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## Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)

African Union. Draft Framework, *Road Map and Architecture for Fast-tracking the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)*, 2011.

- Context: the pursuit of integration at regional and continental levels aims at overcoming the colonial legacy of the fragmentation of Africa into small and weak economies, and at harnessing the economies of scale and other benefits of a large integrated market.
- The importance that African countries attach to regional integration is reflected in the high number of integration schemes on the continent. There are as many as 14 RECs in Africa. The majority of African countries belong to two or more RECs.
- The level of intra-African trade stands at around 10 per cent, the lowest among the major regions of the world. Being highly dependent on the outside world for trade, Africa has been very vulnerable to external trade shocks.
- Main arguments:
  - Although some progress has been achieved in the process of African integration, the objective of Pan-African market integration is still far from being realized.
  - Africa needs the CFTA to increase intra-regional trade, which can offer substantial economic and social gains in Africa. CFTA provides the opportunity for Africa to maintain food security and boosting trade in agricultural products.

African Union. *Boosting Intra-African Trade. Issues Affecting Intra-African Trade, Proposed Action Plan for boosting Intra-African Trade and Framework for the fast tracking of a Continental Free Trade Area*. 2011.

- Main objective: to pinpoint some of the key priority issues and areas that require continued and closer attention, in order to make decisive progress on intra-African trade.

African Union. *Update on the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)*. 2014.

- Background information about the CFTA
- Work Plan for the year 2014 on the CFTA
- Work Plan for the AU Commission for the Preparatory Phase of the CFTA Negotiations (2014).

Bridges Africa. *The Continental Free Trade Area: What's going on?* Volume 3, No. 9. 2014.

- Regional integration has been a core element of African countries' development strategies since their independence.
- The Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) Roadmap:
  - Rationale for a CFTA
  - Current status of the CGTA
  - The Role of RECs
- Main opportunities and challenges:
  - Inequalities between countries: importance of capacity building to ensure all countries effective engagement.
  - Implementations of all areas of the CFTA negotiations immediately from the get go.
  - Constructive engagement with the private sector and civil society will be vital to generate the momentum to drive the process forward.

Erasmus, Gerhard. *The New Principles for Negotiation the Continental FTA*. tralac. Trade Brief, No. S15TB05 2015.

- The CFTA is an ambitious project, a new chapter in Africa's endeavors to promote regional integration and competitiveness. Implementation of legal obligations in the instruments of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), monitoring compliance, and institutional oversights have remained major challenges; while overlapping membership has caused duplication and legal uncertainty for the private sector in particular.
- The CFTA negotiations are necessary to conclude the required legal instruments: international agreements containing binding obligations on targets, timeframes and national measures giving effect what has been undertaken. The CFTA will affect the sovereign "policy space" of national governments. The final verdict of success will be clear when AU Members conclude and implement the legal instruments underpinning the CFTA.

Kalenga, Paul. *Critical Issues in the Negotiations of the Continental Free Trade Area*. tralac. Working Paper No. S16WP02, 2016.

- Regional trade agreements in Africa have achieved limited results for various reasons, including related to design and implementation record. Their traditional focus on trade in goods has not maximized their potential trade and production gain. Meaningful market access has been constrained by rising non-tariff barriers, including restrictive rules of origin. This will need to change if the CFTA is to make a positive contribution to boosting intra-African trade.
- The move towards the CFTA takes place in the context of the various RECs' initiatives to deepen their own regional integration. There is need to align these processes in a manner that does not slow down progress being made at sub-regional levels, while forging rapid integration of fragmented African markets. The challenge is to find a new formula to ensure this alignment.

Rambdoo, Isabelle. "Upgrading Africa's Participation in Global Value Chains Requires International Rules to Evolve." *Great Insights*, Volume 4, Issue 6. December 2015/January 2016.

- Main argument: Regional Economic Communities (EAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) have made great strides and provided the foundation for the CFTA negotiations.

UNCTAD. *The Continental Free Trade Area: Making it Work for Africa*. No.44, December 2015.

- Main arguments: Intraregional trade liberalization needs to be contextualized in a broader developmental framework that will provide benefits in terms of realizing Agenda 2063 of the AU and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development of the UN.
  - Enhancing intra-African trade requires more than tariff reduction and/or elimination. e.g. introduction of informal trade into formal trade channels.
  - Benefits would likely accrue unevenly: inclusiveness should be factored in. Trade liberalization creates unequal gains and unequal losses between countries at different stages of development and resource capacity.
- Recommendations:
  - Dialogue with stakeholders is a determinant factor of success: a bottom-up approach could help to identify at the disaggregate level what is working now, has worked in the past or has worked somewhere else. This would involve governments, the private sector, civil society, and the international community in a reciprocal, incremental exchange of ideas, information, resources, and trust that can build lasting collaboration.
  - Strong visible and continuous political will: relinquishing national priorities in favor of regional ones in order to foster harmonization, consistency and predictability to advance regional integration.
  - The CFTA needs to be part of a comprehensive package: should include complementary policies on dispute settlement, institutional issues, IP and unfair trade practices. It also needs to be environmentally friendly to support sustainable development. Requires adequate knowledge of existing rules and practices in these areas and of the commitments undertaken by African countries at the national, regional and international levels.

UNCTAD. *Building the African Continental Free Trade Area: Some Suggestions on the Way Forward*. 2015.

- Recommendations:
  - Set a clear path to make regional agreements converge into the CFTA.
  - Revise the relationship between RECs and the CFTA to move towards a clearer division of labor between them.
  - Undertake immediately some continent-wide negotiations on a number of key issues.
  - Keep flexible the CFTA timeline.
  - Make all African trade commitments compatible with the CFTA objectives.
  - Start CFTA negotiations from the existing degree of market opening in Africa.
  - Design the CFTA as a modern and comprehensive trade agreement.
  - Include a dispute settlement/avoidance mechanism in the CFTA framework.
  - Place trade facilitation and regional value chains high on the CFTA agenda.
  - Consider seriously the organization of the negotiation process itself.

- Proceed expeditiously with the CFTA as it is critical not only for its potential benefits, but also to mitigate the costs associated with inaction.
- Establish a technical support mechanism to assist negotiators during the CFTA process.
- Integrate a system for monitoring implementation of commitments is suggested.
- Develop mechanisms to foster balancing the distribution of gains among African countries.

## Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)/ Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs)

African Trade Policy Centre. *EPA Negotiations: African Countries Continental Review*. No. 64. 2007.

- Context: Report is a synthesis of a survey undertaken as part of the review of EPA negotiations at the different sub-regions in Africa.
- Main finding:
  - It is evident that the conclusion of EPAs will not only miss the agreed time frame as per the roadmap, but pertinent and strategic issues vital for the development of Eastern and Southern African countries have yet to be satisfactorily addressed by EU.

Mohamadieh Kinda and Uribe Daniel. *The Rise of Investor-State Dispute Settlement in the Extractive Sectors: Challenges and Considerations for African Countries*. Research Paper, 65. South Centre. 2016.

- Main objective: to discuss the potential challenges that could arise out of rules established by international investment treaties and ISDS to the policy space of African countries and the operationalization of the African Mining Vision.
- Main finding: The expansion of international investment agreements (IIAs) could carry significant case of African countries. This implies risks to the potential use of sectoral policies, such as policies in the extractive industries and the African Mining Vision, in order to support and promote African countries' industrialization objectives.

Pearson, Mark. *Trade Facilitation in the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area*. tralac. 2011.

- Context: the economic integration agenda being implemented by the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area has prioritized programs addressing trade and transport facilitation challenges, with the aim of lowering costs of doing business and improving the competitiveness of products from the eastern and southern African region.
- Main argument: the long-term success of the Tripartite trade and transport facilitation programs will depend on the political, administrative and technical commitment of the Tripartite member States to design and implement the full Comprehensive Trade and Transport Facilitation Program; on establishing the appropriate institutional and coordination structures at regional and national level; and obtaining the necessary technical and financial support for the design and implementation of the program.

Singh, Kavaljit and Ilge Burgard. *Rethinking Bilateral Investment Treaties. Critical Issues and Policy Choices*. Both Ends, Madhyam, Somo. 2016.

- This book takes stock of current developments and explores alternative approaches to reform investment treaties. It contains 19 distinct analyses by leading experts in the field, covering both national and international perspectives.

South Centre. *Understanding the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)*. 2007.

- Context: The ACP countries (African, Caribbean, Pacific) are highly dependent on the EU in economic and political terms. This is largely due to the legacy of the historical connection between the EU and ACP countries. For the EU, on the other hand, the ACP region is in many ways economically insignificant, accounting for very little in terms of trade or FDI.
- Main argument: While the negotiating mandate promises that EPAs will promote economic development and the diversification of the ACP countries and while the rhetoric is full of developmental language, the anti-developmental risks of EPAs are real.
- Recommendation: The complexity of the EPA process highlights the importance of building the

negotiating capacity of ACP negotiators and policy makers so that they have greater ownership and influence over the outcome. It also emphasizes the importance of adopting a negotiating timeline that is respectful of the disparities in capacity of the EU and the AC.

South Centre. *Demystifying Trade in Services: A Strategic Guide for ACP EPA Negotiations*. 2007.

- **Context:** African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries are in the process of negotiating a reciprocal trade agreement on services with the European Union (EU). This is aimed at increasing the level of market access, and national treatment benefits available for both parties (over and above what is available under the WTO), through further elimination of limitations and conditions attached thereto.
- **Outline of fact sheet:** The fact sheet focuses on what it is that concepts on international and regional trade in services, so as to better inform a negotiation in which they already engage. In so doing, it discusses key general concepts in the multilateral framework governing trade in services, provides an overview of the role of services in ACP economies, contextualizes the EU-ACP relationship on services through Lomé to Cotonou agreements, discusses the rules and principles that constitute WTO compatibility of services economic integration agreements (EIAs).
- **Main argument:** From the outset, it is important to note that while the service sector is of critical importance and presents great economic potential to ACP countries, they are not key players in international trade in services, and remain net importers of services. On the other hand, the EU is one of the world's most competitive suppliers of services. Many questions have been raised about the economic and social benefits for ACP countries, of signing a reciprocal trade Agreement on services with the EU. In order for ACP trade negotiators to effectively engage in the EPA negotiations, they need to understand the rules, principles and concepts that govern multilateral trade, and economic integration Agreements in services.

South Centre. *Regional Integration and the EPAs*. 2007.

- **Context:** Defines regional integration as the increase in economic, institutional and political linkages between countries that share geographic proximity; the move towards greater interdependence between countries through the removal of barriers and constraints to ease cooperation, including through reduced trade barriers. In constructing and maintaining regional integration, countries are faced with four main policy choices:
  - Which countries are to be included as members of the regional group?
  - What will the regional group's external policy be vis-à-vis non-members?
  - How deep will the integration process be in terms of the level of interdependence?
  - How wide will the integration process be in terms of what areas of economic, political and institutional cooperation it will include?
- **Main argument:** Regional integration can support development among ACP countries by promoting the pooling of resources, the expansion of markets, increased trade and investment, and greater diversification and value addition, and in turn reducing dependency on a small number of developed country markets. Regionalism is also considered a stepping-stone towards further integration into the world economy through the removal of barriers to trade.

South Centre. *EPAs: The Wrong Development Model for African and Options for the Future*. 2010.

- **Main argument:** The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) provide the wrong development model for Africa, and will jeopardize African countries' development and regional integration prospects, rather than support them.
- **Toxic provisions in the EPAs:**
  - 70-80% liberalization of all tariff lines
  - export taxes
  - weak safeguards
  - new services, investment and competition and procurement rules are damaging to Africa
  - high adjustment costs; elusive development assistance
  - EU exporters are the winners; preferential market access maintained for non-LDCs; bad deal for LDCs
  - loss of tariff revenue
  - deindustrialization and unemployment
  - losses in agriculture

- real regional integration forgone
- Recommended alternatives to the EPA:
  - A Generalized System of Preferences Plus (GSP+) scheme for non-LDCs.
  - Renegotiation of Article XXIV relating to regional trade agreements and the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) of the WTO.
  - i.e. “Moldova Treatment” – preferential treatment of Moldova to improve the country’s access to the EU market and support the development of its economy through increased export performance, provided by the EU and approved by the WTO. Many of the non-LDCs in Africa have even lower levels of development (measured by per capital GDP) than Moldova and are therefore deserving of even better than the “Moldova treatment.”
  - European AGOA (African Growth Opportunity Act) or Financial Crisis Package for Africa. Countries in Africa should request the EU to provide an AGOA to them i.e. duty free access to the EU market for key tariff lines on which they are currently exporting to the EU.
- Justification for recommended alternatives to EPA:
  - Article 37(6) of Cotonou Agreement states that the EU is legally bound to help non-LDC African countries seek an alternative trade agreement other than the EPA. This alternative should provide them market access to the EU comparable to what they had received under Cotonou.
  - A goods-only EPA pegged to development benchmarks:
    - African countries that have not yet signed an EPA, if going ahead, should ensure that it is a strictly goods-only EPA, with no build in clauses about negotiations on services in the years to come.
    - Liberalization in goods should be done in keeping with development benchmarks i.e. only when the sub-regions have attained a certain level of development should the sub-region liberalize a certain percentage of the tariff lines.

South Centre. *The EPAs and Risks for Africa: Local Production and Regional Trade*. 2012.

- Context: Despite many African countries and regions stating that they want lower levels of liberalization, the EU continues to maintain that at least 80% of trade must be liberalized.
- Main arguments:
  - EPAs will harm intra-African trade, as African countries will lose trade to EU producers and exporters in spite of the latter not necessarily being the most efficient.
  - Local production is considered to be “at risk” in cases where a certain product is not excluded from liberalization in the EPAs and the EU is currently a more competitive supplier than the African region for that product. The EPAs will lead to elimination of tariffs and thus to increased production.
  - EPAs put local production, current as well as future production, and also regional trade at risk:
    - There are many products which are currently produced by African sub-regions, yet the EU is more competitive than the sub-regions for those products and currently exports these products to the sub-region.
    - Under EPAs, tariffs will be eliminated in trade with the EU on the majority of these locally produced products. The EPAs will impact policy space in a manner likely to negatively influence Africa’s local production or the potential of increasing current local production possibilities.
    - Since more regionally produced products at risk are traded within the region, regional trade will also be negatively impacted by liberalization and the greater competitiveness of European products
    - Future production tariff lines will also be at risk as most of these tariff lines are set to be eliminated under the EPAs, threatening the possibility of creating new production capacities.

South Centre. *EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements: Current State of Play*. 2013.

- Main argument: EPAs should not be completed out of fear or pressure of time geared towards averting the risk of trade disruption for non-LDCs.

- ACP countries must negotiate focusing on the policy flexibilities they need for their development and the building of production capacities.
- The losses of signing an EPA (tariff revenue foregone) also outweigh the gains (the duties avoided if the EPAs are signed). Thus far, attempts at inserting ACP countries' concerns into the negotiations have been difficult due to the largely inflexible positions of the EU. In this regard, the African Union's proposal for a common and enhanced trade preference system for least developed countries and low-income countries should be seriously considered.
- ACP states should also focus on other alternatives to EPAs and policies to boost South-South trade.

South Centre. *Government Procurement in Economic Partnership Agreements and FTAs*. 2008.

- Main argument: the ability of governments to procure from firms of its own choice can have immense implications for national development, local business and job creation and can be an important development tool. Government procurement remains one of the few areas of state involvement not covered by any multilateral agreement. It is, however, an area which is increasingly being negotiated and discussed in Free Trade Agreements (FTAs).
- The development challenges that will result from liberalizing public procurement in these FTAs /EPAs for developing countries include:
  - the prohibition of the use of preferences for national suppliers as a policy instrument
  - high costs of compliance with transparency rules and insufficient support to overcome institutional and supply capacity constraints.
  - the asymmetric capacities of the EU compared to its developing country partners, with the result being that only the EU benefits from these disciplines. In the process, developing countries would have lost the opportunity to use regional procurement markets to develop industrial and services supply capacities in their sub-regions.

South Centre. *Economic Partnership Agreements in Africa: A Benefit-Cost Analysis*. 2012.

- Main objective: This study provides a simple cost-benefit analysis of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between African countries and the European Union. It compares the costs of signing an EPA - measured as tariff revenue losses, versus the "gains" of signing an EPA - measured as duties African countries would avoid paying if they were to export to the EU market under the EU's Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) scheme.
- Research question: Do the tariff revenue losses resulting from the EPA outweigh the duties that countries would have to pay in a non-EPA scenario? Do the losses of EPAs outweigh the "gains"?
- Findings: The paper shows that even with this simple cost-benefit analysis (looking only at one dimension of the costs), for most African countries, the tariff revenue losses are higher than the duties at the EU border if there is no EPA. The costs of an EPA are therefore greater than the gains! These countries include all African LDCs, and non-LDCs: Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria. It should be noted that from a market access perspective, LDCs only incur losses under an EPA. The EU's Everything But Arms (EBA) already provides for duty-free and quota-free market access for virtually all products. Signing the EPAs will likely lead to significant tariff revenue losses.

South Centre. *Sub-Saharan Africa's Export Trends and the EPAs*. 2010.

- Main objective: To help sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries make a more accurate cost-benefit analysis in regards to signing the EPA.
- Research method: Analysis of Africa's export statistics.
  - Africa's exports to the intra-African market are growing at a much faster pace than exports to the EU market.
    - For some sub-regions and countries (e.g. the East African Community), the intra-African market is already the largest market for their exports than the EU market.
    - The quality of sub-Saharan Africa's trade to the EU is questionable. 90% of exports to the EU (excluding South Africa's exports) are by way of fuels and

other primary products, only 10% are manufactured exports.

- If Africa is to grow its industrial capacities, its most promising market is its own intra-African market, which absorbs the bulk of its manufactured exports.
- The intra-African market, however, is at risk of being taken over by products from the EU, should African countries sign and implement the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the EU.
- The opportunities African producers now have to access a bigger internal market for manufactured products would be lost as they would have to compete with EU manufactured exports in their own regional market. Such a situation would not bode well for the industrialization prospects of Africa, or Africa's trade integration.

Tandon, Yash. "EPAs: Europe's Trade War on Africa," ch. 3 in *Trade is War*. 2015.

- Characteristics of Euro-African relationship:
  - Based on power asymmetry
  - Built over a century and deeply embedded in the institutions, culture, and behavior of both sides of the divide.
  - The colonially constructed discourse and terms of negotiation persist to this day.
- Main challenges/recommendations:
  - The experience of African in relation to Europe shows that trade is only a soft word for war. Europe's threat to impose sanctions as its final weapon of "persuasion" in the EPA negotiations was an act of war.
  - We are dealing with embedded structures left behind in Africa by a hundred years of colonial rule.
  - We must avoid a preordained conclusion that all efforts to work with the corrupt leadership of neo-colonies are foredoomed.
  - Institutionalized aid gets embedded into structures and habits that have a tendency to reproduce themselves.
  - The language of trade negotiations has to be deconstructed so that it makes sense to ordinary citizens.

## East Africa

Casazza, Alessandra. *The Sustainable Development Goals and the African Union's Agenda 2063: A Comparative Analysis*. 2015.

- Research question: How are countries to domesticate both the SDGs and Agenda 2063 into their national development plans?
- Context: the continental agenda articulates Africa's specific aspirations and responds to the continent's specific development challenges; its implementation is also guided by the spirit and principles of the global Agenda 2030.
- Findings:
  - SDG areas that are not, or only marginally covered by Agenda 2063: inequality between countries, issues related to the sustainable management of terrestrial ecosystems, forests, desertification, land degradation and biodiversity.
  - Agenda 2063 areas that are not focused on in the SDGs: AU's pan-African objective, African cultural diversity, common heritage, values and ethics; the African Renaissance; and the strong focus on the security agenda, including the common defense, foreign and security policy for the continent.
  - Agenda 2063 focuses on domestic resource mobilization while Agenda 2030 (SDGs) recognizes that official Development Assistance remains a critical catalyst for development.
- Recommendation: To meet commitments to the SDGs, countries who have embarked on Agenda 2063 implementation would need to revisit their national development plans to include additional dimensions from the 2030 Agenda.

CUTS International. *The WTO Nairobi Ministerial Outcome. Reflections for East African Countries*. Briefing paper, January 2016.

- Highlights from the 10th WTO Ministerial Conference hosted in Nairobi, Kenya.
- Outlines main issues on which the conference made decisions.

Guei, Francoise. *Non-Tariff Barriers on Selected Goods Faced by Exporters from the EAC to the EU and USA*. CUTS. 2015.

- Main objective: to analyze the implication of non-tariff barriers (NTBs) faced by EAC member exporters in target markets of the EU and US.
- Main findings: tariff peaks remain in specific sectors (such as coffee); it is non-tariff barriers that are the main challenge for EAC exporters in their efforts to enter preference granting markets such as EU and US. EAC exporters need awareness and trade information on relevant NTBs in their sector.

Greater Horn Quarterly. *Tanzanian Perspectives, Bullish about Regional Integration*. 2014.

- Main question: As East African issues are being discussed or decided at regional organs of the East African Community (EAC), does the public truly know and comprehend the impact of integration?

Mutal Kibet, Henry. *Assessing the implementation of the East African Community Common Market: A preliminary scoping study*. tralac. Working Paper No. S15Wp04. 2015.

- Main objective: to provide a preliminary analysis, from a legal perspective, of a selected number of components of the EAC Common Market, with the main emphasis being the provisions that exist to facilitate the free movement of goods.
- Findings:
  - The Common Market Protocol appears to provide a clear roadmap for the move from shallow integration to deep integration through the creation of a common market.
  - The need for states to retain an element of policy flexibility plays a key role in determining compliance and this factor is likely to grow in importance as integration deepens and more autonomy will need to be ceded to joint institutions. In this regard, the failure to operationalize the Committee on Trade Remedies stands out as a significant setback to the implementation of the Common Market Protocol.
  - The shared history and geography of the partner states, as well as the small sizes of their individual economies, provide a considerable incentive for integration to occur but the realities in terms of their differing levels of development as well as protectionist sentiment continue to hinder attainment of the objectives.
  - The low levels of development are especially noticeable in terms of capacity. As a result, a number of obligations have not been met more as a result of inability than of unwillingness.
- Recommendation: More research is needed in the different areas in order to establish the existing legislative status of the different areas, identify constraints to liberalization and propose solutions to those issues.

Schoeman, Mark. *What does the TFTA really mean for regional integration in Africa?* Bridges Africa, Volume 5, number 1. 12 February 2016.

- Context: The Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) has been heralded as one of the most important developments in African regional integration. It aims at creating a free trade area between 26 African countries, creating a combined market of up to 625 million people.
- Theory: the larger the local market for goods (created by the free trade area), the greater the production and the more these regional economies will draw on inputs from their neighbors to countries from other regional groupings.
- Findings:
  - The TFTA agreement does not only contain tariff liberalization measures, but places a heavy emphasis on non-tariff barriers to trade (NTBs), the development of transport infrastructure, and the development of a common industrial policy. All of these require a large amount of coordination and cooperation among member states, something which African states have struggled with in the past.

- NTBs remain a pertinent obstacle to intra-African trade and have not been successfully dealt with by regional economic communities (RECs).
- Many of the smaller states, such as Mozambique, have voiced concerns over the impact the agreement would have on their small economies, and require more time to assess these effects.
- Given the history and current nature of regional integration on the continent, the private sector will ultimately have to be the champion of regional integration in Africa.
- **Recommendation:** Whether the TFTA will be successful or not will depend on whether industrialists and entrepreneurs take advantage of the provisions of the agreement to invest in regional value chains across the continent.

Sauti za Wananchi. *What Tanzanians Think about the East African Community*. Brief No. 16. 2014.

- **Main questions:** How aware are Tanzanians of the EAC agenda and proposals? Do they agree with the proposals? What are the implications of the proposals? Will Tanzania lead, slow down or give up on regional integration?
- **Method:** Presents data from the 23<sup>rd</sup> round of Sauti za Wananchi, Africa's first naturally representative high-frequency mobile phone survey. Data were collected in partnership with the Society for International Development through calls to 1408 respondents in Mainland Tanzania only (excluding Zanzibar) between 13 August and 22 August 2014.
- **Key Findings:**
  - Eight out of ten citizens believe we should stay in the East African Community.
  - Two out of three Tanzanians who have heard about the Coalition of the Willing want to be a part of it.
  - Kenya and Uganda are the most popular integration partners for Tanzanians.
  - The most popular elements of integration are a single tourist visa across the region, intra-EAC travel with a national identity card, and join infrastructure projects; eight out of ten citizens support these.
  - Seven out of ten Tanzanians support free movement of labour within the EAC and the creation of a common passport.

SEATINI. *Uganda Civil Society Statement on the Future of the Doha Round and World Trade Organisation (WTO)*. 2015.

- **Main arguments:**
  - Urges the Government of Uganda to take seriously the need for the upcoming Nairobi Ministerial to ensure the existing WTO rules make the global trading system more compatible with sustainable development.
  - Recognizes failure to come up with amicable solutions in agriculture, duty free quota free market access, cotton, special and differential treatment, non agricultural market access, trade in services, technical assistance and capacity building.
- **Positions concerning the current WTO negotiations:**
  - Agriculture:
    - Uganda should support the proposals put forward by the G33 group of 45 developing countries to remove limits on developing countries investing in their own food security by categorizing public stockholding for food security in the so-called "Green Box."
    - Uganda should also support the G33 proposal to create a Special Safeguard Mechanism that would allow developing countries to protect their food security, food sovereignty, and farmers' livelihoods and enhance rural development.
  - Duty Free Quota Free Market Access:
    - The ultimate objective of granting duty free quota free market access should be to facilitate the increase of exports from LDCs, in order to generate the much needed foreign exchange and transform their economies for eventual graduation from the LDC category. The Uganda government should demand that Rules of Origin applicable to LDC products need to be streamlined and simplified. In this regard, building upon the Bali Decision on Preferential Rules of Origin, the decision should be made legally binding by Nairobi 10 Ministerial Conference.

- Cotton:
  - Uganda should stress that the development aspect of cotton be taken into account as decided in the July framework Agreement and the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration especially as regard to the total elimination of cotton export subsidies and all domestic support measures that distort international trade.
  - Uganda should also push for a concrete and binding decision on cotton in the Nairobi MC 10 in order to ensure that African countries like Uganda whose economies rely on their cotton exports for foreign exchange are not left behind in global trade.
  - There is need for Ugandan negotiators therefore to ensure that as they engage on negotiations for market access in agriculture, emphasis should be placed on protection of developing and LDCs domestic production and; must have recourse to a full range of self-designated Special Products and an effective and workable Special Safeguard Mechanism in the event that their markets experience damaging import surges.
- Non Agriculture Market Access (NAMA):
  - The negotiations on NAMA should preserve the core flexibilities contained in Rev.3 that fully take into account African States development priorities and that LDCs shall be exempted from taking any tariff reductions. Uganda and other LDCs will also have to determine the extent and level of tariff binding commitments in accordance with the country's development objectives.
- Trade in Services:
  - It is therefore important that during the Nairobi Ministerial the development needs of LDCs are maintained by protecting their service sector, which is still in infancy and would be easily outcompeted by their stronger counterparts from developed countries should therefore be an agreement to open up the service sector.
  - The MC should also adhere to the key principles and flexibilities embedded in the GATS and ensure that LDCs like Uganda are not compelled to take on any new commitments.
- Technical Assistance and Capacity Building:
  - Technical assistance and capacity building should not be linked to LDCs compliance or implementation of WTO agreements but should be linked to addressing their development needs.
  - Technical assistance should therefore be provided to support developing country initiatives aimed at ensuring Africa's participation in relevant standard setting processes and to address other non-tariff barriers to trade.
- **Recommendations:** The ACP Group of States call on the WTO members to ensure that the Nairobi MC adheres to a set of certain principles: transparency, equanimity of objectives, affirmation of the development objectives of the DDA, etc.

South Centre. *Trade Negotiations in the Eastern and Southern African Region: Issues for Consideration*. 2007.

- **Context:** The economic productivity of the ESA region accrues to few member countries—Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia—accounting for approximately sixty per cent and fifty-five per cent of population and regional GDP respectively.
- The agricultural sector remains overall the single largest contributor to employment in this region. However, the manufacturing and services sectors are major employers in some countries of the region. The tourism sector, heavily concentrated in transport and travel service provision, is very important to the ESA contributing to more than 50 per cent of the region's GDP.
- The ESA-EPA negotiations, despite the unique overlapping nature of its RECs, are participatory and representative, involving various stakeholders at both the national and regional level. The prioritized areas of negotiations are conducted at the Ministerial level while the formulation of national positions in these areas is pursued by the NDTPF, represented by both public and private sectors, including Non-State Actors.
- **Recommendations:** WTO and EPAs negotiations raise some challenges as well as opportunities for ESA member countries.

- More systematic intra-regional integration has to be pursued if the region is to successfully withstand increased import competition from the EU after the creation of an FTA. Coherence between the EPAs and the regional process of ESA has not been achieved so far. ESA lacks a regional integration program as well as a legal identity. The so-called “spaghetti-bowl” dimension is even made more complex by the asymmetric developmental stages of the various overlapping RECs.
- Tariff liberalization should take into account the needs and developmental stages of ESA countries while allowing for the harmonization of the criteria for selection of sensitive products. There is also the real risk of intra-regional trade being undermined with negative impact for local manufacturers who benefit most from such trade.
- Graph of overlapping membership of different RECs.

Tandon, Yash. *An Alternative Environment and Development Vision for Southern and Eastern Africa*. 2005.

- Main argument: The Rio paradigm of sustainable development is ossifying into a cul-de-sac. The debate must move onto higher visionary plane. Capital-led globalization offers no hope for the marginalized and disempowered people of the global South.
- Africa is the global system’s weakest chain, and best placed to lead alternative thinking. Here, most governments are more or less under the control of the IMF, the World Bank, the donors and institutions controlled by the big powers. On their own, governments will not break with the system. However, when pressed by the people and their allies among organized sections of civil society, governments take courage to challenge the system, as happened at Seattle and Cancun in resistance to the WTO.

## Gender

Jones, Meg. *Considering Gender and the WTO Services Negotiations*. South Centre. Research paper, 2006.

- Notions surrounding “women’s work” and “men’s work” continue to contribute to occupational segregation. Gender biases that contribute to the occupational segregation of women and men also result in the clustering of women in lower skilled jobs at low pay and with lower status than men.
- Trade impacts women in the following ways:
  - Women’s access to essential services such as water, education and health.
  - Women’s access to employment opportunities in foreign markets.
  - Women’s access to employment in the domestic market as it impacts the size and focus of activity in both the formal and informal sectors.
  - Women’s choices on where to live with flow-on effects in terms of demand for schools, childcare, transport and so forth.
- Three reasons for governments to focus on women in growth and development:
  - Women as a link between trade and development;
  - Trade policy alone does not contribute to development; and
  - Policy coherence for economic and human development.
- In managing change, policy makers need to be aware of three things:
  - Overwhelmingly women work as entrepreneurs and employees in services.
  - Working women rely on services to enable them to work: equitable access to financial services is key for women entrepreneurs: transport and childcare services are critical to all.
  - In the management of change, policy makers, the international financial institutions, UN and suppliers of (re)training services, technical assistance and trade-related capacity building programs must consider the needs of the target audience, including women. This can include issues such as when and where courses take place, the choice of instructor/facilitator and the composition of groups.
- Pervasive gender discrimination in economic life causes trade policy to have very different effects on women and men. Trade liberalization has also had mixed results for gender outcomes. It is particularly troublesome from a human development perspective if export growth comes at the expense of exploiting female workers, neglecting care work and increasing inequalities in

opportunities and benefits.

- The CASE approach (consultation, assessment, specific commitments, evaluation): toolkit by which trade negotiators can strengthen their negotiation position through a more comprehensive understanding of the economic and social demographics within the services sectors in their respective countries.
- Issues that might be raised in a consultation on the liberalization of trade in services:
  - What is the pattern of domestic consumption of services both local and imported, by women and men?
  - In which areas are women and men active as entrepreneurs and employees in the supply of services? Which of these services are currently exported? To where?
  - What factors constrain women from responding to macroeconomic or sectoral policy changes?
  - Which policy mix is optimum in terms of being both GATS compliant and trade enhancing for women?
- Recommendations:
  - Hold sector-specific and nationwide consultations on services. Invite women service providers, representatives of women's organizations, women's business associations, intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, academics and representatives of different ministries, including ministries related to 'gender', 'women' or 'family'.
  - Conduct consultations in a venue easily accessible to women (for example, on a public transport route). Consider the time-constraints of working women with children and preferably organize childcare for the period of the consultation.
  - Ensure a gender balance in consultations and other activities such as training and trade related capacity building programs, trade fairs, trade missions and on delegations that welcome visiting trade delegations.
  - Ensure the collection of sex-disaggregated data to inform decision-making and enable the impact of policies on women to be measured.
  - Ensure such data clearly sets out not only in what sectors, but also at what levels of seniority and pay, women work.
  - Include an assessment of activity in the informal as well as formal sector.
  - Request technical assistance from the WTO, inter-governmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations for training in the use of gender-trade impact assessment tools.

Nkuepo, Henri J. *The Gender Mainstreaming Strategy – For Africa's Continental Free Trade Area*, Africa's Trade Law Newsletters. March 21, 2012.

- Trade related statistics: The informal sector is a large source of employment for many Africa women (80% of sub-Saharan African women not working in Agriculture are employed by the informal sector, compared to 63% of men). Additionally, 85% of people engaged in informal cross-border trade are women (82% of officials regulating such trade are men). African women contribute to between 60 and 80% of the labor for food production. Agriculture is dominated by the informal sector, and the majority of cross-border trade in Africa is informal because of high tariffs in place.
- Main argument: To establish a successful Free Trade Area, women should be involved in all levels of their decision-making and in all their activities and programs aimed at boosting trade.
- Recommendation: The African Union has to adopt gender mainstreaming as one of its strategies for boosting intra-African trade and as an important factor necessary for the establishment of a successful continental FTA.
- Questions raised by the author to be brought up during CTFA negotiations:
  - How will the establishment of a CFTA affect African people? What program and initiative will we need to make sure that a specific sex does not suffer from our action?
  - How important is informal cross-border trade to Africa's economy?
  - Why is it important for the AU to work closely with African women and to consult with them (their representatives) while taking important decision related to intra-African trade?

- How will the establishment of a CFTA affect the way African women trade? Will they be negatively or positively affected? How can we reduce the negative implications?
- How do local farmers, mostly women, benefit from CFTA?

Randriamaro, Zo. *Gender and Trade: Overview Report*. BRIDGE: IDS, 2006.

- Need recognition of women's contribution to the economy through both their productive and their unpaid reproductive work.

SID and EASSI. *Tracking Gender Equality Commitments in the East African Community: A Monitoring and Evaluation Framework*. 2013.

- The East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization bringing together Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. EAC commits to “the mainstreaming of gender in all its endeavors and the enhancement of the role of women in cultural, social, political, economic and technological development.”
- Main objective: need to assess the EAC commitment to and implementation of gender equality instruments in Africa.
- Monitoring and Evaluation Framework of the EAC and its member states: aim to promote dialogue on performance regarding gender equality commitments within the EAC and among its member countries and identify what can be improved to attain even greater achievements. The purpose of this M&E framework is to provide Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) with an instrument to:
  - Establish the level of a country's commitment to gender equality and equity.
  - Gauge the level of gender mainstreaming in national programs and processes.
  - Assess the gender impact of national programs and processes.
  - Establish the progress of implementation of the gender commitments.
  - Enumerate actual gender equity outcomes. Compare the performance of all EAC countries.

UNCTAD. *Trade, Gender and the Post-2015 Development Agenda*. No 3, 2014.

- Trade policy affects economic growth and the structure of production and income distribution both within and between countries. The benefits from trade integration depend on a country's economic structure, how it is integrated into the global economy, the sequencing and pacing of reforms, the policy space it enjoys and existing productive capacities. Trade integration affects different groups of the population differently, depending on their location in the economy.
- Only if women are economically empowered can they benefit from the opportunities arising from expanded trade.
- Main argument: Gender and trade mutually affect each other. Trade and trade policies have a different impact on men and women, and in turn gender-based inequalities impact trade policy outcomes and trade performance.
- Trade liberalization policies that reduce the price of domestic agricultural goods may affect the income and livelihood of small and marginal farmers who are predominantly women.
- Studies conducted by UNCTAD on gender impacts on trade liberalization in three sub-Saharan countries: Angola, the Gambia and Lesotho.
  - Main findings: in all three countries, women face common structural constraints including a) segmentation in low-value added or subsistence-oriented work; b) unequal access to productive resources; c) low access to training and skill-building due to gender segmentation in education and labor markets and lack of resources (time and income); and d) the heavy burden of care and domestic work.
  - Trade and other policies will have to take these patterns of inequality into account so that divisions are reduced rather than magnified over time.
  - Recommendations: trade can play its role of “enabler” of sustainable and inclusive development if appropriate policies in the economic and social sphere are in place.
  - Five targets regarding trade and gender:
    - Ensure that gender impact assessments are conducted for trade and investment agreements.

- In addition to assessing the openness, predictability and non-discriminatory nature of the international trading system, evaluate and monitor how trade contributes to inclusive development and to reducing inequalities, including those based on gender.
- Ensure that industrial upgrading linked to export expansion does not exclude women.
- Ensure that women and men adversely affected by trade are adequately compensated and/or reintegrated into the labor market.
- Provide gender-sensitive social safety nets to address economic insecurity and volatility due to trade.

UNCTAD. *Mainstreaming Gender into Trade and Development Strategies: The Case of East Africa*. Trade Negotiations and Africa Series. No. 5. 2008.

- Main objective: this study analyses the extent to which national trade policies of the East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania factor in gender challenges, with particular emphasis given to women involved in agriculture and the informal sector. It examines the extent to which women's issues and challenges are mainstreamed in trade, development and poverty reduction strategies to meet, among other developmental targets, the Millennium Development Goals, particularly that of halving poverty by 2015.
- Main arguments: gender-sensitive trade and investment policies are important in providing a level playing field for effective participation of women in domestic and international trade, including access to the productive assets.
- The evolution of economic reforms – particularly structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), which paved the way for globalization and trade liberalization in various sectors, including agriculture and the informal sectors in which women are key players – provides the basis of analysis and the extent to which policymakers and actors are gender aware.
- Finding: the study underscores the East African trade policies and the opportunities emanating from multilateral negotiations and regional trade with respect to market access, access to technology and information, and technical assistance to explore the gender impact.

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. *Potential Human Rights Impact Assessment (HIRA) of the Continental Free Trade Area in Africa, 2015-2017*. Issue paper, 2015.

- Main objective: issue paper explores the possibility of conducting a human rights impact assessment (HIRA) of the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) in Africa.
- Purposes of conducting HRIAs include prioritizing human rights in policy-making, strengthening accountability, and empowering rights holders.
- Definition of HRIA: “an instrument for examining policies, legislation, programs and projects and measuring their impact on human rights.”
- Main argument: given the nascent CFTA negotiations, this is an ideal time frame in which to explore a HRIA of the agreement.
- Why conduct a HRIA of the CFTA: it increasingly recognizes that obligations contained in trade agreements can have implications for the ability of governments to respect and fulfill a range of human rights.
- Critique of global bilateral and regional trade regimes:
  - Focus exclusively on commercial interests in negotiations without taking into account their obligations to address human rights, the environment and development.
  - Need to adhere to the key human rights principles of transparency, consultation and participation throughout the CFTA negotiations.
- Eight trade sectors identified because of their impact on trade agreements and human rights: goods; agricultural trade; technical standards; health; safety measures; intellectual property protection; government procurement; and investment liberalization.
- Gendered aspect of trade liberalization:
  - Trade liberalization agreements are part of an intricate web of macroeconomic reform involving the re-tuning of export promotion and social, fiscal and labor market policies. The policies impact gender relations, human development and poverty dynamics by re-arranging relations of power and access to resources between men and women.

- Gender is a key factor in the complex relationship between trade, growth and development, yet there is a widespread assumption that trade policies and agreements are class, race and gender neutral.
- Consideration of these broader impacts of trade on human right entails consultation with a broader range of stakeholders.
- Issues in the area of general governance include the lack of gender analysis and consultation with women’s groups and community-based organizations in:
  - Determining national priorities for trade negotiation.
  - Formulating the substantive advocacy position of governments and NGOs. This should involve significant participation of national and regional gender machineries in the decision-making process of trade negotiation frameworks.
- Recommendations:
  - Regional agreements should be used as a channel for members to share experiences with integrating gender and improving access to decision-making processes.
  - Measures to integrate gender into trade negotiations at the international level include establishing independent focal points, undertaking gender impact assessments, resources and training for the collection and analysis of sex/disaggregated trade and trade related data and integrating gender equality and gender mainstreaming goals and commitments into trade and other macroeconomic policies.

Winters, L. Alan. “Trade liberalization and poverty: Did we learn anything in the last ten years?” Great Insights, Volume 4, Issue 6. December 2015/ January 2016.

- Trade liberalization boosts growth but potentially hits people in import-competing sectors.
- Main argument: there is a strong presumption that trade liberalization will be poverty-reducing in the long run, but there is no guarantee that the static and microeconomic effects will always be beneficial to the poor.
- Main findings: Trade liberalization may increase wage inequality. Recent advances in trade theory at the firm level suggest that liberalization will disproportionately benefit relative well-performing firms.

## Agriculture

Jensen Grinsted, Hans and Sandrey, Ron. *Trade Liberalization in Africa: a GTAP Analysis of Intra-African Agricultural Tariffs Going to Zero*. tralac. Working Paper No. S15WP20, 2015.

- Main objective: this paper uses the Global Trade Analysis Project (GTAP) computer database and takes the full suite of African agricultural sectors and African countries/regions to assess the benefits of intra-African tariff liberalization in agricultural merchandise across the continent.

Jurenas, Remy. *How Could Mega-Regional Trade Negotiations Affect Agricultural and Food Trade?* Issue paper No. 57. ICTSD, 2015.

- Context: Three mega-regional trade agreements (RTAs) now being negotiated have the potential to further liberalize global agricultural trade and inject additional disciplines in the rules that countries follow to ensure food safety, animal and plant health, and consistency in food product standards.
- Main objective: this paper examines the potential effects of these three RTAs on agricultural trade among the 22 countries participating in these talks.
  - This paper highlights the components pertinent to agricultural trade found in the multitude of smaller bilateral and regional free trade agreements (FTAs) negotiated over the last two decades, noting where ‘WTO-plus’ features (deeper commitments than those found in existing World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements) have surfaced and set precedents going forward.
  - It also covers the status of negotiations in each of these RTAs to the extent known, present currently available projections to show the potential impacts of significant trade liberalization on agricultural trade for countries participating in the TPP and TTIP, and

identifies possible implications of these RTA outcomes for third-country non-participants.

Odari, Edgar. *Addressing agricultural and export subsidies in the EAC-EU EPA negotiations*. Bridges Africa, Volume 3, Number 2. 17 March 2014.

- **Main objective:** To discuss the challenge of addressing agricultural and export subsidies under the EAC-EU EPA.
- **Main challenge:** EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and its perceived implications for production and trade competitiveness.
- **Recommendations:**
  - Transparency in domestic support and review of tariff lines liberalization
  - Reducing the extent of liberalization in the EPA
  - Flexibility for longer liberalization periods for the EAC
  - Designing a flexible agricultural safeguard for the EAC
  - Suspending agricultural and export subsidies issues to the Doha Round

Omolo, Miriam W.O. *The Agriculture Negotiations at the World Trade Organization. An update after the Nairobi Ministerial Conference*. tralac. Trade Brief No. S16TB05, 2016.

- **Main objective:** To review the progress made in the negotiations under agriculture from the Uruguay Round Targets under the Doha Development agenda up to the Nairobi Ministerial Conference (MC10).
- **Findings:** Progress has been made towards achieving the Uruguay Round Targets. However, this progress is not sufficient to complete the Doha Round. There is progress in achieving reduction in export subsidies, more than ever set out under the Uruguay Targets. However, under the market access pillar and domestic support, very little progress has been made.

SEATINI-Uganda. *The 10<sup>th</sup> WTO Ministerial Conference and the "Nairobi Package": An assessment*. 2015.

- **Context:** The Nairobi Package is a commitment to abolish export subsidies for farm exports, decisions covering public stockholding for food security purposes, a special safeguard mechanism for developing countries, and measures related to cotton.
- **Main argument:** There is no agreement to adopt a permanent solution on the issue of public stockholding for food security. No final decision on the Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM) for developing countries.
- **Recommendations:**
  - The development agenda must be kept alive and issues should not be brought on board until the conclusion of the Doha round under the single undertaking principle.
  - The Ministry of Trade should undertake research around the services waiver especially on how to utilize the Services preferences and the preferential Rules of Origin.
  - It is critical to ensure complementarity between bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

## Industrial Policy

Carim, Xavier. *International Investment Agreements and Africa's Structural Transformation. A Perspective from South Africa*. South Centre. 2015.

- **Main Objective:** to draw lessons of the debate on the implications of international investment agreements (IIAs) for Africa's economic development strategy and objectives.
- **Main findings:**
  - IIAs are oriented in a manner that constrains the policy space of governments to implement measures in the public interest where these have perceived negative impact on investor rights.
  - The international investment regime exhibits a pro-investor bias over governments' right to regulate in the public interest.
  - Shortcomings and imbalances both in the IIAs and in the investor-state dispute settlement system that enforces those treaties constrain policy space.
- **Recommendations:**
  - Necessary change to policy and regulation such as the tax regimens (levies of mineral

exports for example) that may be important to re-direct resources from primary sectors to support industrialization may be challenge through international arbitration

- Comprehensive review of all the IAAs African countries have entered into
- Pause in signing new IAAs until this assessment is complete
- Begin consideration of an Africa-wide investment protection framework that mitigates risks of the earlier treaties and establishes a more appropriate balance between investor protection and the rights of government to regulate in the public interest
- African policy makers and experts should participate more actively in the intensifying global debate on IAAs

Chang, Ha-Joon. *Policy Space in Historical Perspective – with special reference to Trade and Industrial Policies*. University of Cambridge. 2005.

- Main arguments:
  - The “policy space” available for the developing countries has shrunk so much so that their ability to achieve economic development is being threatened. This is because of:
    - Conditionalties set by the World Bank
    - Aid policy demands of developed countries
    - Trade and industrial policies due to liberalization
    - Treat of capital flight in the environment of open markets
    - Domestic interest groups
  - Many economists in developing countries are ideologically committed to free markets and want the policy space of their governments to be restricted. However, policy space is a matter of vital importance.
- Recommendation: To critically re-examine the principles that dominate international negotiations, especially in relation to trade and industrial polices.

Graham, Yao. *Escaping the Winner's Curse – The African Mining Vision (AMV) and Some Challenges of the International Trade and Investment Regime*. Third World Network-Africa. 2013.

- Main objective: this paper analyses the challenges that aspects of international trade and investment regime and existing contractual relations with foreign mining companies pose for the mineral based transformation agenda set out in the AMV and similar regional national plans.
- Key challenges of reform agenda: The policies identified by the AMV as needed to break out of commodity dependence and realign Africa’s place in the international division of labor face a number of major obstacles and challenges.
  - Vested interests in the current model – domestic elites, foreign enterprises and material inputs.
  - The current international trade and investment regime centered around the Agreements of the WTO, and international trade and investment agreements such as the BITs and Free Trade Agreements, including the EU-ACP EPAs, have however substantially reduce the space for the national and regional deployment of the development strategies used by now industrialized countries.
- Main arguments:
  - The use of export taxes to support local processing is not prohibited by WTO rules and they can be an important part of measures to support the creation of value addition industries in developing countries.
  - Export taxes can compensate for the disadvantages that tariff escalation in potential markets poses for processed goods.
  - Restrictions on the imposition of performance requirements on foreign firms is the most important common feature of GATs, TRIMs and BITs that affects the policy space required for the realization of the AMV.
  - It is clear and strong coherence and coordination across government departments and regionally among African governments is a necessity.

Kiiza, Julius. *Merchantilism and the Struggle for Late Industrialization in an Age of Globalization*, in Joseph Mensah (ed), *Neoliberalism and Globalization in Africa: Contestations from an Embattled Continent*. 2008.

- Main questions: How does one explain the effectiveness of the Asian tigers (such as Taiwan) and

the inability of sub-Saharan African countries (such as Uganda) to attain industrialized-nation status in the current age of globalization?

- Main arguments:
  - Cross-national variations in the levels of economic performance primarily spring from the capacity of domestic political institutions – particularly the state – to mediate the external pressures of globalism and pursue the long-term developmental goals of the national economy.

Marti F. Darlan and Ssenkubuge, Ivan. *Industrialisation and Industrial Policy in Africa: is it a policy priority?* Research papers 20. South Centre. 2009.

- Main questions: To what extent is industrialization a pursued policy priority? Is industrialization a high policy priority for African governments? Even when it is a stated priority, does industrial promotion actually translate into specific policy tools? What instruments do African governments associate with industrial promotion? What are the present thematic and sectoral focuses of African industrial policies?
  - Study focuses on the following countries: Botswana, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Rwanda, South Africa and Uganda.
- Main findings:
  - All the countries reviewed either have explicit industrial policies or are implementing specific measures to promote industrial development. However, these policies often lack consistency with other development roadmaps.
  - The presence of tariffs, export taxes, government procurement limits etc., as shown in this study, confirms that the elimination of industrial instruments under FTAs would have a real impact.
- Recommendations:
  - Primary challenge remains to initiate and build productive capacity. This requires governments to eliminate hindering factors and to identify leverage elements that accelerate that process.
  - Countries must find specific paths that correspond to their institutional economic and social circumstances. There are no single policy templates to spur industrial development. Economic history shows that policy experimentation, policy innovation and the ability to continuously adapt policy measures to objectives are more important than implementing a readily transferable template.

## Regional Integration

*Abuja Treaty*. 1991.

- Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC).
- Main objectives (Article 4):
  - To promote economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies in order to increase economic self-reliance and promote an endogenous and self-sustained development.
  - To establish, on a continental scale, a framework for the development, mobilization and utilization of the human and material resources of Africa in order to achieve a self-reliant development.
  - To promote co-operation in all fields of human endeavor in order to raise the standard of living of African peoples, and maintain and enhance economic stability, foster close and peaceful relations among Member States and contribute to the progress, development and the economic integration of the Continent.
  - To coordinate and harmonize policies among existing and future economic communities in order to foster the gradual establishment of the Community.

African Union. *Decision on the Report of the High Level African Trade Committee (HATC) on Trade Issues*. Dec. 2015.

- Endorsement of recommendations from the High Level African Trade Committee on:
  - The CFTA

- WTO
- African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)

African Union. *Status of Intra-African Trade*. 2012.

- Data on Intra-African trade over the past 10 years.

Azevedo, Roberto. *Opinion: Africa, the Need for Greater Integration*. Inter Press Service. 2016.

- Main argument: misconception by some that the WTO is a barrier to regional integration.
- WTO supports regional integration efforts and the WTO's Trade Facilitation Agreement provides a very practical mechanism for taking them forward.

Sandrey, Ron. *Intra-African trade – an Analysis*. tralac. Working paper, No. S15WP08, 2015.

- Main argument: this paper clearly reinforces the data warning outlining the dangers inherent in trying to analyze intra-African trade data. The use of mirror data, late and non-reporting and “vanishing” trade has been the bane of this research.
- Main findings: Reconciliation of intra-African data clearly exposes the significant problems inherent in such an exercise: non-reporting, confusion of re-exports, etc. and leaves us still seeking the truth in numerous places.

Stuart, John. *The Use and Potential of Export Taxes for Africa: An Introductory Analysis*. tralac. Working Paper No. S16WP01, 2016.

- Main objective: this paper examines issues of export taxes in Africa. Pure economic theory postulates a non-zero optimal export tax for exporters with market power, and development theory advances further practical arguments in favor of export taxes, at least in the short medium term.
- Main arguments:
  - Export taxes are widely used in Africa, despite few African countries actually possessing requisite market power in a traded commodity market. However, in certain cases, an economic case can be made for the use of an export tax, and domestic economic gains are clearly demonstrable.
  - Since the world trading system is interdependent and retaliation and reaction to trade barriers takes time, export taxes – especially for partially substitutable commodities – are limited in terms of their long run success.

Tandon, Yash. *Europe and the Challenge of African Integration*. 2004.

- Main questions: Must the historically ordained structured relationship between Europe and Africa remain inescapably negative for Africa in the future, as in the past? What, in this context, is the role of the Nordic countries in Africa?
- Main argument: because of European *realpolitik*, Europe, including the Nordic countries, have become, on balance, a negative force for Africa's integration. However, the main responsibility for the failure of African integration lies, first and foremost, with African political and intellectual leadership who are still in a phase of connivance, becoming agents of the exploiting/oppressor nations of Europe.

Tandon, Yash. *Reflections on African Renaissance and the Lagos Plan of Action*. 2004.

- Main argument: We must reject the “free market” theories under which many of our countries accept aid and capital from Western countries. It is becoming clear that it is necessary to counter these ideas. Our intellectual leaders have an obligation to explain how these theories have undermined policy independence of our countries during the last 25-30 years.
- Recommendation: African leaders must look for alternatives that draw from the ancient wisdom of our people and the practical experience of peasant farmers on land and workers in factories and in the informal sector.

Walther J. Oliver and Vollmer, Sebastian. "Mapping the potential of cross-border co-operation in West Africa." Great Insights, Volume 4, Issue 6. December 2015/ January 2016.

- Context: The African Union Border Program strongly encourages the development of cross-border integration dynamics supported by local stakeholders, and facilitates co-operation between states, regions and municipalities separated by national borders.
- Main argument: The 153 regions divided by a terrestrial border in West Africa widely differ in terms of political systems and socio-economic development. This heterogeneity affects their ability to engage in cross-border co-operation.
- Recommendation: Cross-border co-operation should build on the great diversity of regions in West African and develop projects and institutional structures tailored to the potential of each region.