

Notes

1 Introduction

1. Article XXIV of GATT 1947 provides an exemption from the MFN clause for customs unions and free trade areas, provided that such arrangements cover 'substantially all trade' and are implemented within a 'reasonable length time'. In practice, however, the contracting parties have never been able to agree on what in strict legal terms these two stipulations actually mean. Thus despite the fact that Article XXIV still constitutes the only permanent form of derogation from MFN available under the WTO, the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements has been unable to reach agreement on the legality or otherwise of any of the 400 or so free trade agreements (FTAs) that have been reported to it since 1995 or, indeed, those concluded before then.

2 The Rise and Fall of Preferential Trade

1. Technically speaking, the first official sanction of non-reciprocal preferences came five years earlier in 1966 when Australia was granted a temporary waiver by the contracting parties, permitting it to accord preferential treatment to developing countries on a non-reciprocal basis. See Table 2.1 below.
2. The original UN list from November 1971 rested on three criteria: (1) GDP income of US\$100 or less; (2) manufacturing as a proportion of GDP of 10 per cent or less; and (3) an adult literacy rate of 20 per cent or less. Nowadays, a more sophisticated methodology is deployed based on composite measures drawn from gross national income (GNI), human assets and economic vulnerability indices. Tellingly, since the original list was published it has grown from 25 to 48 LDCs, while only three countries – Botswana in 1994, Cape Verde in 2008 and Maldives in 2011 – have ever graduated from the category.

3 Understanding the EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements: The case of CARIFORUM

1. CARIFORUM was established in 1992 to facilitate cooperation between the English-speaking Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Dominican Republic and Haiti, following the accession of the latter to the Lomé convention. Although 13 of the 15 members of CARIFORUM – Antigua & Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad & Tobago – signed the EPA on 15 October 2008, Guyana initially refused to sign, only to do so five days later on 20 October. Haiti, which qualifies for EU unilateral trade preferences as an LDC, signed on 11 December 2009.
2. The rest of the chapter draws extensively on interviews and background briefings with CRNM staff, government officials, representatives of private sector and other relevant non-governmental organizations conducted in the Caribbean in

January-February 2009. It also draws on a series of follow-up interviews conducted by Matt Bishop with EU and Caribbean officials in Brussels and Geneva in February 2009. I would like to thank Matt for very kindly giving me access to the transcripts from these interviews. At the request of interviewees, all subsequent references made to the interviews have been anonymized.

3. World Trade Organization (WTO), 'Regional trade agreements', see http://wto.org/English/tratop_e/region_e/region_e.htm [retrieved 16 June 2009].
4. Many of these coalitions are cross-cutting in membership and policy objectives. In terms of the issues explored in this chapter, it is notable that through membership in these coalitions Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru have all fought against the Singapore Issues while simultaneously agreeing to such measures in FTAs with the USA. Likewise, members of CARICOM at various points in the run up to the Cancun Ministerial actively resisted the inclusion of many of the same issues within the Doha round that subsequently ended up in the final text of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA.
5. This happened, for example, in December 2001 when a deal struck between the G. W. Bush administration and Congressional leaders regarding the reinstatement of 'fast track' or Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) led to the removal of important flexibilities in the 'rules of origin' provisions contained in the CBTPA. The CBTPA had originally stipulated that the 'cutting and dyeing' of garments produced in the Caribbean would be eligible for duty-free treatment; after intensive lobby by the domestically oriented textile caucus in Congress, however, these provisions were removed from the revised version of the programme. Some estimates suggest that these activities would have been responsible for as much as 75 per cent of the value added in the Caribbean, hence political intervention had denied the region a key development opportunity. See Heron 2004, pp. 125–6.
6. In November 2007, the five countries of the East African Community (EAC) – Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda – broke away from the East and Southern Africa 'region' and signed a separate interim agreement with the EU, thus creating a seventh ACP group. For more on this, see Chapter 4.
7. Interestingly, the origins of the EBA lay in the Doha negotiations rather than the Cotonou Agreement, which partly explains the imperfect fit between the former and the trade component of the latter. Although the EBA is 'Lomé-equivalent' in the sense that it offers eligible countries DFQF market access to all goods except arms and munitions, it actually shares more in common with the GSP than with Cotonou. For instance, the EBA adopts the GSP 'rules of origin' rather than the more flexible provisions of Cotonou (the GSP allows for 'diagonal cumulation' but stipulates the highest value added must occur in the final stage of production, whereas Cotonou allows 'full cumulation' to occur anywhere in the ACP). Although this difference may seem like a narrow, technical point, rules of origin rather than tariffs or quotas are often pointed to as the main trade barrier facing LDCs (see, for example, Brenton 2003). Against this, the EBA does not require reciprocity and there are no provisions for WTO-plus coverage comparable to those set out in Articles 41–52 of the Cotonou Agreement.
8. During the 30th Annual Conference of CARICOM Heads of Government, held in Guyana 2–4 July 2009, the decision was taken to rename the CRNM as the Office of Trade Negotiations (OTN) and to redefine its operational remit. Among other things, the OTN has now been re-incorporated into the CARICOM Secretariat. These changes are seen as a direct result of the fallout from the EPA negotiations where the quasi-autonomous status of the CRNM was widely criticized in the

region. The controversy surrounding the CRNM provides an interesting commentary on the EPA process as a whole, which is premised on using collective regional institutions to negotiate what are in effect a series of bilateral FTAs

9. Although the Cotonou Agreement also required preference-receiving countries to grant to the EU any more favourable treatment offered to other developed countries, the CARIFORUM text extends this to advanced developing countries and regions which account for more than 1 per cent and 1.5 per cent of world trade respectively. ECLAC (2008: 32) estimates that, on the basis of 2005 trade data, this provision would be sufficient to preclude CARIFORUM from signing an FTA with China, Brazil, Hong Kong, Singapore, Mexico, Taiwan, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) without offering MFN treatment to the EU.
10. Confidential interviews, Jamaica, 29 January 2009.
11. Along with the justifications dealt with here, the CRNM (2008: 2) policy briefing also mentions the importance of EPA as a 'forceful signal – to both investors and development partners – of the earnestness of a Caribbean's programme of economic reform'.
12. In 2006, the EU moved to a 'tariff only' banana regime based on an MFN rate of €176 per tonne; in December 2009, however, EU came to a new agreement with the Latin American banana producers which saw the MFN rate cut immediately to €148 per tonne and thereafter further annual cuts will be made until a final MFN rate of €116 per tonne is reached in 2017. This agreement brought to end one of the longest, most controversial of WTO disputes and all but ended the prospects of future commercial banana production in the Caribbean (the Dominican Republic and, possibly, Belize being the exceptions). The sugar reforms have followed an analogous pattern after the EU took the decision in February 2006 to denounce unilaterally the ACP Sugar Protocol (SP) and to impose a 36 per cent cut to the domestically-administered price – and therefore the export price received by beneficiaries of the SP – to be implemented over a four-year period. Although Caribbean beneficiaries of the SP (Belize, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago and St. Kitts & Nevis), along with the Dominican Republic, were granted an additional quota of approximately 60,000 tonnes on a transitional basis until September 2009, the ability to offset the effects of the price reduction by increasing the volume of exports is tempered by the presence of an 'anti-surge' safeguard mechanism within the CARIFORUM agreement. Furthermore, Caribbean sugar producers have faced significant price competition since September 2009 when beneficiaries of the EBA became eligible for DFQF treatment, while the EPA does little to assuage the probability of further EU price reductions as part of the ongoing reform of the CAP. See Chapter 5 for more details.
13. Confidential telephone interview with a senior CRNM official, Kingston, Jamaica, 8 January 2009.
14. Confidential interviews, Geneva, Switzerland, 3 February 2009.
15. Confidential interviews, Geneva, Switzerland, February 2009; Kingston, Jamaica, January 2009.
16. Although Article XXIV of GATT 1947 stipulates that FTAs must cover 'substantially all trade' (hence the need for reciprocity), in practice WTO members have been unable to agree on what in strict legal terms this actually means – to the extent that the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements has been unable to reach agreement on the legality or otherwise of any of the current crop of FTAs. In its previous FTAs the EU has adopted a quantitative interpretation of

90 per cent of all trade – thus enabling it to exempt agriculture from market opening commitments – and this seems to be the template that has informed the CARIFORUM agreement. Since the EU has liberalized 100 per cent of its goods sector, CARIFORUM would arguably need only to liberalize around 80 per cent of imports, rather than the 87 per cent actually agreed to, in order to meet the this quantitative interpretation. Furthermore, taking into account the dynamic effects of trade liberalization, which presumably means that the volume of bilateral trade covered by the FTA is expected to grow over time, CARIFORUM would have been entitled to claim even more flexibility than the 20 per cent exclusion cited above. However, given that Article XXIV has yet to be tested under the WTO DSU, the extent to which CARIFORUM did or did not exploit the full range of available flexibilities remains, to say the least, moot.

17. Confidential interviews, Ministry of Trade, Belmopan, Belize, 3–6 February 2009.
18. During the Hong Kong ministerial in 2005, the EU pledged to contribute €2 billion a year to the WTO's Aid for Trade fund by 2010 – half coming the Commission and half from member states. This commitment is, however, far from assured: A 2008 European Commission report (cited in South Centre 2008a: 22) acknowledged that while the Commission itself was close to reaching its annual €1 billion contribution, members states would need to increase their collective spending by approximately 56 per cent in order to match the Commission's contribution. It hardly needs to be added that the onset of the global financial crisis makes the likelihood of this happening even less likely.

4 European Policy Diffusion and the Politics of Regional Integration in the Pacific

1. Indeed, as we shall see below, the central thrust of the *Green Paper* was that the EPAs necessitated a region-based approach because of the practical difficulties associated with the principle of uniform reciprocity. It was only later that the insistence on free circulation became a policy objective in and of itself.
2. Personal correspondence, Brussels-based trade consultant, 13 April 2010.
3. Confidential interviews, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Suva, Fiji, October 2010.
4. Another motive for signing in the case of Fiji and PNG was that they became the first two Pacific states to benefit from a new 'global sourcing' rules of origin regime for fisheries, meaning that fish processed and canned locally, regardless of origin, would now be deemed to originate in the region and thus qualify for DFQF preferences.
5. Confidential interviews, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Suva, Fiji, October 2010.
6. Interestingly, Australian trade officials in Canberra – like their counterparts in the EU – have described PACER-plus in terms of promoting 'development through greater regional trade and economic integration'. Confidential Interviews, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra, Australia, September 2010.
7. The background to this ultimatum is a long and complicated story, that goes well beyond the remit of this chapter, suffice to say that Fiji's tumultuous political situation (the island has experienced no less than four separate coups since 1987) has proven to be an ongoing bone of contention among ANZ and the Pacific island members of the PIF. Fiji was also suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations in 2009.

8. Although investment and competition policy were also mentioned in the Cotonou Agreement, this was in the context of regional and national economic development rather than as trade negotiation issues. Government procurement was not mentioned at all.
9. The latter is of some significance, since we can recall that the transfer of competence for the ACP from DG Development to DG Trade is often cited as a key factor in the hardening of the European Commission's attitude towards non-reciprocal preferences.
10. Confidential interviews, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Suva, Fiji, October 2010.
11. Confidential interviews, European Commission, Brussels, December 2009.

5 Developmentalism and the Political Economy of Trade Adjustment in Mauritius

1. Confidential interviews, Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture, Port Louis, Mauritius, 28 September 2011.
2. Confidential interviews, Department of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Port Louis, Mauritius, 27 September 2011. Interestingly, the one 'defensive interest' actually mentioned by trade officials in the context of the EU's controversial 'behind the border' trade agenda was transparency in government procurement. Even in this case, trade officials indicated it was because of its effects on regional solidarity rather than any problems such a clause might pose for Mauritius itself.
3. The most obvious exception to this general pattern is Botswana.
4. Confidential interview, retired academic and local businessmen, Port Louis, Mauritius, October 2011.
5. Confidential interviews, Mauritius Exporters Association, Port Louis, Mauritius, September 2011. Although AGOA originally restricted the 'special fabric' provision (global sourcing) to 'lesser developed beneficiary countries' – that is, countries whose per capita income did not exceed US\$1500 in 1998 as measured by the World Bank – Mauritius was granted temporary eligibility between October 2004 and September 2005. The importance of the expiry of this provision should not, however, be overstated: Mauritius was actually exporting more in 1995 than in 2005 and even by this later date less than half (compared to over 95 per cent for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole) of its sectoral exports entered the US under AGOA. In any case, Mauritius's temporary eligibility for the 'special fabric' provision was reinstated in November 2008 for a further four years.
6. The 18 members of the Sugar Protocol, plus India, benefited from a further source of duty-free access under the so-called Special Preferential Sugar (SPS) arrangement. This arrangement provided a quota of some 300,000 tons, generated by the additional requirements of EU sugar processing companies following the enlargement of the EU in 1986 (when Spain and Portugal were admitted), once all other sources of supply had been exhausted. Since 2001, however, SPS has had to accommodate the progressively larger quotas bestowed on LDCs courtesy of the EBA initiative, while the entire arrangement expired in June 2006.
7. Sugar was one of only three commodities (the other two being bananas and rice) for which the benefits of DFQF access were not offered immediately to LDCs through EBA: in this case, liberalization was backloaded until 2006 before tariff reductions were introduced in four incremental stages, leading to full duty-free access in 2009. At the same time, the LDCs were granted progressively larger

quotas from 2001 onwards, from an initial quota of some 74,185 tons in 2001–02 to 197,335 tons in 2008–09, and quota-free access thereafter.

8. Personal correspondence, sugar industry consultant, 13 September 2011.
9. Although the Sugar Protocol was for an ‘indefinite duration’, the EU invoked Article 10 of the agreement, which stipulated that ‘the Protocol may be denounced by the Community with respect to each ACP State and by each ACP State with respect to the Community, subject to two years’ notice’.
10. Confidential interviews, World Bank, Port Louis, Mauritius, 22 September 2011.
11. In February 2009, I was to gain firsthand experience of this during fieldwork in Belize when a demonstration by cañeros (sugar cane workers) in the so-called ‘sugar city’ of Orange Walk turned to violence, leading to the shooting dead of at least one cañero by the police. The demonstration centred on the introduction of core sampling technology designed to measure the sugar content of the cane and hence improve productivity through a quality-based payment system. The cañeros, however, demanded the withdrawal of the core sampling technology leading to the standoff with the owners of the country’s only sugar mill and the police. For more on this episode, see A. Hughes, ‘Sugar and Blood’, *Amandala* online <<http://www.amandala.com.bz/index.php?id=8094>> (retrieved 5 February 2009).
12. Confidential interviews, Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture, Port Louis, Mauritius, 28 September 2011.
13. Confidential interviews, European Commission, Brussels, March 2010; Department of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Port Louis, Mauritius, 27 September 2011.
14. Confidential interviews, Department of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Port Louis, Mauritius, 27 September 2011.
15. Confidential interviews, Department of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Port Louis, Mauritius, 27 September 2011.

6 Southern Africa and the Politics of Trade Preference Erosion

1. The original expiry date of the ‘third country’ provision was set at 30 September 2004 but this was extended under ‘AGOA III’ to 2007, then under ‘AGOA IV’ to 2012 and, most recently, to 2015.
2. AGOA was signed into law on 18 May 2000 as Title 1 of the Trade and Development Act, and has since been renewed on three separate occasions (in 2002, 2004, 2006). Under ‘AGOA II’ (signed into law by President Bush on 6 August 2002), the ‘third country’ provision was extended to Namibia and Botswana, and under ‘AGOA IV’ it was extended to Mauritius also. Presently only Gabon, South Africa and the Seychelles are ineligible for the ‘third country’ provision.
3. Confidential interviews, Industry informants, Mbabane, Swaziland, April 2010.
4. Confidential interviews, various informants, WTO, Geneva, January 2011.
5. Confidential interview, informant, UNCTAD, Geneva 19 January 2011.
6. Confidential interview, developing country delegation, WTO Geneva, 20 January 2011.
7. Confidential interview, developing country delegation, WTO Geneva, 21 January 2011.
8. This is in contrast to the Uruguay round which was based on average percentage reductions which granted members the flexibility to cut rates on sensitive products by a bare minimum – the key reason why tariffs (and hence preference

margins) in textiles and clothing, among other sensitive sectors, escaped largely unscathed.

9. Confidential interviews, developing country delegations, WTO, Geneva, 19 and 21 January 2011; informant, UNCTAD, Geneva 19 January 2011.
10. Confidential interview, developing country delegation, WTO, Geneva, 19 January 2011.
11. Negotiations leading to a SACU-US FTA began in June 2003 but were later suspended in 2006, due to a lack of progress. However, in 2011 the two parties signed a 'Trade and Investment Development Cooperation Agreement' (TIDCA), which may eventually lead to a fully-fledged free trade deal in the future.
12. Confidential interviews (via telephone), officials at the EU Delegation to South Africa and Department of Trade and Industry of South Africa respectively, Pretoria, March 2010.
13. Confidential interview (via Skype), former senior official, Department of Trade and Industry of South Africa, Pretoria, March 2010.
14. This paragraph is based on a series of interviews and background briefings with government and non-government staff, conducted in the Maseru, Lesotho in March 2010.
15. Confidential interviews, officials at EU Delegation to Swaziland and Swaziland Sugar Association respectively, Mbabane, Swaziland, April 2010.
16. Confidential interviews, Swaziland Sugar Association, Mbabane, Swaziland, April 2010.
17. Confidential interviews, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Trade, Mbabane, Swaziland, April 2010.

Bibliography

- ACTIF (2008) 'Duty-Free, Quota-Free access for Least Developed Countries: Textiles and Apparel', Submission to the Office of the USTR, Trade Policy Staff Committee, Nairobi: ACTIF.
- Action Aid (2005) *The Trade Escape: WTO Rules and Alternatives to Free Trade Economic Partnership Agreements* (Johannesburg: Action Aid).
- Aggarwal, V. K. and Fogarty, E. A. (eds) (2004) *EU Trade Strategies: Between Regionalism and Globalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Alexandraki, K. and Lankes, H. P. (2004) 'The Impact of Preference Erosion on Middle-Income Countries', IMF Working Papers, September, WP/04/169, <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2004/wp04169.pdf>> retrieved 29 September 2009.
- Alter, K. J. And Meunier, S. (2006) 'Nested and Overlapping Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Trade Dispute', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13: 3, 362–82.
- Amsden, A. (1989) *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Amsden, A. H. and Hikino, T. (2000) 'The Bark is Worse than the Bite: New WTO Law and Late Industrialisation', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 570: 1, 104–14.
- Ancharaz, V. D. (2008) 'David v. Goliath: Mauritius Facing up to China', paper prepared for the African Research Consortium, <<http://www.aercafrica.org>> retrieved 28 September 2011.
- Armstrong, H. W. and Read, R. (1998) 'Trade and Growth in Small States: The Impact of Global Trade Liberalisation', *The World Economy*, 21: 4, 563–85.
- Bajo, C. S. (1999) 'The European Union and Mercosur: A Case of Inter-Regionalism', *Third World Quarterly*, 20: 5, 927–41.
- Barfield, S. (2003) 'Development, the World Trade Organisation and the "Banana Trade War"', unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of Sheffield.
- Bennett, M. (2006) 'Lesotho's Export Textiles and Garment Industry', in H. Jauch and R. Traub-Merz (eds) *The Future of the Textile and Clothing Industry in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung).
- Berger, M. T. (ed.) (2004) 'Special Issue: After the Third World?', *Third World Quarterly*, 25: 1.
- Bernal, R. L. (2008) 'Globalisation: Everything but Alms – the EPA and Economic Development', The GraceKennedy Foundation Lecture, Kingston, Jamaica.
- Bilal, S. (2006) 'EPAs Process: Key Issues and Development Perspective: With Specific References to East and Southern Africa', Paper prepared for Consumer Unity & Trust Society (CUTS) International, February 2006, available at <<http://www.ecdpm.org/>> retrieved 11 December 2012.
- Bilal, S. and Ramdoo, I. (2010) *Which Way Forward in EPA Negotiations*, ECDPM Discussion Paper 100 (Maastricht: ECDPM).
- Bilal, S. and Ramdoo, I. (2011) 'The Honeymoon is Over', *Trade Negotiations Insights*, 10: 7.
- Bilal, S. and Stevens, C. (eds) (2009) *The Interim Economic Partnership Agreements between the EU and African States: Concepts, Challenges and Prospects*, ECDPM and ODI

- Policy Management Report 17, available at: <www.ecdpm.org/pmr17> retrieved 11 December 2012.
- Bishop, M. L. (2012) 'The Political Economy of Small States: Overcoming Vulnerability', *Review of International Political Economy*, 19: 5, 942–60.
- Bishop, M. L., Heron, T. and Payne, T. (2013) 'Caribbean Development Alternatives and the European Union-CARIFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 16, 82–110.
- Börzel, T. A. and Risse, T. (2009) 'Diffusing (Inter-) Regionalism: The EU as a Model of Regional Integration', KFG: The Transformative Power of Europe, working paper No. 7 (Berlin: Freie Universität).
- Bowman, L. (1991) *Mauritius: Democracy and Development in the Indian Ocean* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).
- Bräutigam, D. (1997) 'Institutions, Economic Reform, and Democratic Consolidation in Mauritius', *Comparative Politics*, 30: 1, 45–62.
- (2003) 'Close Encounters: Chinese Business Networks as Industrial Catalysts in Sub-Saharan Africa', *African Affairs*, 102, 447–67.
- (2008) 'Contingent Capacity: Export Taxation and State-building in Mauritius', in D. Bräutigam, O.H. Fjeldstad and M. Moore (eds) *Taxation and State Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Brenton, P. and Manchin, M. (2003) 'Making EU Trade Agreements Work: The Role of Rules of Origin', *The World Economy*, 26, 755–69.
- Brenton, P. (2003) 'Integrating Least Developed Countries into the World Trading System: The Current Impact of EU Preferences under Everything but Arms', *World Bank Policy Research Paper*, 3018, 1–31.
- Breslin, S. and Higgott, R. (2000) 'Studying Regions: Learning From the Old, Constructing the New', *New Political Economy*, 5: 3, 333–52.
- Brewster, H., Girvan, N. and Lewis, V. (2008) 'Renegotiate the Cariforum EPA', *Trade Negotiations Insights*, 7: 3, 8–10.
- Briguglio, L. (1995) 'Small Island Developing States and their Economic Vulnerabilities', *World Development*, 23: 9, 1615–32.
- Brown, W. (2000) 'Restructuring North-South Relations: ACP-EU Development Cooperation in a Liberal International Order', *Review of African Political Economy*, 85, 376–83.
- Buzdugan, S. R. (2013) 'Regionalism from Without: External Involvement of the EU in Regionalism in Southern Africa', *Review of International Political Economy*, early online: DOI:10.1080/09692290.2012747102.
- Cali, M. (2008). 'Scale and Types of Funds for Aid for Trade', in D. Njinkeu and H. Cameron (eds) *Aid for Trade and Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Carbone, M. (2007) 'EBA, EU Trade Policy and the ACP: A Tale of Two North-South Divides', in G. Faber and J. Orbie (eds) *European Union Trade Politics and Development: 'Everything But Arms' Unravelling* (London: Routledge).
- Caribbean Regional Negotiation Machinery (CRNM) (2008) CRNM Note on CARIFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement: What Europe is Offering Africa, Barbados: CRNM. <<http://www.thecommonwealth.org/files/177256/FileName/RNM%20COMSEC%200408.pdf>> retrieved 5 June 2009.
- Carroll, C. W. and Carroll, T. (1999) 'The Consolidation of Democracy in Mauritius', *Democratization*, 6: 1, 179–97.

- Chang, H. J. (2002) *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective* (London: Anthem Press).
- Chaplin, H. and Matthews, A. (2006) 'Coping with the Fallout for Preference-receiving Countries from EU Sugar Reform', *The Estey Centre Journal of International Law and Trade Policy*, 7: 1, 15–31.
- Clark, D. P. and Zarrilli, S. (1992) 'Non-Tariff Measures and Industrial Nation Imports of GSP-Covered Products', *Southern Economic Journal*, 59: 2, 284–93.
- Clarke, C. and A. J. Payne (eds) (1987) *Politics, Security and Development in Small States*, (London: Allen & Unwin).
- Commonwealth Secretariat (1997) *A Future for Small States: Overcoming Vulnerability* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).
- Cooper, A. F. and T. M. Shaw (eds) (2009). *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan).
- Dam, K. W. (1970) *The GATT: Law and International Economic Organization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Dawar, K. (2008) 'Policy Space vs Policy Lock-in; Public Procurement in the CARIFORUM EPA', *Trade Negotiations Insights*, 7: 7, 8–19.
- de Han, E. and Stichele, M. (2007) *Footloose Investors: Investing in Africa* (Amsterdam: SOMO).
- Devault, J. (1996) 'Competitive Need Limits and the US Generalized System of Preferences', *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 14: 4, 58–65.
- Doidge, M. (2011) *The European Union and Interregionalism: Patterns of Engagement* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Draper, P. et al. (2007) SACU, *Regional Integration and the Overlap Issue in Southern Africa: From Spaghetti to Cannelloni?*, Trade Policy Report No. 15, South African Institute of International Affairs.
- European Commission (1996) *Green Paper on Relations between the European Union and ACP Countries on the Eve of the 21st Century*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- (2001) *Orientations on the Qualification of ACP Regions for the Negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements* (Brussels: European Commission). <<http://www.epawatch.net/general/text.php?itemID=24&menuID=5>> retrieved 11 December 2012.
- (2004) *A World Player: The European Union's External Relations* (Brussels: European Commission).
- (2006) EU-CARFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement: An Overview (Brussels: European Commission Trade). <http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2008/april/tradoc_138569.pdf> retrieved 4 July 2009.
- (2008) *Six Common Misconceptions about Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)*. <<http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/html/137484.htm>> retrieved 11 December 2012.
- (2011) 'Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Applying a Scheme of Generalised Tariff Preferences', COM (2011) 241 final (Brussels: European Commission).
- European Union (2000/2006) Cotonou Partnership Agreement Act (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities).
- Faber, G. and Orbie, J. (2009) 'The EU's Insistence on Reciprocal Trade with the ACP Group: Economic Interests in the Driving Seat?', in Gerrit Faber and Jan Orbie (eds) *Beyond Market Access for Development: EU-Africa Relations in Transition* (London: Routledge).
- Farrell, M. (2005) 'A Triumph of Realism over Idealism? Cooperation Between the European Union and Africa', *Journal of European integration*, 27: 3, 263–83.

- (2009) 'EU Policy Towards Other Regions: Policy Learning in the External Promotion of Regional Integration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16: 8, 1165–84.
- Fialho, D. (2012) 'Altruism but not Quite: The Genesis of the Least Developed Country (LDC) Category', *Third World Quarterly*, 33: 5, 751–68.
- Finger, M. and Schuler, P. (2000) 'Implementation of the Uruguay Round Commitments: The Development Challenge', *The World Economy*, 23: 4, 511–25.
- Francois, J., Hoekman, B. and Manchin, M. (2006) 'Preference Erosion and Multilateral Trade liberalization', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 20, 197–216.
- Gallagher, K. P. (2008) 'Trading Away the Ladder? Trade Politics and Economic Development in the Americas', *New Political Economy*, 13: 1, 37–59.
- (2008a) 'Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15: 5, 62–85.
- Gamble, A. (1995) 'New Political Economy', *Political Studies*, 43: 3, 516–30.
- GATT (1961) *Committee III on Expansion of Trade*, L/1557 (Geneva: GATT).
- (1984) *Textiles and Clothing in the World Economy* (Geneva: GATT).
- George, C., Iwanow, T. and Kirkpatrick, C. (2009) 'EU Trade Strategy and Regionalism: Assessing the Impact on Europe's Developing Country Partners', in De Lombaerde, P. and Schultz, M. (eds) *The EU and World Regionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Gereffi, G. (1999) 'International Trade and Industrial Upgrading in the Apparel Commodity Chain', *Journal of International Economics*, 48, 37–70.
- Gibb, R. (2000) 'Post-Lomé: The European Union and the South', *Third World Quarterly*, 21: 4, 457–81.
- (2004) 'Developing Countries and Market Access: The Bitter-sweet Taste of the European Union's Sugar Policy in Southern Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42: 2, 563–88.
- Gibbon, P. (2000) "'Back to Basics" through Delocalisation: The Mauritian Garment Industry at the End of the Twentieth Century', *CDR Working Paper No 7* (Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research).
- (2003) 'The African Growth and Opportunity Act and the Global Commodity Chain for Clothing', *World Development*, 31, 1809–27.
- (2003a) 'AGOA, Lesotho's "Clothing Miracle" and the Politics of Sweatshops', *Review of African Political Economy*, 96, 315–20.
- Girvan, N. (2008) 'Caribbean Integration and Global Europe: Implications of the EPA for the CSME'. <<http://www.normangirvan.info/wp-content/uploads/2008/08/caribbean-integration-and-global-europe-18aug08.pdf>> retrieved 6 January 2009.
- Goldsmith, A. (1999) 'Africa's Overgrown State Reconsidered: Bureaucracy and Economic Growth', *World Politics*, 51, 520–46.
- Goodson, P. (2007) 'What is the Future for EU-Africa Agricultural Trade after CAP Reform?', *Review of African Political Economy*, 112, 279–95.
- (2007) 'EU Trade Policy and the Future of Africa's Trade Relationship with the EU', *Review of African Political Economy*, 112, 247–66.
- Grant, C. (2000) 'An Experiment in Supra-national Governance: The Caribbean Regional Negotiation Machinery', in Kenneth Hall and Denis Benn (eds) *Contending with Destiny: The Caribbean in the 21st Century* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers).
- Gruber, L. (2001) 'Power Politics and the Free Trade Bandwagon', *Comparative Political Studies*, 34: 7, 703–41.
- Grugel, J. (2004) 'New Regionalism and Modes of Governance – Comparing US and EU Strategies in Latin America', *European Journal of International Relations*, 10: 4, 603–26.

- Grynberg, R. and Silva, S. (2004) *Preference-Dependent Economies and Multilateral Liberalization: Impacts and Options* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).
- Grynberg, R. and Clarke, A. (2006) 'The European Development Fund and Economic Partnership Agreements', *Commonwealth Secretariat Economic Paper*, 75.
- Hamilton, C. (1986) *Capitalist Industrialisation in Korea* (Boulder, CO: Westview).
- Hardacre, A. and Smith, A. (2009) 'The EU and the Diplomacy of Complex Interregionalism', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 4: 2, 167–88.
- Hay, C. (2007) 'What Doesn't Kill You Can Only Make You Stronger: The Doha Development Round, the Services Directive and the EU's Conception of Competitiveness', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45: annual review, 25–43.
- Hein, P. (1989) 'Structural Transformation in an Island Economy: The Mauritius Export Processing Zones', *UNCTAD Review*, 1: 2, 41–58.
- Heron, T. (2004) *The New Political Economy of United States-Caribbean Relations: The Apparel Industry and the Politics of NAFTA Parity* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- (2008) 'Small States and the Politics of Multilateral Trade Liberalisation', *The Round Table*, 97: 395.
- (2011) 'Asymmetrical Bargaining and Development Trade-offs in the CARIFORUM-European Union Economic Partnership Agreement', *Review of International Political Economy*, 18: 3, 328–57.
- (2012) *The Global Political Economy of Trade Protectionism and Liberalisation: Trade Reform and Economic Adjustment in Textiles and Clothing* (London: Routledge).
- Heron, T. and Richardson, B. J. (2008) 'Path Dependency and the Politics of Liberalization in Textiles and Clothing', *New Political Economy*, 13: 1, 1–18.
- Heron, T. and Siles-Brügge, G. (2012) 'Competitive Liberalisation and the "Global Europe" Services and Investment Agenda: Locating the Commercial Drivers of the EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50: 2, 250–66.
- Hettne, B. (2005) 'Regionalism and World Order', in Farrell, M., Hettne, B. and Van Langenhove, L. (eds) *Global Politics of Regionalism* (London: Pluto Press).
- Hettne, B., Payne, A. and Söderbaum, F. (eds) (1999) 'Special Issue: Rethinking Development Theory', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 2: 4.
- Hoekman, B. (2006) 'The Doha Round and Preference Erosion: A Symposium', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 20, 165–8.
- Hoekman, B. and Manchin, M. (2006) 'Preference Erosion and Multilateral Trade Liberalization', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 20, 197–216.
- Hoekman, B. and Özden, C. (2005) 'Trade Preferences and Differential Treatment of Developing Countries: A Selective Survey', World Bank Policy Research Paper No. 3566.
- Hoekman, B. and Prowse, S. (2005) 'Economic Policy Responses to Preference Erosion: From Trade as Aid to Aid for Trade', World Bank Policy Research Paper, 3721.
- Holland, M. (2002) *The European Union and the Third World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Hudec, R. (1987) *The Developing Countries in the GATT Legal System* (London: Trade Policy Research Centre).
- Hughes, A. 'Sugar and Blood', *Amandala* <<http://www.amandala.com.bz/index.php?id=8094>> retrieved 5 February 2009.
- Hughes, S. and Wilkinson, R. (eds) (2002) *Global Governance: Critical Perspectives* (London: Routledge).
- Hurrell, A. (1995) 'Explaining the Resurgence of Regionalism in World Politics', *Review of International Studies*, 21: 4, 331–58.

- Hurt, S. R. (2003) 'Co-operation or Coercion? The Cotonou Agreement between the European Union and ACP States', *Third World Quarterly*, 24: 1, 161–76.
- (2010) 'Understanding EU Development Policy: History, Global Context and Self-Interest?' *Third World Quarterly*, 31: 1, 159–68.
- (2012) 'The EU-SADC Economic Partnership Agreement Negotiations: "Locking In" the Neoliberal Development Model in Southern Africa?', *Third World Quarterly*, 33: 3, 495–510.
- ICTSD (2011) 'As Elsewhere in the Doha Talks, NAMA Negotiators Searching for a Way Forward', *Bridges Weekly Trade News Digest*, 18 May.
- (2011a) "'Troubled State of Doha Talks Causing 'Paralysis", says Lamy', *Bridges Weekly Trade News Digest*, 28 July.
- (2012) 'First EU EPA with African Region Takes Effect', *Bridges Weekly Trade News Digest*, 16: 20 .
- IMF (2003) *Financing Losses from Preference Erosion: Notes on Issues Raised by Developing Countries in the Doha Round* (Washington, DC: IMF).
- Johnston, C. (1982) *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
- Julian, M., Dalleau, M. and de Roquefeuil, Q. (2011) 'EPA Update', 10: 2.
- Kaplinsky, R. (1993) 'Export Processing Zones in the Dominican Republic: Transforming Manufactures into Commodities', *World Development*, 21, 1851–65.
- (2001) 'Is Globalization all It's Cracked up to Be?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 8: 1, 45–65.
- (2005) *Globalization, Poverty and Inequality: Between a Rock and a Hard Place* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kaplinsky, R. and Morris, M. (2008) 'Do the Asian Drivers Undermine Export-Oriented Industrialization in SSA?', *World Development*, 36, 254–73.
- Kearney, R. C. (1990) 'Mauritius and the NIC Model Redux: Or, How Many Cases Make a Model?', *Journal of Developing Areas*, 24 (January), 195–216.
- Kelsey, J. (2005) *A People's Guide to the Pacific's Economic Partnership Agreement: Negotiations between the Pacific Islands and the European Union Pursuant to the Cotonou Agreement 2000* (Suva, Fiji: World Council of Churches).
- Kothari, U. and Wilkinson, R. (2013) 'Global Change, Small Island State Response: Restructuring and Perpetuation of Uncertainty in Mauritius and Seychelles', *Journal of International Development*, 27: 1, 92–107.
- Kowalczyk, C. and Wonnacott, R. J. (2002) 'Hubs and Spokes and Free Trade in the Americas', National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Working Paper, 4198, as cited in Kevin P. Gallagher. (2008) 'Trading Away the Ladder? Trade Politics and Economic Development in the Americas', *New Political Economy*, 13: 1, 42.
- Kühnhardt, L. (2003) *Contrasting Transatlantic Interpretations. The EU and the US Towards a Common Global Role* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies).
- Lall, S. (2005) 'FDI, AGOA and Manufactured Exports by a Landlocked, Least Developed African Economy: Lesotho', *Journal of Development Studies*, 41, 998–1022.
- Lamusse, R. (1989) 'Adjustment to Structural Change in Manufacturing in a North-South Perspective – the Case of the Export Sector in Mauritius, International Labour Organisation, *World Employment Programme Working Paper*, 27.
- Lande, S. (2008) 'CARICOM's Trade Relations with the European Union Undermining Its Relations with the United States', Manchester Trade Update. <http://www.acp-eu-trade.org/library/files/Lande_EN_060608_Manchester-Trade-Ltd_CARICOM-s-relations-with-the-EU.pdf> retrieved 17 November 2008.

- Langan, M. and Scott, J. (2011) 'The False Promise of Aid for Trade', Brooks World Poverty Institute Working Paper, 160, University of Manchester, <<http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk>> retrieved 21 November 2012.
- Lange, M. (2003) 'Embedding the Colonial State: A Comparative-Historical Analysis of State Building and Broad-Based Development in Mauritius', *Social Science History*, 27: 3, 397–423.
- Lee, D. and Smith, N. (2010) 'Small State Discourse in International Political Economy', *Third World Quarterly*, 31: 7, 1091–105.
- Leftwich, A. (2000) *State of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Lincon, D. (2006) 'Beyond the Plantation: Mauritius in the Global Division of Labour', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41: 1, 59–78.
- Lombaerde, P. D. and Shultz, M. (eds) (2009) *The EU and World Regionalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Madonsela, W. S. (2006) 'The Textile and Clothing Industry in Swaziland', in H. Jauch and R. Traub-Merz (eds) *The Future of the Textile and Clothing Industry in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung).
- Manners, I. J. (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40: 2, 235–58.
- Matsebula, M. (2009), 'EC Accompanying Measures: Experience and Lessons from the Swazi Sugar Industry', Paper presented at 'Aid for Trade Strategies and Agriculture: Towards a SADC Agenda', Windhoek, Namibia, 9–11 November 2009.
- Mattoo, A., Roy, D. and Subramanian, A. (2003) 'The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act and its Rules of Origin: Generosity Undermined?', *World Economy*, 26, 829–52.
- McQueen, M. (1998) 'Lomé Versus Free Trade Agreements: The Dilemma Facing the ACP Countries', *The World Economy*, 21: 4, 421–43.
- Meisenhelder, T. (1997) 'The Development State in Mauritius', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 35: 2, 279–97.
- Meyn, M. (2008) 'Economic Partnership Agreements: A Historic Step Towards a Partnership of Equals?', *Development Policy Review*, 26: 5, 515–28.
- Milner, C. (2005) *An Assessment of the Overall Implementation Costs for the ACP Countries of Economic Partnership Agreements with the EU* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).
- Milner, C., Morgan, W. and Zyovu, E. (2004) 'Would all ACP Sugar Protocol Exporters Lose from Sugar Liberalisation?', *The European Journal of Development Research*, 16: 4, 790–808.
- Mistry, P. M. (1999) 'Commentary: Mauritius – Quo Vadis?', *African Affairs*, 98: 393, 551–69.
- Morris, M. and Sedowski, L. (2006) *Report on Government Responses to New Post-MFA Realities in Lesotho*, Durban, South Africa: School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Murphy, C. N. (2000) 'Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood', *International Affairs*, 76: 4, 789–803.
- Murray-Evans, P. (2012) 'The European Union's Economic Partnership Agreements and Regional (Dis-) Integration', Paper presented at the BISA-ISA Conference, Edinburgh, 20–22 June 2012.
- (2013) 'Agency in the Tightest of Corners: Southern African Responses to the Economic Partnership Agreements', unpublished manuscript, University of York.
- Narlikar, A. (2003) *International Trade and Developing Countries: Bargaining Coalitions in the GATT and the WTO* (London: Routledge).

- (2005) *The World Trade Organization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford).
- Narlikar, A. and Tussie, D. (2004) 'The G20 at the Cancun Ministerial: Developing Countries and their Evolving Coalitions in the WTO', *The World Economy*, 27: 7, 947–66.
- Nathan Associates (2002) *Changes in the Global Trade Rules for Textiles and Apparel: Implications for Developing Countries* (Arlington, VA: Nathan Associates Inc.).
- (2007) *Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation: Joint Baseline and GAP Analysis*, Report Submitted to the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (Suva, Fiji: PIF Secretariat).
- Njinkeu, D. and Cameron, H. (eds) (2008) *Aid for Trade and Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Nordås, H. K. (2004) 'The Global Textile and Clothing Industry post the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing', *WTO Discussion Paper No. 5*, Geneva, Switzerland: WTO.
- OECD (2005) *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*. <www.oecd.org/dataoecd/15/3/46874580.pdf> retrieved 13 March 2006.
- Olarreaga, M. and C. Özden (2005) 'AGO and Apparel: Who Captures the Tariff Rent in the Presence of Preferential Market Access', *World Economy*, 28, 63–77.
- Orbie, J. (ed.) (2008) *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2004) *A New World Map in Textiles and Clothing: Adjusting to Change* (Paris: OECD).
- Ostry, S. (2000) 'The Uruguay Round North-South Grand Bargain: Implications for Future Negotiations', <<http://www.utoronto.ca/cis/minnesota.pdf>> retrieved 25 June 2007.
- Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (2007) 'The Costs to the ACP of Exporting to the EU under the GSP' (London: ODI).
- Oxfam (2008) 'Partnership or Powerplay?', Oxfam Briefing Paper. <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/trade/bp110_epas.html> retrieved 14 January 2009.
- Özden, C. and Reinhardt, E. (2005) 'The Perversity of Preferences: GSP and Developing Country Trade Policies, 1976–2000', *Journal of Development Economics*, 78, 1–21.
- Pacific Institute of Public Policy (2008) *Pacific Lessons from the Economic Partnership Agreement* (Port Vila, Vanuatu: PIPP).
- (2009) 'Putting Substance into PACER Plus', *Trade Negotiations Insights*, 8: 5.
- Page, S. (2005) *A Preference Erosion Compensation Clause* (London: Overseas Development Institute).
- (2007) 'Policy Space: Are WTO Rules Preventing Development?', *ODI Briefing Paper* (London: Overseas Development Institute).
- Panagariya, A. (2002) 'EU Preferential Trade Arrangements and Developing Countries', *The World Economy*, 25, 1415–32.
- Payne, A. J. (2004) 'Small States in the Global Politics of Development', *The Round Table*, 93: 376, 623–35.
- (2005) *The Global Politics of Unequal Development* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Payne, T. and Phillips, N. (2010) *Development* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Phillips, N. (2005) 'U.S. Power and the Politics of Economic Governance in the Americas', *Latin American Politics and Society*, 47: 4, 1–25.
- (ed.) (2005) *Globalizing International Political Economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Primack, D. (2007) 'EPA Fails to Draw the Pacific Closer to the International Trading System', *Trade Negotiation Insights*, 6: 8, 4–5.

- Prowse, S. (2002) 'The Role of International and National Agencies in Trade-Related Capacity Building', *The World Economy*, 25: 9, 1235–61.
- Qualmann, R. (2006) 'Political, Legal and Economic Perspective', in Bertelsmann-Scott, T. and Draper, P. (eds) *Regional Integration and Economic Partnership Agreements: Southern Africa at the Crossroads* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs).
- Ravenhill, J. (1985) *Collective Clientelism: The Lomé Conventions and North-South Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- (2003) 'The New Bilateralism in Asia Pacific', *Third World Quarterly*, 24: 2, 299–317.
- (2004) 'Back to the Nest? Europe's Relations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of Countries', in V. K. Aggarwal and E. A. Fogarty (eds) *EU Trade Strategies: Between Regionalism and Globalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Richardson, B. J. (2009) *Sugar: Refined Power in a Global Regime* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- (2013) 'Aid for Trade and African Agriculture: the Bittersweet Swazi Sugar', *Review of African Political Economy*, forthcoming.
- Roberts, M. W. (1992) *Export Processing Zones in Jamaica and Mauritius: Evolution of an Export-Oriented Strategy* (San Francisco, CA: Mellen Research University).
- Roberts, S. and Thoburn, J. (2004) 'Globalization and the South African Textiles Industry: Impacts on Firms and Workers', *Journal of International Development*, 16, 125–39.
- Robinson, E. A. G. (ed.) (1960) *The Economic Consequence of the Size of Nations* (London: Macmillan).
- Robles, A. (2008) 'EU FTA with SADC and MERCOSUR: Intergration into the Market Economy or Market Access for EU Firms', *Third World Quarterly*, 29:1, 181–97.
- Rodrik, D. (1999) *The New Global Economy and Developing Countries: Making Openness Work* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council).
- (2000) 'Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What They Are and How to Acquire Them', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 35: 3, 3–31.
- (2007) *One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Roloff, R. (2006) 'Interregionalism in Theoretical Perspective: State of the Art', in Hänggi, H., Roloff, R. and Rüländ, J. (eds) *Interregionalism and International Relations* (London: Routledge).
- Rosamond, B. (2002) 'Imagining the European Economy: "Competitiveness" and the Social Construction of "Europe" as an Economic Space', *New Political Economy*, 7: 2, 157–77.
- Rüländ, J. (2010) 'Balancers, Multilateral Utilities or Regional Identity Builders? International Relations and the Study of Interregionalism', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17: 8, 1271–83.
- Ruggie, J. G. (1982) 'International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order', *International Organization*, 36: 2, 379–415.
- Sachs, J. D. and A. M. Warner (1995) 'Economic Reform and the Process of Global Integration', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 1.
- Sandbrook, R. (2005) 'Origins of the Democratic State: Interrogating Mauritius', *Canadian Journal of African Affairs*, 39: 3, 549–81.
- Sapir, A. and Lundberg, L. (1984) 'The US Generalized System of Preferences and its Impacts', in A. O. Kruger and R. E. Baldwin (eds) *The Structure and Evolution of Recent US Trade Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

- Saw, P. L. S and Wellisz, S. (1993) 'Mauritius', in R. Findlay and S. Wellisz (eds) *The Political Economy of Poverty, Equity, and Growth: Five Open Economies* (Oxford University Press).
- Sawkut, R. et al. (2009) *Trade and Poverty in Mauritius: Impact of EU Sugar Reforms on the Livelihood of Sugar Cane Workers* (Pretoria, South Africa: TIPS).
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2001) 'The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union', *International Organization*, 55: 1, 47–80.
- Scott, J. and Wilkinson, R. (2011) 'The Poverty of the Doha Round and the Least Developed Countries', *Third World Quarterly*, 32: 4, 611–27.
- Shadlen, K. (2005) 'Exchanging Development for Market Access? Deep Integration and Industrial Policy under Multilateral and Regional-Bilateral Trade Agreements', *Review of International Political Economy*, 12: 5, 750–75.
- (2008) 'Globalisation, Power and Integration: The Political Economy of Regional and Bilateral Trade Agreements in the Americas', *Journal of Development Studies*, 44: 1, 1–20.
- Siles-Brügge, G. (2011) 'Resisting Free Trade after the Crisis: Strategic Economic Discourse and the EU-Korea Free Trade Agreement', *New Political Economy*, 16: 5, 627–53.
- (2012) 'The Rise of "Global Europe": Interests and Ideas in the Making of EU Trade Policy', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield.
- Sjursen, H. (2006) 'The EU as a "Normative Power": How Can This Be?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13: 2, 235–51.
- Söderbaum, F. and Van Langenhove, L. (2005) 'Introduction: The EU as a Global Actor and the role of Interregionalism', *Journal of European Integration*, 27: 3, 249–62.
- (eds) (2006) *The EU as a Global Player: The Politics of Interregionalism* (London: Routledge).
- Söderbaum, F., Stålgren, P. and Van Langenhove, L. (2005) 'The EU as a Global Actor and the Dynamics of Interregionalism: A Comparative Analysis', *Journal of European Integration*, 27: 3, 365–80.
- South Centre (2007) *EPA Negotiations in the Pacific Region: Some Issues of Concern* (Geneva: South Centre).
- (2007a) *The Reform of the EU Sugar Sector: Implications for ACP Countries and EPA Negotiations* (Geneva: South Centre).
- (2007b) *Trade Negotiations in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region: Issues for Consideration* (Geneva: South Centre).
- (2008) 'Market Access for Trade in Goods in the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)', *Fact Sheet 17* (Geneva: South Centre).
- (2008a) 'Comments to the Chairman's revised draft modalities for WTO NAMA negotiations' (Geneva: South Centre).
- Srinivasan, T. N. (1998) *Developing Countries in the Multilateral Trading System* (London: Westview Press).
- Stevens, C. (2006) 'The EU, Africa and Economic Partnership Agreements: Unintended Consequences of Policy Leverage', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44: 3, 441–58.
- (2008) 'Economic Partnership Agreements: What Can We Learn?', *New Political Economy*, 13: 2, 211–23.
- Stevens, C., Kennan, J. and Meyn, M. (2008) *Analysis of Contents of the CARIFORUM and Pacific ACP Economic Partnership Agreements and Challenges Ahead* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).

- Stiglitz, J.E. and Charlton, A. (2005) *Fair Trade For All: How Trade Can Promote Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Stoneman, C. and Thompson, C. (2007) 'Trading Partners or Trading Deals? The EU and US in Southern Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 112, 227–45.
- Streeten, P. (1993) 'The Special Problems of Small Countries', *World Development*, 21: 2, 197–202.
- Subramanian, A. and Roy, D. (2001) 'Who can Explain the Mauritian Miracle: Meade, Romer, Sachs, or Rodrik?', IMF Working Paper, December.
- Telò, M. (ed.) (2007) *European Union and New Regionalism: Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Thérien, J. P. (1999) 'Beyond the North-South Divide: Two Tales of World Poverty', *Third World Quarterly*, 20: 4, 723–42.
- Tidiane Dièye, C. and Hanson, V. (2008) 'MFN Provisions in EPAs: A Threat to South-South Trade?', *Trade Negotiations Insights*, 7: 2, 1–3.
- Traidcraft (2003) *Economic Partnership Agreements: The EU's New Trade Battleground* (London: Traidcraft).
- Tsoukalis, L. (1997) *The New European Economy Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2004) 'Draft São Paulo Consensus'. <http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/tld380_en.pdf> retrieved 20 January 2009.
- United Nations Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (2008) *Review of CARIFORUM-EU EPA in Development Cooperation and WTO Compatibility* (Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago: ECLAC).
- US-China Memorandum of Understanding (2005), 'Memorandum of Understanding between the governments of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China concerning Trade in Textiles and Apparel'. <http://otexa.ita.doc.gov/PDFs/US-China_Textile_MOU.pdf> retrieved 29 July 2011.
- van den Hoven, A. (2007) 'Bureaucratic Competition in EU Trade Policy: EBA as a Case of Competing Two-Level Games?', in G. Faber and J. Orbie (eds) *European Union Trade Politics and Development: 'Everything But Arms' Unravelling* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- VanGrasstek, C. (1998) 'What is the FTAA's Role in the USA's Global Strategy?', *Capítulos del SELA*, Vol. 54, pp. 163–73, as cited in Nicola Phillips (2005) 'U.S. Power and the Politics of Economic Governance in the Americas', *Latin American Politics and Society*, 47: 4, 9.
- Wade, R. (1990) *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialisation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton university Press).
- (2003) 'What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organisation and the Shrinking of "Development Space"', *Review of International Political Economy*, 10: 4, 627–44.
- Weis, T. (2004) 'Restructuring and Redundancy: The Impacts and Illogic of Neoliberal Agricultural Reforms in Jamaica', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 4: 4, 461–91.
- Weiss, L. (2005) 'Global Governance, National Strategies: How Industrialized States Make Room to Move Under the WTO', *Review of International Political Economy*, 12: 5, 723–49.
- Westcott, T. S. J. (2008) 'Investment Provisions and Commitments in the CARIFORUM-EU EPA', *Trade Negotiations Insights*, 7: 9, 6–7.
- Whalley, J. (1990) 'Non-Discriminatory Discrimination: Special and Differential Treatment Under the GATT for Developing Countries', *The Economic Journal*, 100: 3, 1318–28.

- White, G. (1987) *Developmental States in East Asia* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press).
- (1998) 'Constructing a Democratic Developmental State', in M. Robinson and G. White (eds) *The Democratic Developmental State: Politics and Institutional Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Wilkinson, R. (2006) *The WTO: Crisis and the Governance of Global Trade* (London: Routledge).
- (ed.) (2005) *The Global Governance Reader* (London: Routledge).
- World Bank (2005) *A Time to Choose: Caribbean Development in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: World Bank Group).
- (2007) *Swaziland: An Assessment of the Investment Climate*, Report No. 43637-SZ (Washington, DC: World Bank).
- (2010) *Mauritius: Enhancing and Sustaining Competitiveness*, Report No. 53322-MU (Washington, DC: World Bank).
- (2010a) 'Mauritius Trade Brief', *World Trade Indicators 2009/10: Country Trade Briefs* (Washington, DC: World Bank).
- WTO (1999) 'Annex 1: Chronology of Principal Provisions, Measures and Other Initiatives in Favour of Developing and Least Developed Countries in the GATT and the WTO', <www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/devel_e/anex1_e.doc> retrieved 27 July 2012.
- (2001), *Doha Ministerial Declaration*, WT/MIN (01)/DEC/1 (Geneva: WTO).
- (2003) *Trade Policy Review: Southern African Customs Union*, WT/TPR/s114.
- (2006) *Recommendations of the Task Force on Aid for Trade*, WT/AFT/1 (Geneva: WTO).
- (2008) *Fourth Revision of Draft Modalities for Non-Agricultural Market Access*, TN/MA/W/103/Rev.3 (Geneva: WTO).
- WTO and OECD (2005) *Report on Trade-Related Technical Assistance and Capacity Building* (Geneva: WTO).
- (2009) *Aid for Trade at a Glance 2009: Maintaining Momentum* (Geneva: WTO).
- Young, A. R. (2007) 'Negotiating with Diminished Expectations: The EU and the Doha Development Round', in D. Lee and R. Wilkinson (eds) *The WTO after Hong Kong: Progress in, and Prospects for, the Doha Development Agenda* (London: Routledge).
- Zoellick, R. B. (2002) 'Unleashing the Trade Winds', *The Economist*, 5 December.

Index

- Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP),
1–2, 10–11, 20–1, 28–30, 35–7,
43–6, 48–50, 52–65, 68–82, 84, 91,
97–102, 105–6, 115, 127–9, 133–4,
137–9, 141–2
- African Cotton and Textile Industries
Federation (ACTIF), 97
- African Growth and Opportunity Act
(AGOA), 7, 12, 29, 95–7, 108–18,
121, 123–6, 128, 130, 135, 141–2
- Afghanistan, 32, 123
- Agriculture, 24, 31, 39, 50, 79, 83, 93,
98, 115, 119, 121, 140
- Aid for Trade (AfT), 4, 31–3, 37, 119,
121–3, 125–6, 130, 136
Task Force, 31–2, 122–3
- Andean Community, 78
- Angola, 65, 67, 103, 129
- Argentina, 15, 124
- Asia-Pacific, 40
- Alliance on Strategic Products (SP),
40, 139
- Association of South East Asian Nations
(ASEAN), 139
- Australia, 4, 26, 68, 72, 98, 137, 140
- Australia and New Zealand (ANZ), 68,
71–2, 80, 140
- Bernal, Richard, 50
- Belgium, 19, 43
- Belize, 6–7, 52, 65–6, 100, 137,
139–40, 142
- Börzel, Tanja, 60–1
- Botswana, 65–6, 103, 126, 129,
137, 141–2
- Brazil, 15, 47, 98, 123, 139
- Bretton Woods, 14
- Brown, William, 21, 29, 45, 63
- Burundi, 65–6, 102–3, 138
- Cambodia, 108, 121
- Canada, 4, 32, 41, 47, 120, 122
- Canadian Tariff Treatment for
Commonwealth Caribbean
Countries (CARIBCAN), 29, 47
- Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act
(CBERA), 7, 20, 29, 47, 95–6,
110, 113
- Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act
(CBTPA), 7, 138
- Caribbean Community (CARICOM), 45,
52, 68, 102, 137–8
- Caribbean Forum of African, Caribbean
and Pacific States (CARIFORUM),
10–11, 35–7, 42, 44–55, 58, 65–6,
69, 78–80, 101–2, 106, 133,
135, 137–40
- Caribbean Regional Indicative
Programme (CRIP), 52
infant industries, 51
MFN clause, 43, 47, 80, 137
National Indicative Programme
(NIP), 52
safeguard clause, 51, 104
standstill clause, 47
- Caribbean Regional Negotiating
Machinery (CRNM), 36–7, 44–5,
49–53, 80, 133, 137–9
- Caribbean Single Market Economy
(CSME), 52
- Central America, 28, 40, 78
- China, 32, 47, 80, 88, 93–5, 106, 108,
114, 121, 123, 130, 139
- Colombia, 15, 40, 138
- Common Market for Eastern and
Southern Africa (COMESA), 68,
102–4, 127, 129
- Common Market Organisation of Sugar
(CMO), 97–8
- Commonwealth of Nations, 140
competitive liberalization, 45–6
- Congo, 65, 67, 69–70, 103, 127
- Cook Islands, 65, 67, 70
- Costa Rica, 15, 40, 138
- Cotonou Agreement, 2, 7, 10, 14,
29–30, 35–6, 38, 43–5, 49–50, 53,
56–8, 61, 63–4, 69, 71, 75, 77, 97,
99, 102, 105–6, 129, 135,
138–9, 141
- Cuba, 15

- Dam, Kenneth, 18
 de Gucht, Karel, 104
 development state, 11, 85–93, 102, 106
 Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU), 3, 13, 22–3, 28–9, 33, 42, 74, 133
 Doha Development Agenda (DDA), 1–2, 5, 10, 12, 30–2, 34, 64, 78, 98, 109–10, 115, 118–19, 121–6, 130, 132, 135–6
 ‘early harvest’, 32, 121, 125
 Swiss Formula, 123–4
 Dominican Republic, 40, 46, 52, 65–6, 68, 137, 139
 Duchêne, François, 59
 Duty- and quota-free (DFQF), 30, 32–3, 43, 46, 64, 73, 93, 95, 97–8, 101, 110, 115, 119–21, 123–4, 128, 136, 138–41
 East African Community (EAC), 58, 65–6, 68–9, 102–3, 127–8, 138
 Eastern and Southern African (ESA), 65–6, 69, 100–5, 129
 East Asia, 85–6, 93, 139
 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 127
 Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), 2, 5, 10–12, 14, 30, 34–8, 42–54, 56–9, 61–72, 74–82, 84–5, 99, 101–7, 109–10, 126–35, 137–40
 MFN clause, 43, 47, 71, 80, 137
 ‘regional preference’ clause, 11, 52, 56, 58
 Ecuador, 15
 Egypt, 68, 103–4
 El Salvador, 15, 40, 138
 embedded liberalism, 15
 Enhanced Integrated Framework (EIF), 123, 125
 Task Force, 123
 European Commission, 1–2, 35, 43–5, 48, 52, 56–7, 61–4, 68–9, 76–80, 98, 103–6, 127, 129, 140–2
 DG Development, 73, 78, 141
 DG Trade, 69, 73, 78, 141
 Global Europe, 45, 61, 78–9
 Green Paper (1996), 29–30, 44–5, 63, 73, 75, 77, 140
 Lisbon Agenda, 45, 57, 61, 78–9
 Market Access Regulation (MAR), 68–9, 105, 129
 European Development Fund (EDF), 21, 37, 52–3, 62, 75
 European Economic Community (EEC), 19–21, 83
 Common Market, 20, 43, 139
 Treaty of Rome, 19
 European Union (EU), 1–2, 10–14, 28–30, 32, 35–8, 40, 42–64, 68–82, 84, 93–102, 104–6, 108, 110, 112–13, 117, 120, 122–3, 126–31, 133–5, 137–43
 Amsterdam Treaty, 30
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), 97, 101, 139
 Council of Ministers, 21, 44
 Everything but Arms (EBA), 30, 32, 36, 43–4, 64, 70, 73–5, 98–9, 101, 104, 120, 128, 138–9, 141
 Single European Act (SEA), 28
 Export Processing Zone (EPZ), 84, 90–4
 Free Foreign Trade Zone (Puerto Rica), 90
 Kaoshiung EPZ (Korea), 90
 Faber, Gerrit, 35, 45–6, 77
 Fat, Lim, 90
 Fiji, 6–7, 65–6, 69–72, 76, 79–80, 100, 129, 140–1
 France, 15, 19, 43, 87
 Free Trade Agreement (FTA), 10, 30, 36–42, 44, 47–9, 52, 54, 61, 63, 68, 71–2, 78–9, 105–6, 126–8, 130–1, 135, 137–40, 143
 United States-Canada FTA, 41
 Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), 40, 45
 G20, 40
 Gabon, 65, 67, 69–70, 142
 Gallagher, Kevin, 37, 39, 41
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 2–4, 6, 9, 13–14, 16–25, 27–9, 33, 43–4, 62, 64, 73–4, 94, 120, 130, 132–3, 136–7, 139
 Article I, 3, 19–20, 26–9
 Article V, 28
 Article XIII, 28
 Article XIX, 18

- Article XXIV, 2, 4, 19, 28, 30, 51, 62–3, 73–4, 137, 139–40
- Article XXVIII, 25
- Article XXVIII-bis, 16–17, 25
- Dillon round, 17
- Enabling Clause, 3, 21–2, 24, 27–8, 30, 43–4, 64, 74, 120
- Havana Charter, 14–15
- Haberler Report, 17, 25
- infant industries, 15–17, 24–5, 51
- Kennedy round, 18–19, 25
- ‘market disruption’ clause, 18
- Part IV, 19–20, 22, 26, 28
- Review Session, 16–17, 25
- Tokyo round, 23–4
- Trade and Development Committee, 20, 26
- Trade Negotiating Committee, 19, 25
- Uruguay round, 3–4, 13, 17, 22–4, 28, 30–1, 39, 52, 94, 98, 108, 119, 142: ‘grand bargain’, 24, 31, 39, 119; Marrakesh Declaration, 23, 27; Single Undertaking, 23–4
- Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), 2–4, 20–2, 27, 30, 32–3, 44, 56, 63, 69–70, 102, 104–5, 107, 117, 120, 129, 135, 138
- Gibbon, Peter, 96, 108, 110–13
- Grant, Cedric, 44
- Great Britain, 15, 20, 83, 87–8, 93
- Gross national income (GNI), 137
- Gruber, Lloyd, 37, 41, 50, 54
- Grugel, Jean, 60
- Guatemala, 15, 40, 138
- Haiti, 15, 36, 65–6, 102, 137
- HIV/AIDS, 114, 121
- Honduras, 15, 40
- Hudec, Robert, 15–16, 19, 21, 120
- IMF, 9, 91–2, 122
- immiserizing growth, 95
- Import-substitution industrialization (ISI), 17, 89
- India, 32, 47, 80, 87–8, 94, 102–3, 116, 123, 141
- Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), 103
- Integrated Framework, 123, 125
- International Trade Organisation (ITO), 14–15
- interregionalism, 8, 11, 57–62, 69–76, 82, 134
- Iraq, 32, 123
- Japan, 32, 94, 120, 122
- Johnston, Charmers, 85–6
- Kaplinsky, Raphael, 95, 108, 116
- Kearney, Richard, 85–6
- Kenya, 65–6, 102–3, 108, 110–12, 116, 138
- Keynesianism, 15–16
- Kiribati, 65, 67, 70
- Kowalczyk, Carsten, 41
- Lamy, Pascal, 2, 61, 64, 72, 78, 98, 123, 125
- Lange, Matthew, 85, 87–9
- Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), 40–1
- Least Developed Country (LDC), 3, 7, 22, 27–8, 30, 32–3, 43, 57, 64, 67, 69–70, 72–5, 97–9, 101–2, 104, 119–24, 128, 137–8, 141
- Lesotho, 6–7, 12, 65–6, 69, 96, 103, 108–16, 120–1, 126–30
- Maputsoe, 113
- Maseru, 113, 128, 143
- Thetsane, 113
- Lesser Developed Beneficiary Country (LDBC), 110, 112
- Libya, 68, 103–4
- Like Minded Group (LMG), 40
- Lomé convention, 2, 4, 7, 11, 13–14, 20–4, 28–30, 35, 38, 43–6, 49–50, 57–8, 62–4, 73–5, 77, 79, 83, 93, 96–7, 99, 106–7, 113, 115, 120, 129, 133, 135, 137–8
- Maastricht Treaty, 30
- Madagascar, 65–6, 96–7, 103, 105, 108, 111–12, 116, 127
- Malawi, 65, 67, 100–1, 103, 118, 127
- Manners, Ian, 57, 59
- Marshall Islands, 65, 67, 70
- Mauritius, 6–7, 11, 65–6, 83–97, 99–108, 110–12, 116, 118, 121, 127–9, 135, 141–2
- ‘double taxation’ agreement, 94
- Independent Forward Bloc, 89

Mauritius – *continued*

Mauritian Labour Party (MLP), 88–9

Mouvement Militant Mauricien
(MMM), 89, 92

Multi-Annual Adaptation Strategy
(MAAS), 100–1

Parti Mauricien Social-Démocrat
(PMSD), 89–90

Parti Socialiste Mauricien (SMM), 89
Sugar Industry Efficiency Act, 99

Meade, James, 86–7

Meisenhelder, Thomas, 84–5, 88–90

Melanesia, 57, 70, 72

Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG), 72

Mexico, 15, 138–9

Micronesia, 57, 65, 67, 70

Middle East, 40

Mode IV, 50, 55, 79

Most-favoured nation (MFN), 3–4, 13,
18, 20–1, 23–4, 28, 30, 32, 43, 47,
71, 77, 80, 107, 110, 114, 122, 125,
132, 135, 137, 139

Mozambique, 65–6, 103, 116, 129

Maputo, 116

Multi Fibre Arrangement (MFA), 4, 18,
80, 84–5, 93–6, 106–8, 110, 114,
116, 121–2, 125, 130, 135

Murray-Evans, Peg, 68, 76, 126–7, 130

Namibia, 65–6, 69–70, 103, 126, 129, 142

Narlikar, Amrita, 22–3, 39–40, 74

New Delhi (UNCTAD conference), 20

New International Economic Order
(NIEO), 21

Nicaragua, 15, 40

Nigeria, 65, 67, 69–70

Niue, 65, 67, 70

North American Free Trade Agreement
(NAFTA), 40–1, 48

Nauru, 65, 67, 70

OECD, 31–2, 94, 122–3

Orbie, Jan, 35, 45–6, 57, 59, 77

Pacific, 7, 11, 35, 43, 56–8, 63, 65–6,
68–2, 74–5, 79–81, 86, 134, 140–1

Pacific ACP (PACP), 57–8, 70–2,
74–5, 79–80

Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic
Relations (PACER), 71–2, 80, 140

MFN clause, 71

PACER-plus, 71, 140

Pacific Island Countries, Trade
Agreement (PICTA), 72

Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), 68, 71–2, 140
Palau, 65, 67, 70

Papua New Guinea (PNG), 69–72, 76,
79, 140

Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, 31

Payne, Tony, 8, 85

Peru, 15, 40, 138

Phillips, Nicola, 8, 37, 39–41, 46, 85

policy space, 4, 10, 14, 33, 38–40, 48, 51,
53, 129, 133

political trade dependence, 41–2, 49, 54

Polynesia, 57, 70

Portugal, 30, 141

post-Washington Consensus (PWC), 8,
121, 130

Prebisch, Raul, 17

Qatar, 30, 43

Ramgoolam, Seewoosagur, 89

Ramphal, Shridath, 45

Ravenhill, John, 14, 28–9, 35, 37,
43, 72–3

Reagan, Ronald, 95, 110

rendezvous clause, 71, 79

Regional Economic Community
(REC), 68

regional integration, 6, 9, 11–12, 51,
56–63, 65, 68–9, 71–5, 77, 79, 81,
102, 105, 110, 126, 133–4, 141–2

regionalism, 11, 39, 56–64, 69–70, 79,
81, 126, 129, 134

Richardson, Ben, 9, 64, 97–8,
100–1, 128–9

Risse, Thomas, 60–1

Rodrik, Dani, 39, 90, 92–3

Roy, Devesh, 5, 83–4, 87, 90, 92–3,
109, 117

Ruggie, John Gerard, 14

Rwanda, 65–6, 102–3, 138

Samoa, 65, 67, 70

Sandbrook, Richard, 85–8, 94

Sao Paulo Consensus, 39

Schimmelfennig, Frank, 80

Scott, James, 32, 119, 123

- September 11th 2001 (terrorist attacks),
1, 31, 33, 119
- Seychelles, 65–6, 103, 105, 127, 142
- Shadlen, Kenneth, 37–42, 49, 54
- Siles-Brügge, Gabriel, 14, 35, 57, 61–2,
73, 75, 77–9, 104, 136
- Singapore issues, 31, 40, 76–81, 119,
127–8, 134, 138
- Singer, Hans, 17
- Small and Vulnerable Economies (SVE), 40
- Small Island Developing States (SIDS), 74
- Söderbaum, Fredrik, 8, 57, 60–2
- Solomon Islands, 65, 67, 70, 72
- South Africa, 12, 67–9, 103, 108, 111–13,
115–17, 126–9, 131, 142–3
- South Centre, 47, 50–2, 58, 68, 72, 79,
98, 104, 124, 140
- Southern African Customs Union
(SACU), 103, 115, 126–9, 143
- Southern African Development
Community (SADC), 12, 43, 63,
65–6, 68–9, 102–3, 110,
126–7, 129–31
SADC-minus, 43, 63, 65–6, 68–9,
127, 131
- Southern Common Market
(MERCOSUR), 139
- South Korea, 78, 94
- South Pacific Regional Trade and
Economic Cooperation Agreement
(SPATECA), 71
- Soviet Union, 17
- Spain, 30, 141
- Special and Differential Treatment (SDT),
2, 4–6, 9–17, 19, 22–4, 28, 30–1,
33–4, 52, 74, 109, 117–18, 120,
130–3, 135–6
- Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM), 40
- Stabilization of Export Earnings
(STABEX), 21
- Stevens, Chris, 44, 58, 68–70, 73,
102, 127
- Subramanian, Arvind, 5, 83–4, 87, 90,
92–3, 109, 117
- Sub-Saharan Africa, 65, 69, 71, 84, 95–6,
109–10, 112–14, 117, 126, 141
- Sugar Protocol, 83–5, 90–1, 93, 97–101,
104, 106, 115, 128–9, 139, 141–2
'accompanying measures', 100,
106, 128
- Swaziland, 6–7, 12, 65–6, 96, 100,
103, 108–12, 115–16, 120–1, 126,
128–30, 142–3
Mbabane, 129, 142–3
Matsapha, 116
- Swaziland Sugar Association, 100
- System of Stabilization of Export
Earnings for Mining Products
(SYSMIN), 21
- Taiwan, 90, 94, 113, 116, 139
- Tanzania, 65–6, 102–3, 127, 138
- Tariff-rate quota (TRQ), 28–9
- textiles and clothing, 7, 18, 24, 39, 90,
93–7, 106, 108, 110, 115–16, 123,
128, 143
- Thailand, 98
- Tonga, 65, 67, 70
- tourism, 36, 83, 94
- Trade and Development Cooperation
Agreement (TDCA), 69, 127–9
- Turkey, 15, 32, 123
- Tuvalu, 65, 67, 70
- Uganda, 65–6, 102–3, 121, 138
- United Nations (UN), 3, 16
- United Nations Conference on Trade
and Development (UNCTAD),
16–17, 19–20, 22, 39, 142–3
- United States (US), 4, 12, 15–16, 18,
20–1, 32, 40–1, 45–9, 60, 62, 80, 95,
108, 110, 113, 117, 120–2, 126, 135
Congress, 18, 21, 138
New Deal, 15
- Uruguay, 15, 17, 22–4, 28, 30–1, 39, 52,
94, 98, 108, 119, 142
- VanGrasstek, Craig, 46, 54
- Vanuatu, 65, 67, 70, 72
- Venezuela, 15
- Vietnam, 32, 108, 123
- Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS), 101
- Wade, Robert, 39, 85
- White, Gordon, 85–6
- Wilkinson, Rorden, 8–9, 14, 17, 23–4,
32, 83, 119
- Wonnacott, Ronald, 41
- World Bank, 9, 47, 91, 93, 102, 105, 110,
115, 141–2

- WTO, 1–4, 9–10, 12–14, 19, 22–3, 27, 29–33, 35–41, 43–5, 47–51, 54, 56–8, 61, 64, 68, 72–81, 94–5, 97–9, 101–2, 104, 108–9, 114–26, 128, 130, 132–40, 142–3
- Africa Group, 97, 121, 128
- Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), 98
- Agreement on Government Procurement, 48
- Cancun ministerial, 138
- General Agreement on Services (GATS), 28, 77
- General Council, 23, 31
- Hong Kong ministerial, 31–2, 93, 119, 121, 140
- Non-agricultural market access (NAMA), 123–5, 136
- Seattle ministerial, 1–2, 31, 119
- Yaoundé Convention, 20, 43
- Zambia, 65, 67, 100, 103, 127
- Zimbabwe, 65–6, 103, 105, 127