

ACP-EU EPAs

Recolonizing Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries through trade

Primer on the ACP-EU Economic Partnership Agreements



People Over Profit Network

People Over Profit is a campaign network that unites peoples movements and NGOs across the globe to stop free trade agreements (FTAs) and corporate plunder. These corporate-backed agreements threaten our democracy, our rights, and our lives. They cover an expansive and increasingly worrying array of areas and issues which multiply impacts across sectors and communities, and provoke wide-ranging resistance in many countries.

People Over Profits is a contribution to the building of a global popular resistance against FTAs and transnational corporate plunder. We promote and support peoples' resistance around the world against FTAs and other forms of neoliberal corporate attacks by sharing analyses, information and coordinating actions at the national, regional and global levels.

As attacks against our rights become ever more acute, so shall our collective resistance. We demand no less than living wages for workers, land to the tillers, and access to free and accessible medicines, public health care and education. We fight for a pro-people trading system that is forged along the principles of solidarity, cooperation and complementarity among nations. A system that recognizes and upholds people's sovereignty and people's rights; premised on friendship and peaceful co-existence, and directs the accountability of States and the private sector to the people – a world trade order that responds to people's needs, not to corporate elites.

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The past years have seen the collapse of World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations principally brought by the strong resistance of people's movements against intensified neoliberal attacks. In a bid to overcome the WTO deadlock, monopoly capital has instead diverted its focus on bilateral and regional Free Trade and Investment Agreements (FTAs) that aim to dismantle existing labor, environmental, health and financial laws while boosting corporate profit and control.

The widespread proliferation of FTAs in the past decade has however resulted in decentralized neoliberal attacks in the different global regions that effectively undercut workers rights and displaced peasant communities and national minority groups from their lands.

This strategy is applied by the European Union with the African Caribbean and Pacific countries through the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). Under the EPAs, African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries will implement commitments way beyond what they already have agreed to in the WTO. These agreements threaten people's rights in the region. It must be made clear that these EPAs will not address the long-standing demand for a global trade and economic order that responds to people's needs, not to corporate elites.

What are Free trade and investment agreements (FTAs)?

Free Trade and Investment Agreements (FTAs) are commercial or investment agreements between two or more countries that aim to open up economies to investments and reduce barriers to imports on all products including raw materials, manufactured goods, and services among others. The main objective of these FTAs is to entrench control over weaker economies much like the WTO.

They further expand the neoliberal policies of liberalization, deregulation and privatization to destroy underdeveloped economies in favor of rich industrialized countries.

WTO covers almost all countries. FTAs on the other hand only cover two or more countries such as in a bilateral FTA between two states, or a regional/plurilateral agreement. FTAs also cover a deeper and wider range of issues that go beyond trade-covering investment issues, intellectual property rights and services – the same issues

that remain contentious in the WTO. Simply put, these FTAs are being used by monopoly capital as a new instrument to advance the neoliberal agenda beyond what is achievable in a multilateral trade regime such as the WTO.

Box 1

The Lome Convention and Cotonou Agreement

The Lome Convention is an agreement between the former European Economic Community (EEC) and ACP countries that allowed agriculture and mineral exports to enter the EEC free of duty. The first Lome Convention, which was signed in the capital city of Togo in 1975, came into force on April 1976. It was renegotiated and renewed three times: Lome II (1981-1985), Lome III (1985-1990), and Lome IV (1990-1999). After the expiration of the Lome Convention, the Cotonou Agreement was signed between the ACP countries and the EU in 2000 in the capital city of Benin. It entered into force in 2003 and was subsequently revised in 2005 and 2010. The origins of the EPAs can be traced to the trade chapter of the Cotonou Agreement.

Both the Lome Convention and the Cotonou Agreement were used as instruments to maintain European political and economic control over their former colonies in the ACP countries. By setting the framework for aid and trade, the EU is able to exert political control over its former colonies and maintain its access to their markets and rich natural resources.

What are Economic Partnership Agreements?




Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are FTAs being negotiated between the European Union (EU) and 76 of its former colonies in Africa, Caribbean, and the Pacific regions (ACP). The EPAs are the trade component of the wider Cotonou Agreement designed to keep EU's former colonies economically and politically bound to the EU.

Before the Cotonou Agreement, the Lome Agreements since 1975 gave the ACP countries almost full market access to the EU without offering the same advantage to the EU countries. However, the adoption of the WTO rules in 1994 requires both parties to liberalize, which was among the rationale employed by the EU to negotiate the Cotonou Agreement in 2000 in order to demand reciprocity of market access from the ACP countries.




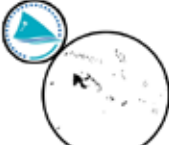
Which countries are involved in EPAs?

EPAs are legally binding and are signed between the EU and individual ACP countries. Regional EPAs are also being negotiated through the six negotiating blocks (Box 1). The completion of the EPAs is currently at different levels. The majority of ACP countries are either implementing an EPA or have concluded EPA negotiations with the EU. The Caribbean through the Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM) is the only negotiating block that has completed and signed a region-to-region EPA. Meanwhile, Tanzania and Uganda pulled out of EPA negotiations on July 2016 due to the unfair negotiations of the EU-East Africa EPA.

EPAs and ACP Countries¹

	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea, Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, initialed bilateral "stepping stone (or "interim") EPAs" with the EU at the end of 2007. The Parliaments of both countries ratified the EPAs on October 2016 and on August 2016.</i></p>
	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo - Democratic Republic of (Kinshasa), Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé & Príncipe</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>Cameroon signed the EPA between the EU and Central Africa as the only country in the region on 15 January 2009. In July 2014 the Parliament of Cameroon approved the ratification of the Interim Agreement, which has taken effect on August 2016.</i></p>
	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>On 16 October 2014, the Eastern African Community finalised the negotiations for a region-to-region EPA.</i></p> <p><i>On 1 September 2016 Kenya and Rwanda signed the Economic Partnership Agreement between the East African Community and the EU.</i></p>

¹ Overview of Economic Partnership Agreements. Updated as of October 2016. Retrieved from http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2009/september/tradoc_144912.pdf

 <p>EASTERN & SOUTHERN AFRICA</p>	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Seychelles, Sudan, Zambia, Zimbabwe</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>In 2009 Mauritius, Seychelles, Zimbabwe and Madagascar signed an EPA. The Agreement is provisionally applied since 14 May 2012.</i></p>
 <p>SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY</p>	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>On 15 July 2014 the EPA negotiations were successfully concluded in South Africa. The agreement was signed by the EU and the SADC EPA group on 10 June 2016.</i></p>
 <p>CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY</p>	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Kitts and Nevis, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>The CARIFORUM -EU EPA was signed in October 2008 and approved by the European Parliament in March 2009.</i></p>
 <p>PACIFIC COMMUNITY</p>	<p>COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS: <i>Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Federated States of, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa American, Samoa Western, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu</i></p> <p>STATE OF PLAY: <i>Signed by the EU and Papua New Guinea (PNG) on 30 July and by Fiji on 11 December 2009. The Parliament of Papua New Guinea ratified the EPA on 25 May 2011. On 17 July 2014 Fiji decided to start provisionally applying the Agreement.</i></p>

What is covered under the EPAs?

For the EU, trade with ACP countries comprises 5% of imports and exports. While for the ACP countries, the EU is a major trading partner. Once signed, the EPAs will open European markets immediately to ACP countries' exports. In exchange however, EU is asking for the implementation of commitments higher than what is already agreed in WTO.

EPAs include liberalization not only of trade in goods, but also of services, investments, and government procurement, as well as the strengthening of intellectual property rights and competition rules. Collectively identified as “Singapore issues”, developed countries have been pushing for opening these sectors to foreign investments since the WTO Ministerial Conference in Singapore in 1996. However, their proposals to cover these in the WTO have been repeatedly blocked by developing countries in the negotiations. These “Singapore issues” are inserted in the EPAs and other trade agreements being negotiated by developed countries in order to circumvent the concerted opposition of developing countries in the WTO.

If the EU liberalizes 100% of its trade, ACP countries need to reciprocate by opening 80% (75% for West African countries) of their market, exposing a greater part of their economies to foreign competition while allowing them to protect only 20% from competing with EU products and companies.² For example, West African countries have to liberalize 75% of their economies under the EU-ECOWAS EPA. The agreement excluded from liberalization products considered as sensitive such as meat (including poultry), yoghurt, eggs, processed meat, cocoa powder and chocolate, tomato paste and concentrate, soap, printed fabrics, fish and fish preparations, milk, butter and cheese, vegetables, flour, spirits, cement, paints, perfumes and cosmetics, stationery, textiles and apparel, and fully built cars. Additionally, EU offered not to subsidize agricultural products to be exported to West Africa.³ However, the import of agricultural raw materials such as European milk is generally liberalized. This increases the competition with products produced by local farmers. Although the EU will not subsidize agricultural products under the EPA, other subsidies under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)⁴ enable the EU to reduce prices.⁵

² Patel, M. (June 2007). Economic Partnership Agreements between the EU and African Countries: Potential Development Implications for Ghana. Retrieved from http://www.globaleconomicgovernance.org/sites/geg/files/documents/Trade%20Document_Ghana.pdf

³ European Commission. (18, September 2015). Economic Partnership Agreement with West Africa: Facts and figures. Retrieved from http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2014/july/tradoc_152694.pdf

⁴ The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is the system that guides agricultural subsidies and other programs of the EU.

⁵ CONCORD. (April 2015). The EPA Between the EU and West Africa: Who Benefits?. Retrieved from <http://afrikagrupperna.se/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/CONCORD.pdf>

How do EPAs facilitate the recolonization of ACP countries?

Several decades of colonization by European countries have left ACP countries weak and economically dependent on their former colonizers. The EPAs are pitting one of the world's largest economies, comprised of the most advanced industrialized countries against the some of the poorest nations under the guise of reciprocity and equal trade relations. In 2015 for example, the combined GDP of EU was 16.2 Trillion USD is ten (10) times larger than the combined 1.6 Trillion USD GDP of ACP countries.⁶ In the same year, the Pacific countries were negotiating EPAs more than 1800 times the size of its collective economy.

Taking advantage of the weaknesses of ACP countries and the massive unequal trade relations between ACP countries and the EU has allowed the latter to manipulate and coerce the ACP countries. Using the threats of withdrawing market access and development aid, the EU was able to force the ACP into dividing themselves into the different blocks instead of negotiating as a single united force. Through this divide and rule strategy the EU avoids concerted efforts by the ACP countries to resist EU's agenda in the EPAs.

What is being traded between the EU and ACP countries further illustrate the unequal trade relations between the regions. ACP countries are largely exporting agricultural goods including bananas, fish, sugar, coconut, cocoa, coffee, and also precious gems, fuels and strategic metals and minerals that are equally important to EU's high-tech industries and also to the ACP countries' economic development. On the other hand, the EU continues to dump its highly subsidized agricultural produce, pharmaceutical products, and high-value machinery and transport equipment in the ACP countries.

Signing the EPAs will subject ACP countries to vast changes in their economic and political regulations to comply with the liberalization requirements, which will include changes in their taxation laws, property and competition laws, customs regulations, etc. Once these FTAs are in place, labor, environmental and even foreign land ownership provisions among other regulatory measures afforded by country constitutions would have to be amended in order to give way to corporate profit and control. Since the EPAs include the national treatment clause of the WTO, European transnational corporations, which command greater resources will be given the same benefits, or treated even better than the weaker local businesses in ACP countries, leaving no room to develop the local industry.

⁶ World Bank 2015 Data

Goods traded between EU and ACP countries

CARIBBEAN AND PACIFIC TO THE EU



EU TO THE CARIBBEAN AND PACIFIC



AFRICA TO THE EU



EU TO AFRICA



How will the EPAs intensify the exploitation of workers in ACP Countries?

The EPAs being negotiated do not address the issue of misbehavior and violations of worker's rights by foreign investors. Although cases of abuse will be dealt at national level through national regulations and although stricter labor protections laws can be crafted, poor countries will find it difficult to implement these when foreign investors threaten to leave and pull out their investments. The competition between ACP countries to attract investors can result into a race to bottom of whittling down of labor rights in order to provide cheap and docile labor to EU investors. This can mean low wages, longer working hours, denial of the right to organize, etc. For women workers whose labor is considered cheap and docile, this can mean unequal pay, no overtime pay, no maternity leave, and no healthcare.

The entry of cheap European goods in ACP countries with very low to none tariffs will cause local businesses to lose in the competition and be forced out of business, and lay-off workers. The entry of cheap European goods also discourages the development of new industries vital to ACP countries' overall economic development and would potentially consign ACP countries to the role of exporters of raw materials.

Past trade agreements such as the NAFTA remind us how FTAs between two unequal partners have violated workers' rights. In 1994, when the NAFTA (North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement) was signed between Canada, United States and Mexico, economists and US officials predicted the generation of hundreds of thousands of jobs due to a supposed growth in trade surplus with Mexico. The result however has led to 682,900 American jobs lost and the displacement of over one million Mexican campesino farmers not to mention wage depression, labor flexibilization, and increased forced migration.

How will the EPAs endanger the livelihoods of farmers and peasants in ACP countries?

Agriculture is the backbone of ACP countries and agricultural products form the bulk of ACP exports to the EU.

Enforcement of the WTO rules has already destroyed agriculture and food sovereignty of ACP countries. The refusal of rich countries to remove their agricultural subsidies resulted in the influx of cheap agricultural products in ACP countries whose farmers cannot compete with. Africa for example is now a net food importer which spends

USD 35 billion a year to import food despite having the world's 65% of arable land. Rural poverty in Africa is also high despite the fact that almost 60% of its labor force is employed in the sector.⁷ In the Caribbean, the dumping of cheap agricultural goods from rich countries has also pushed local farmers deep into poverty.

Further relaxation of controls on agricultural imports within the EPAs will further damage ACP's food sovereignty. Smallholder farmers will be pushed further down into poverty as they cannot compete with the heavily subsidized agro-corporations and large food processing companies of the EU. The liberalization of investments will restrict farmer's access to seeds by allowing EU-based agrochemical TNCs such as DuPont, Monsanto, Syngenta, and Dow to invest in ACP and control agricultural production by controlling research and development and dominating the market on farm inputs.

The inclusion of the ACP countries' ascension to the International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV 1991) in the EPA negotiations further undermines farmer's access to seeds. UPOV 1991 is an international agreement that imposes a set of common standards and rules on how countries should implement plant variety protection – a scheme that favors seed companies at the expense of farmer's rights to seed by placing undue corporate powers to gain exclusive rights over particular types of seeds.

Investments liberalization will also throw the gates open wide to EU extractives and agricultural companies. The EU's need for metals, minerals, and biofuels can increase landgrabs from farmers in order to fulfill the demand. Landgrabs further undermine rural women's access to land and are forced to look elsewhere for jobs since women in ACP countries often do not have rights to own land.

How will the EPAs affect ACP people's access to quality public services?

Loss of revenue from trade taxes as a result of liberalization can lead to severe budget cuts on public services such as health, education, water, and electricity. This can be detrimental to LDCs and LLDCs and SIDS in ACP countries already facing huge challenges in maintaining these sectors.

Moreover, the opening up of the services sector and government procurement to services corporations from the EU is detrimental to national development since weaker

⁷ Matsilele, T. (14, June 2016). Africa spends 35 billion US dollars in importing food. CNBC Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.cnbc.com/news/special-report/2016/06/14/agriculture-adesina-food-imports/>.

services providers in the ACP countries will not be able to compete with their stronger EU counterparts without necessary protection measures in place. Coupled with loss of revenue to finance public services and competition between vastly unequal players can usher in increased privatization of vital social services such as health, communications, water, electricity, and transportation. They lose their public orientation and are transformed into profit-seeking ventures, which favor those who can pay. Once privatized, vital and quality services for the public would no longer be accessible to the majority of poor and marginalized communities as these services would now increasingly come with a price.

People's access to these essential services is already jeopardized in ACP countries. Water privatization in Fiji has resulted in water shortages for many Fijians who are rationed as low as 4 gallons of water per family per week while the US corporation Fiji Water has exclusive access to a 17-mile aquifer, which exports water to developed countries like the United Kingdom and United States.⁸ In South Africa, privatization that started in 1998 increased the prices of water. The poor were forced to turn to polluted lakes, streams, and ponds for drinking water, leading to a widespread cholera outbreak in 2002.⁹

How will the EPAs affect the lands, lives and livelihood of national minorities?

With the overall aim to attract greater foreign investments, governments are negotiating investment treaties with other countries while promising favorable treatment to investors. This feature of modern FTAs effectively leads to a race to the bottom for public regulation wherein weaker economies are essentially forced to relax their right to regulate corporate actions in order to encourage more investments.

Many ACP countries have been forced to liberalize investments in natural resources in the hope to attract more investments. Strict regulations on foreign ownership of businesses, land ownership, and environmental regulations are relaxed to encourage foreign investors to come to their countries at the expense of violating the rights of national minorities where natural resources such as timber, metals, minerals, and precious and semiprecious gems are desired by developed countries. This could be worsened under the investment liberalization of the EPAs.

⁸ Michaels, A. (17, July 2015). Water Privatization's Biggest Offenders. The Borgen Project. Retrieved from <http://borgenproject.org/water-privatizations-biggest-offenders/>

⁹ Marsden, B. (3 February 2003). Cholera and the Age of the Water Barons. International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. Retrieved from <https://www.icij.org/projects/waterbarons/cholera-and-age-water-barons>

Barrick Gold Corporation, a Canadian mining company operating in Papua New Guinea and Tanzania has displaced thousands of indigenous peoples from their territories and poisoned water sources where it operates. In both countries, the mining company is responsible for violations of workers rights as well as violence against women including rape and beating.¹⁰ De Beers, the largest diamond corporation in the world, is 85% owned by Anglo American while the host country, the Republic of Botswana, owns only 15%. Since 1995, the Government of Botswana systematically and forcefully removed of the San people from Kalahari Desert in Botswana. Their homes and water supplies were destroyed, and their schools and health centers were closed.¹¹ Although the San people successfully won the case against their relocation, the government has largely ignored the court's ruling.

The need to expand plantations in order to increase agricultural exports can also displace national minorities from their territories. In Ethiopia for example, pastoralists in Lower Omo Valley were pushed out from their lands in order to accommodate the state-run sugar plantations.

Why do the EPAs herald the new scramble for Africa?

The impasse in the WTO negotiations and the most recent financial crisis that hit the Eurozone prompted the EU to find ways to increase access to markets of ACP countries. Another impetus for rushing the signing of the EPAs is for the EU to secure these markets against competition from other economic players such as China, India, Brazil, and Russia who also have started to strengthen their economic relations with these regions through development aid, low interest loans, and increased investments. Africa in particular is a battleground between the old colonial powers in the EU on the one hand; and the rising economic powers of China, India, Brazil, and Russia who want to shape the African economies according to their economic interests on the other hand. These emerging powers all need Africa's energy, resources, cheap labor, and access to its markets.

Despite several decades of colonial and neoliberal plunder; Africa is still rich with vast natural resources which can be used for national development of African countries. In 2012, natural resources accounted for 77% of total exports and 42% of government

¹⁰ Mining Watch Canada. (26 April, 2016). Victims of Violence at Barrick Mines in Papua New Guinea and Tanzania Demand Justice. Retrieved from <http://miningwatch.ca/news/2016/4/26/victims-violence-barrick-mines-papua-new-guinea-and-tanzania-demand-justice>

¹¹ Survival International. <http://www.survivalinternational.org/tribes/bushmen>

revenues. Africa holds 60% of the world's uncultivated arable land.¹² It has about 30% of the world's known reserves of minerals and has the largest cobalt, diamonds, platinum, and uranium reserves in the world. It also holds about 10% of oil and 8% of gas resources.¹³ The continent is also home to the second largest tropical rainforest, with a forest cover of 0.8 hectares (2 acres) per person, compared to 0.6 hectares (1.5 acres) globally.

China for example is now equally important destination as the EU for Africa's exports which consist largely of oil, iron ore, and metals.¹⁴ While the total amount of China's FDI is difficult to determine, Chinese banks have given a total of USD 52.8 billion in loans to African countries from 2003-2011.¹⁵ Due to the rising cost of labor in China, some Chinese companies like Huajian that produces manufactured goods for Guess and Nine West had shifted production line in African countries like Ethiopia to take advantage of cheap labor.¹⁶ India and Russia are also similarly increasing their trade and investments particularly in the energy sector of the continent. Meanwhile, the United States is also stepping up its efforts to catch up with China in terms of strengthening its economic relations with Africa and securing its oil interests.

Militarization by foreign nations has also increased in the continent. The United States Africa Command, Japan, and France have their military installations in Djibouti. France also has additional presence in Senegal, and Gabon. France and the US combined troops in Africa amount to 7,000 personnel. Meanwhile, China has also started to build its military base in Djibouti. Russia is conducting its own military exercises and have invited African countries to join.

The new scramble for Africa is undermining the continent's economic integration, which has the potential to develop economic solidarity and cooperation among the African countries. One such effort being undermined through the EPAs is the Africa Mining Vision (AMV) which was crafted by African nations themselves and adopted by Heads of States on February 2009. The AMV is an effort to reorient the region's

¹² Mckinsey Global Institute. (June 2010). Lions on the Move: The Progress and Potential of African Economies. Retrieved from <http://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/middle-east-and-africa/lions-on-the-move>.

¹³ African Development Bank Group. <http://www.afdb.org/en/topics-and-sectors/initiatives-partnerships/african-natural-resources-center-anrc/>

¹⁴ Alessi, C. & Xu, B. (27 April 2015). China in Africa. Council of Foreign Relations. Retrieved from <http://www.cfr.org/china/china-africa/p9557>

¹⁵ Miria, P. & Tang W. (March 2015). China and Africa: Expanding Economic Ties in an Evolving Global Context. Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/Event/Africa/Investing%20in%20Africa%20Forum/2015/investing-in-africa-forum-china-and-africa-expanding-economic-ties-in-an-evolving-global-context.pdf>

¹⁶ Olander, E. & Van Staden C. (06 August, 2016). In The Future, 'Made In China' Could Become 'Made In Africa.' The World Post. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/made-in-china-made-in-africa_us_57588be6e4b0ced23ca6f331

mining industry towards meeting the continent's development objectives, which includes tackling the paradox of great mineral wealth existing side by side with pervasive poverty. In the AMV, continental development will be achieved by integrating mining into industrial and trade policies. Through the EPAs and other bilateral investment agreements, African countries are divided and are forced to compete with each other in order to gain preferential market access for mineral exports and investments in the mineral extraction from European countries.

In this intense competition not only for Africa's, but also the Caribbean's and the Pacific's wealth by old and emerging economic powers, the peoples in the ACP countries continue to fight against the EPAs and other bilateral investment agreements and aspire for trade that is just, fair, and responds to their needs.

How are the people fighting and resisting the EPAs? What can we do to continue the fight?

There are several movements and CSOs working to fight the EPAs through lobby and campaigning (Box 3). These initiatives must be sustained and improved in order to gain mass opposition against the EPAs until they are finally rejected. This can be done through the following actions:

Awareness-raising and educational programs – there is urgency to conduct mass-awareness and information-dissemination programs to popularize issues, and highlight the impacts of EPAs on the people. Various forms of online and print media can and should be maximized towards this end. Educational programs are also crucial in deepening our understanding of the issue which can take the form of a conference, forum, webinars or a series of study sessions on EPAs within the context of neoliberal globalization. These efforts need to be conducted among trade unions, peasant organizations, women's organizations, indigenous groups, environmentalists, the urban poor, human rights activists, small and medium business associations, academics, and professionals towards forming a multi-sectoral campaign to oppose EPAs and neoliberal globalization.

Mass organizing – an equally important task that should be taken on is the building of a broad mass movement against EPAs and neoliberal globalization. These broad networks and platforms can be built on previous groupings or campaigns, and should include all sectors such as workers, peasants, women, youth, and indigenous and national minority groups among others. Alliances between peoples from the global North and the global South should be established and strengthened towards conducting globally-coordinated actions and mobilizations.

Campaigning and mobilizations – campaigning against EPAs require the use of various actions that support and complement each other. The primary focus of campaigning against EPAs must be centered on mass mobilizations to heighten public pressure against governments as well as to get concrete gains. For instance, the struggle of peasants, fisherfolk and small-scale producers in recent decades have allowed them to resist land evictions, reduce land rent and improve overall conditions for farm workers in certain countries. Various trade unions have won strikes around the world with sustained campaigns, political education, and various forms of protests to drumbeat the people's issues and strong opposition against neoliberal globalization.

Policy Advocacy and Lobbying - A number of organizations have already put focus on indirect actions such as lobbying and policy advocacy. Lobbying and policy advocacy work involves the exertion of pressure on governments and institutions both in the EU and ACP countries that facilitate the EPAs. Lobbying can and should serve the objectives of mass campaigning by providing in-depth knowledge and insight on specific issues, and for scouting allies among states and institutions. Nevertheless, campaigning around these issues need to put pressure on local, national, and international governing bodies, while contributing to building a peoples movement that fights for an alternative global economic system that is founded on solidarity, complementarity, mutual benefit and cooperation.

In order to defeat these neoliberal attacks, it therefore becomes important to strengthen movements and sectors opposing EPAs and other FTAs, and intensify campaigns against the ongoing corporate takeover of the world's wealth, labor, and resources. Towards this end, awareness-raising, mass organizing, and campaigning should be vital components of our work so that workers, peasants, women, indigenous peoples, migrants, urban poor, youth, indigenous peoples and the rest of the democratic majority are able to comprehensively demand and articulate the strongest opposition against FTAs and the system that breeds its continued spread across the globe.

Box 3. *Organizations in Africa Working on the EPAs (Non-exhaustive list)*

<i>Senegal</i>	<i>Coalition “NO to EPAs”</i>
<i>Ghana</i>	Africa Trade Network (coordinated by Third World Network-Africa)
<i>Uganda</i>	Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI)
<i>Guinea</i>	Le Centre du Commerce International pour le Développement (CECIDE) Center for International Commerce and Development
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs de l’Afrique de l’Ouest Network of Peasant Organizations and Agricultural Producers –West Africa
<i>Senegal</i>	Conseil National de Concertation et de Coopération des Ruraux (CNCR) National Council of Rural Collaboration
<i>Niger</i>	Alternatives Espace Citoyen Alternative Association Citizen Space
<i>Benin</i>	Groupe de Recherche et d’Action pour le Promotion de l’Agriculture et du Développement (GRAPAD) Group of Research and Action for the Promotion of Agriculture and Development
<i>Malawi</i>	Malawi Economic Justice Network
<i>Mozambique</i>	Economic Justice Coalition
<i>Togo</i>	Federation des ONG du Togo (FONGTO) Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations in Togo
<i>Togo</i>	Le Groupe d’Action et de Réflexion sur l’Environnement et le Développement (GARED) Action Group and Reflection on the Environment and Sustainable Development
<i>Mali</i>	Centre Amadou Hampate Ba (CAHBA)
<i>Mali</i>	Institut de Recherche et de Promotion des Alternatives de Développement en Afrique <i>Institute for Research and the Promotion of Alternatives in Development</i>
<i>Kenya</i>	FAHAMU Networks for Social Justice

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International Women's Alliance (IWA)
Kalikasan Peoples Network for the Environment
Peoples Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS)
Pesticide Action Network - Asia Pacific (PAN-AP)
IBON International
WORKINS
Asia Pacific Research Network (APRN)
International League of Peoples Struggles (ILPS)

