second three as ACP Secretariat finance. Indicative magnitudes for reasonable programmes over 1990-95 might be:

ACP Inter Regional Fund - \$205-325 million

i. Sectoral Programmes	\$150-200 mn
ii. Inter Regional Communication/Meetings	\$ 5-15 mn
iii. TCDC	<u>\$ 50-100 mn</u>

ACP Secretariat	- \$25 million
i. Tender Opportunity Information	\$2.5 mn
ii. Expanded Representational Role	\$2.5 mn
iii. Basic Budget	<u>\$20 mn</u>

Total To Be Financed \$225-340 million for 1990-95

72. These figures are indicative and highly dependent on the exact scope and content of the programmes adopted. They do however give an order of magnitude - and a relatively large one absolutely albeit it is less than \$1 per ACP citizen over a five year period and broadly comparable to the largest regional funds under Lome III. They are not impossible to attain but to do so will require not only a general commitment by ACP states but a real determination to make their attainment in Lome IV a priority in negotiations and are backed by analysis, documentation, draft provisions and diplomatic activity at EEC and EEC Member State governmental levels.
73. Realistically the bulk of the 1990-95 finance must come in the Lome IV Convention or it will not be raised at all. Other bodies may be willing to collaborate in financing certain projects (including inter regional TCDC) but it would be most surprising if more than 10% of the total could be raised that way. ACP is viewed as an EEC concern by international organisations and by governments (including those of EEC states). It does not have an image of its own separate from that context nor will it have until it achieves and sustains a substantial ACP cooperation programme beyond joint and coordination relations with EEC. If 1990-95 proves a success, then more financing (not least by EEC Member States from bilateral programmes) is a real possibility judging by the experience of projects receiving support from EDF Regional Funds.
74. The case for moving ACP Secretariat finance wholly within the ambit of Lome IV is a simple and brutally pragmatic one. A majority of ACP's Member States face severe fiscal and foreign exchange constraints. As a result they find it hard to pay their assessments to the ACP Secretariat's budget on time and many are in arrear. The Secretariat, therefore, has constant budgetary and cash flow problems, exacerbated by the need to use - and pay interest on - substantial bank overdrafts. If it is to consolidate and to broaden its role, then this fiscal tourniquet

must be loosened or gangrene will set in forcing amputation of functions.

75. At first glance there is a compelling reason to oppose such a proposal. The Secretariat is the ACP's, not EEC's. Fiscal provision can bring policy intervention and programmatic manipulation in its wake. In the abstract those concerns are well founded - in the case of the ACP Secretariat they probably are not.
76. First, a substantial portion - 40% - of the ACP Secretariat budget is already financed from EEC resources on a mutually agreed basis. Second, the ACP Secretariat - despite this - has shown no signs of looking to EEC rather than ACP for guidance. Third, with the Committee of Ambassadors and Council of Ministers the ACP is in a position to give effective directions and guidance to the Secretariat as well as effective backing in retaining full programmatic and analytical independence of EEC.
77. The most appropriate form for funding the basic ACP cooperation programme would appear to be an Inter-regional Fund in Lome IV and its EDF analogous to the present regional ones. Only in that way can one avoid subsequent conflicts among national, regional and inter-regional claims. The negotiation of an indicative programme and of specific projects as well as of their implementation should be between the EEC and the ACP Secretariat or the ACP Council with the Secretariat designated to serve as its representative for all purposes other than final ratification of the indicative programme agreement.
78. However, ACP cooperation needs to begin to grow before 1990 - not least in exploring, articulating and designing programmes to go into fuller operation over 1990-95. Raising finance will prove difficult because virtually all Lome III resources have already been indicatively allocated. Several possibilities exist:
  - a. negotiating with EEC in respect to presently unallocated funds or those allocated to other than ACP national and regional programmes which are not, in fact, likely to be used;
  - b. negotiating - with EEC and ACP states - for use of a portion of accumulated balances from prior EDF's which are in hand but unlikely

- to be used;
- c. seeking support for components of the inter-regional programme from relevant specialised agencies (either from their own resources or by their seeking designated funds from some of their member governments);
  - d. in respect to studies, approaching bodies like UNDP with a particular commitment to TCDC and - in respect to a feasibility study for TCDC - having the Commonwealth members of ACP approach CFTC;
  - e. seeking bilateral finance from EEC member states particularly those with expanding development assistance programmes and a record of support for South-South cooperation organisation programmes.
79. When the programme components are tentatively decided, a rough budgeting exercise should be carried out by the ACP Secretariat together with a proposed strategy for Lome IV negotiations and an interim one for raising funds to articulate and to inaugurate at least part of it over 1988-90 for presentation via the Committee of Ambassadors to the Council of Ministers.

#### VIII. ACP-EEC-EDF: Toward Fuller Cooperation

80. The Lome Conventions are built on the premise of an association among equals for the pursuit of specified, articulated and agreed common objectives. From time to time it is reasonable to review whether staffing and interaction of EEC/ACP/EDF institutions are as conducive as possible to fulfilling that premise. Three areas in which changes would seem to be appropriate are the cadres of delegates, of EDF project and programme analysts and evaluators and of those involved in the final EDF project approval process. A related issue - technical assistance - has been explored earlier with a concrete proposal for an ACP fund/programme financed through Lome IV and managed for the ACP by the ACP Secretariat.
81. Delegates to ACP states are now all EEC nationals appointed by EEC. It is surely open to consideration whether a cadre chosen from among ACP and

EEC nationals to all ACP and EEC states would not be more in keeping with the spirit and aims of Lome. The case of the UNDP Resident Representative cadre is not entirely parallel but is worth reflecting upon in this context.

82. Certainly the ACP/EEC relationship and its results are not well understood and have a very low profile in ACP and EEC states alike. They receive broad attention only spasmodically at times of stress in the renegotiation processes for Lome Conventions. This is inherently detrimental to making the most of the acquis in relationships and commitments as well as resources and personnel which have been built up and deployed over the past decade and a half (over more than two decades in the case of the Yaounde Agreement members). If the delegates were seen both as coordinating points for ACP/EEC activities and information centres to project an understanding of the ACP/EEC dynamic; existed in all ACP and EEC states and were staffed by a cadre drawn from all ACP and EEC members it is likely that they could play a more positive and dynamic role.
83. The EDF is central to ACP/EEC relationships. It is, of course, not the only key area but it is a very important one. It is intended to be rather different from the traditional 'aid' relationships in which the would-be recipient proposes and the potential source of funding disposes.
84. To assert either that the processes of EDF and DG VIII are nothing but neo-colonial paternalism or that they have remained unchanged since 1975 would be crudely reductionist and grossly unfair. The country programme - and in two cases regional fund-agreement process for Lome III has been more deeply collaborative and a closer approach to genuine partnership than in the past. DG VIII is genuinely concerned with and committed to the development of ACP states.
85. Equally to argue that the EEC should write cheques immediately on receipt of proposals or should accept country/regional programmes without prior discussion or comment is unsound as well as unrealistic. A partnership operates in both directions or it is not a partnership. DG VIII has every right to seek to ensure that its resources are used in technically and economically viable projects. ACP states and peoples share that

interest. A partner - in this case EEC - has the right to express opinions, to criticise proposals, to make suggestions as to how resources it is investing in a mutual relationship can best be deployed at levels ranging from micro (project) through sectoral and macro to overall development dynamic. In a relationship of cooperating equals, ACP states should welcome such a dialogue. However, such a dialogue must be premised on full recognition that ACP/EEC mutual endeavours are within the framework of national development dynamics which affect primarily ACP peoples and the bulk of whose human, natural and financial resources come from these peoples. A dialogue must be truly two-way and in an agreed context or it reverts (even if unintentionally) into a "we propose - they dispose; they propose - we acquiesce" process of paternalistic domination among unequals. That reversion is always a real danger when one of the parties is objectively much better supplied with financial, technical and specialised personnel resources. It would be idle - and counterproductive - not to face the reality that it is a real danger in ACP/EEC relations and that critics (in all ACP and EEC states) do contend that it is not merely a potential danger but at least in part a present reality threatening the productivity and viability of ACP/EEC cooperation. It is, therefore, appropriate to consider what institutional changes might help avert this risk and to make it appear less likely.

86. The cadre of programme and project analysts and evaluators in DG VIII and the roster of consultants used for feasibility studies are wholly, or virtually wholly, EEC nationals. Surely it would be more appropriate for these cadres and rosters to include ACP nationals - chosen on merit like EEC nationals. In a cooperative relationship for the pursuit of mutual concerns, this is not a radical proposal. The staffs of the World Bank and of UNDP contain numerous professionals from their South members. Those working to implement EDF should be remodelled to follow the good examples of UNDP and the World Bank group.
  
87. The final approval process poses more problems. First, the EDF resources are contributed by EEC. Second, any approval process involving all EEC and all ACP states would be hopelessly cumbersome and time consuming. However, with mutual concentration on what can be achieved, both obstacles can - at least in large measure - be overcome.



88. First, World Bank (and more particularly IDA) disposable resources are drawn almost entirely from the North but Southern members do take full part in the final approval process. Second, there is a need for all members to be represented but - as in the World Bank group this can be done by a Board which represents all members but is itself of a manageable size.

IX. ACP and Broader South-South Cooperation

89. What has been discussed to this point is intra- ACP cooperation viewed from the perspective of ACP Member States and ACP Institutions plus the regional and sub-regional organisations made up wholly or largely of ACP Member States. This is a valid perspective but a limited one and one which it is necessary to move beyond both for ACP to relate effectively to other channels and fora of South-South cooperation and to avoid parochialism or an unrealistic perception of its own importance and potential. ACP is - except for negotiation with EEC - peripheral to the external economic relations of its member states and of regional and sub-regional organisations to which they belong. It can achieve a significant and useful role but not a central or dominant one.
90. The two largest South-South Cooperation groupings are the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 (bringing together over 100 UNCTAD members). The third largest is regional - the OAU comprising 50 African states (including the Saouri Democratic Republic but not Morocco). Each of these organisations concerns itself with economic cooperation, prepares and discusses studies and agrees on objectives. The G 77 (and its Central Bank sub-committee the G 24) does prepare more specific proposals in the context of UNCTAD and of other international fora (e.g. the World Bank - IMF Development Committee in the case of the G 24). None is an actual operator of cooperation programmes to any significant extent, nor indeed is that among their purposes.
91. The UNDP is specifically mandated to support TCDC, broadly defined, and to cooperate with and support South regional organisations. From its perspective ACP is a South regional organisation as are the regional and sub-regional organisations comprised wholly or dominantly of ACP member

states with some of which - e.g. SADCC - it has significant cooperation support programmes. The UNDP also coordinates UN technical organisation representatives in countries and provides support for specific projects undertaken by them, e.g. its inter-regional programme is assisting in the finance of a review of commodity earning augmentation through means other than price stabilisation open to Sub-Saharan African countries which is being carried out by the UNCTAD Commodities Division as part of its review of where now in respect to elements of the integrated programme of commodities.

92. UNCTAD is not a Southern organisation. It is a global organisation with a programme of research and technical assistance centred on development and trade including South-South cooperation and, therefore, used primarily by its Southern members. Its primary role is to provide a forum for North-South dialogue and in that role it has normally sought to play the role of interlocuteur valable setting out balanced positions seeking to reconcile interests and positions taken by North and South and by sub-groups within each.
93. In Asia, Africa and the Western Hemisphere there are organisations focusing on South-South cooperation. In Asia - which includes the Pacific - the ACP member states are both small and - to date - peripheral to the concerns of these Asia wide organisations. In any case the major operational economic cooperating body - the Asian Development Bank - is wholly controlled by its OECD member states (regional and extra regional) quite unlike the Inter-American and African Development Banks. The Western Hemisphere position is only marginally different because of the limited size of the ACP member states, the Iberian culture of many of the regional groups and the historic leadership role played within them by the larger Latin American states.
94. In Africa the situation is different because all Sub-Saharan African states are ACP members who thus form 90% of total regional states. However, ACP has not been a central focus or even a significant presence in the OAU, the Economic Commission for Africa or the African Development Bank.

95. ECA, as a UN regional economic commission, is an economic cooperation promotion body. It served as the secretariat for the OAU in preparation of the African Priority Programme for Economic Reconstruction (APPER) presented to and - with some modifications - endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1986. It has also promoted sub-regional economic cooperation and in that role has served as godfather to several (by no means all) of the present sub-regional organisations in Sub-Saharan Africa. The ADB is - as its name implies - a development finance institution with bank (quasi commercial) and fund (highly concessional) windows for project and programme lending. It has begun to build up cooperation links with sub-regional organisations - SADCC in particular - although this evolution is still at an early stage.
96. The ACP's possible relationships to these and to similar or smaller institutions, fora and processes requires consideration both at national and at ACP institutional level. Its present very low profile and limited involvement will become increasingly unsatisfactory when ACP cooperation beyond negotiating with EEC expands. On the other hand, the ACP is not likely to be, or to be seen as, a major actor in any of them nor is it likely that an attempt to play such a role would be welcomed by most ACP member states and ACP member comprised regional and sub-regional groupings.
97. Sub-Saharan Africa is in the grip of a serious economic malaise at least to a substantial extent caused and perpetuated by the international economic conjuncture and dynamic. It has - in the Lagos Plan of Action and, more specifically, in APPER, outlined and articulated ways to surmount the malaise and identified the international cooperation and external support needed to do so. The main coordinating institutions are - and will remain - the OAU and ECA with sub-regional organisations and the ADB playing ancillary roles. The ACP should certainly be aware what is going on. Main inputs are more likely to be via sub-regional organisations of ACP Member States than via the ACP proper. However, as the united voice of the SSA ACP states for speaking to and negotiating with EEC, the ACP should have an identifiable, unique and potentially viable role in explaining and selling APPER to EEC and its member states and in helping monitor response and performance on the part of EEC and the Twelve.

98. What might usefully be done falls into three categories:

- a. enhanced representational activity as a participant or observer at major South-South and North-South fora with the specific purposes of learning what is happening in other South-South and North-South channels of dialogue, negotiation and operation and also of making the ACP and its work better known (as, e.g. at the 1986 Harare Non-Aligned Conference);
- b. if so directed preparing position papers setting out the views and special concerns of ACP states (e.g. in the context of such bodies as the G 77 and UNCTAD);
- c. preparing substantive inputs into and/or taking part in workshops and expert groups on topics of special interest to ACP member states, (e.g. the UNCTAD Commodity Division's ongoing review of ways to increase earnings from commodities and to develop programmes to that end and the work of its Least Developed, Landlocked and Island economies Division).

99. These functions would in practice need to be carried out by the ACP Secretariat albeit on occasion members of the Council of Ministers or Committee of Ambassadors might attend meetings on behalf of ACP. To perform these roles - and especially the third - the Secretariat would need additional specialist professional staff (perhaps 2 to 4) and finance for their activities and for hiring occasional specialist consultants, normally but not necessarily always from ACP Member States.

100. Whether and how far to proceed along these lines is a decision for the Council of Ministers. The Secretariat should canvass the opinions of ACP regional and sub-regional organisations and - via the Committee of Ambassadors - those of its member states. On that basis it should prepare a paper for submission to the Council of Ministers after consideration by the Committee of Ambassadors.

X. Envoi

101. Intra-ACP cooperation exists on various levels today, but except for relations with EEC the ACP institutions play a relatively small role in it. Strengthening of that cooperation is seen by ACP Member States as desirable and the ACP could play a significant role in catalysing and supporting a dynamic of cooperation development.

102. This paper has set out a number of possible goals and identified some potentially practicable means for making significant progress toward achieving them. What remains is the hard part:

- a. ACP decision to build up a substantial cooperation programme and to articulate a phased plan for beginning implementation of that programme;
- b. followed by prompt choice of specific items to go into that plan;
- c. plus priority attention to securing the resources (financial, institutional and personnel) to carry it forward.

#### Author Note

Reg Green has been a student of the political economy of Africa and the political economy of South-South cooperation since 1960. His first contribution to the literature on African economic integration - Unity Or Poverty: The Economics of Pan-Africanism (with Ann Seidman) was written in 1963-4 as a background paper for the government of Ghana and published by Penguin in 1968. Among his most recent work on the subject are articles on Southern African Economic Cooperation in Africa Contemporary Record from 1978/79 onward and in Destructive Engagement: Southern Africa at War, published in 1986 by the Zimbabwe Publishing House under the editorship of David Martin and Phyllis Johnson. Among the more recent of nearly two hundred articles, chapters and volumes on the political economy of Africa are two co-edited with Governor Philip Ndegwa and Professor Leopold Mureithi published in 1985 and 1987 by Oxford University Press (Nairobi) - Development Options For Africa: in the 1980's and Beyond and Management For Development: Priority Themes in Africa Today. Professor Green who was then advisor to the Tanzania Treasury served as a consultant to Tanzanian negotiators of the Arusha Convention and of Lome I. He has worked with the Catholic Institute for International Relations (UK) in its provision of inputs and workshops in support of the ACP Secretariat's work during the Lome II and III negotiations and served as an advisor and contributor to the Lome Briefing series put out by a group of Western European non-governmental organisations during the Lome III negotiating process.

Note

Herewith revised Annotated Agenda Item 4. This now corresponds to structure of paper as discussed, commissioned written. Last sentence assumes that if promised UNDP TCDC paper does not arrive, at least they propose to make a substantive presentation on their experience.

Reg Green

Item 4: Analysis of Prospects for Intra-ACP Cooperation

- a. South-South Cooperation, The Lome Agreements and Intra ACP Cooperation. The ACP is a South-South Cooperation body. To date it has focused almost entirely on South (ACP) relations/negotiations with North (EEC). However, it is committed (Suva Declaration, 1977) to a much fuller role and has begun to outline an agenda toward articulation and action (Harare Declaration, 1985). Intra-ACP Cooperation operates at three levels: state to state, sub-regional and regional and inter-regional and does so within the broader dynamics of South-South cooperation.
- b. Inter-State cooperation among two or more ACP states may in some cases be strengthened and facilitated by the ACP. Among practicable areas for consideration are:
  - i. TCDC (ACP-ACP technical cooperation broadly analogous to CFTC within the Commonwealth).
  - ii. Provision of timely information to allow ACP enterprises to win more EDF contracts thus enhancing South-South/Intra-ACP trade.
- c. Regional, sub-regional cooperation.

A substantial number of regional and sub-regional cooperation groupings exist whose basic or total membership is comprised by ACP states. They are seen by the Suva Declaration to be the main channels and dynamic forces in intra-ACP cooperation. The key issues are in what ways the ACP can assist them in fulfilling their roles. One concrete area may be in strengthening ACP member state and regional organisation control over indicative programming and project selection within Regional Funds in Lome IV analogous to achievements by the Southern African (SADCC) and Caribbean (Caricom) regions over 1986-87.



d. Inter-regional cooperation.

While TCDC is relevant at inter-state, regional and inter-regional levels the articulation of a fuller programme requires care. It must be concentrated on areas and projects which offer genuine gains from ACP-wide (as opposed to national and regional) cooperation, are of priority to ACP states and to regional organisations and are also practicable technically and financially.

An initial set of projects and studies - especially in maritime and air transport and in trade and trade finance appear as Item 5 on the Agenda. Additional means - e.g. specialised workshops and conferences, data bank and annotated reference list - and areas - e.g. multinational enterprises, technology, information and culture require exploration. A possible medium term (to 1995) agenda for the ACP is set out for discussion.

e. Funding.

To accomplish the tentative medium term agenda will - over 1990-95 - require \$225-340 million (including consequential specialist meetings and strengthening of the Secretariat). If ACP states do attach high priority, it is feasible to fund most of this by negotiating an Inter-Regional Fund in Lome IV (analogous to present regional funds) and by ensuring better ACP Secretariat cash flow/reducing ACP member state burdens by transferring the 60% of Secretariat cost now subscribed directly by member states to Lome IV funding. 1988-90 finance to articulate and to launch the programme will be difficult to raise - several possibilities are canvassed.

f. ACP-EEC Relations and Intra-ACP Cooperation.

Compacts among equals, as the Lome Conventions aspire to be logically entail joint participation in the key cadres operating the programming of the resources dedicated to the compact. The Lome arrangements could be strengthened in this respect in ways enhancing Intra-ACP and ACP-EEC Cooperation. Three cadres (now wholly or virtually wholly EEC) require special attention: delegates, EDF programme and project analysts and evaluators, final project approval process participants.

g. ACP and Broader South-South Cooperation.

Intra-ACP Cooperation exists within a broader South-South (including coordinated South negotiation and dialogue with North) cooperation setting and dynamic. This is true both regionally and globally. How the ACP could become more informed on and participate more fully at this broader level deserves both consideration and identification of specific areas in which informational, representational and/or substantive input making would be welcomed by ACP member states and regional/sub-regional organisations.

A lead consultancy paper has been commissioned by the Secretariat to provide a point of departure, structure and check list of key issues on this Item. Additional papers have been prepared on multinational enterprises and on technology while three inter-regional sectoral papers flowing from the Harare decisions are also relevant as indications of direction and of significant programme components. In addition UNDP will draw on its experience in promoting TCDC to set out its potential relevance to cooperation among ACP states.