

Bibliography

- Abass, A., 'The Cotonou Trade Regime and WTO Law' (2004) 10 *European Law Journal* 439–62.
- Achebe, C., *Things Fall Apart* (London: Heinemann, 1976).
- ACORD, 'Economic Partnership Agreements: A Threat to Food Sovereignty', ACORD Policy Briefing Paper no.1 (June 2007) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.acordinternational.org/silo/files/economic-partnership-agreements-a-threat-to-food-sovereignty.pdf>.
- Actionaid International 'Under the Influence: Exposing Undue Corporate Influence over Policy-Making at the World Trade Organisation', Report (January 2006) available 19 December 2016 at https://www.actionaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/doc_lib/174_6_under_the_influence_final.pdf.
- ACTSA, 'Economic Partnership Agreements – An Update, ACTSA Briefing Paper' (2010) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.actsa.org/Pictures/UpImages/pdfs/EPAs%20Update%20-%20May%202010.pdf>.
- Adedeji, A., 'The Evolution of the Monrovia Strategy and the Lagos Plan of Action: A Regional Approach to Economic Decolonisation', Lecture for Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (24 March 1983) available 12 December 2016 at <http://repository.uneca.org/bitstream/handle/10855/5726/Bib-45065.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Adler, E. 'Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics' (1997) 3 *European Journal of International Relations* 319–63.
- Adriaensen, J. and M. González-Garibay, 'The Illusion of Choice: The European Union and The Trade-Labor Linkage' (2013) 9 *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 542–59.
- Afadameh-Adeyemi, A. and E. Kalula 'SADC at 30: Re-examining the Legal and Institutional Anatomy of the Southern African Development Community' in A. Bösl, A. Pisani, G. Erasmus, T. Hartzenberg and R. Sandry (eds), *Monitoring Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Yearbook* (tralac, 2010).
- African Trade Network, 'A Global Call for Action to Stop the EPAs' (Third World Network, 30 March 2006) available 19 December 2016 at <http://twnafrica.org/indexx.html>.
- African Trade Policy Centre, 'EPA Negotiations: African Countries Continental Review' (19 February 2007) Review Report 32–4.

- African Union, 'African Union and Regional Economic Communities Common Position Paper on EPAs', AU Conference of Ministers of Trade, 6th Ordinary Session (29 October–2 November 2010) Kigali.
- African Union, 'Addis Ababa Declaration on EPA Negotiations' AU Conference of Ministers of Trade and of Finance, 3 April 2008 available 19 December 2016 at https://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/decisions/9558-assembly_en_30_june_1_july_2008_auc_eleventh_ordinary_session_decisions_declarations_tribute_resolution.pdf.
- African Union, 'Nairobi Declaration on Economic Partnership Agreements', AU Conference of Ministers of Trade, 4th Ordinary Session (12–14 April 2006).
- Agnew, J., 'Mapping Political Power Beyond State Boundaries: Territory, Identity and Movement in World Politics' (1999) 28(3) *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 499–521.
- Agnew, J. and S. Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Ake, C., *Democracy and Development in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1996).
- Akokpari, J.K., 'The AU, NEPAD and the Promotion of Good Governance in Africa' (2004) 13 *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 243–63, 244.
- Alavi, S.J., 'Regional Trade Agreements among Developing Countries: Enabling Clause Revisited' [unpublished] accessed 9 December 2016 at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1737233.
- Alemazung, J.A., 'Post-Colonial Colonialism: An Analysis of International Factors and Actors Marring African Socio-Economic and Political Development' (2010) 3 *Journal of Pan African Studies* 62–84.
- Alessandrini, D., *Developing Countries and the Multilateral Trade Regime* (Oxford: Hart, 2010).
- Aly, A., *Economic Cooperation in Africa: In Search of Direction* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994).
- Anderson, K. and R. Blackhurst (eds), *Regional Integration in the Global Trading System* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).
- Andhikari, R. and P. Athukorala (eds), *Developing Countries in the World Trading System* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2002).
- Aredo, D., 'The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Prospects and Challenges' (2003) 21 *Organisation for Social Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) Newsletter* 24–30.
- Arriola, L., 'Patronage and Political Stability in Africa' (2009) 42 *Comparative Political Studies* 1339–62.

- Arts, K. and A.K. Dickinson (eds), *EU Development Cooperation: From Model to Symbol* (Manchester University Press, 2004).
- Aryeetey, E. and A.O. Oduro 'Regional Integration Efforts in Africa: An Overview' in J.J. Teunissen (ed.), *Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Africa* (The Hague: FONDAD, 1996).
- Ashiagbor, D., 'Embedding Trade Liberalization in Social Policy: Lessons from the European Union?' (2011) 32 *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal* 373–404.
- Attri, V.N., 'Asian Economic Integration: An Emerging Sub-Paradigm in Regional Groupings' in A. Kumar Thakur and A. Sharma (eds), *Asian Economic Integration* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications PVT Ltd, 2008).
- Augier, P., M. Gasiorek and C. Lai-Tong, 'The Impact of Rules of Origin on Trade Flows' (2005) 20 *Economic Policy* 567–624.
- Ayelazuno, J., *Neo-Liberalism and Resistance in Ghana: Understanding the Political Agency of the Subalterns in Social-Historical Context* (Toronto: New York University Press, 2011).
- Ayittey, G., *Africa Unchained: The Blueprint for Africa's Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Bach, D., 'The Global Politics of Regionalism in Africa' in M. Farrell, B. Hettne and L. van Langenhove (eds), *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Bach, D., 'Integration through Hysteresis: SACU in Comparative and Contextual Perspective' in D. Hansohm, W. Breytenbach, T. Hartzenberg and C. McCarthy (eds), *Regional Integration in Southern Africa Yearbook* (Vol. 5, Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit, 2005), 137–49.
- Bach, D., 'Regionalism Versus Regional Integration: The Emergence of a New Paradigm in Africa' in J. Grugel and W. Hout (eds), *Regionalism Across the North-South Divide: State Strategies and Globalisation* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- Bach, D., *Regionalization in Africa: Integration and Disintegration* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).
- Bagwell, K. and P. Mavroidis (eds), *Preferential Trade Agreements: A Law and Economics Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Bagwell, K. and R. Staiger, 'Will Preferential Agreements Undermine the Multilateral Trading System?' in J. Bhagwati, P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (eds), *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Bagwell, K. and R. Staiger, 'An Economic Theory of GATT' (1999) 89 *American Economic Review* 215–48.

- Bagwell, K. and R. Staiger, 'Multilateral Tariff Cooperation During the Formation of Free Trade Areas' (1997) 38 *International Economic Review* 219–319.
- Balassa, B., 'Trade Policies in Developing Countries' (1971) 61 *The American Economic Review* 178–87.
- Baldwin, R., '21st Century Regionalism: Filling the Gap between 21st Century Trade and 20th Century Trade Rules' WTO Staff Working Paper ERSD-2011-08 (2011).
- Baldwin, R., 'Multilateralising Regionalism: Spaghetti Bowls as Building Blocs on the Path to Global Free Trade' (2006) 29(11) *The World Economy* 1451–518.
- Baldwin, R., 'A Domino Theory of Regionalism' in J. Bhagwati, P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (eds), *Trading Blocs: An Alternative Approach to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Baracat, E. and J. Nogués, 'WTO Safeguards and Trade Liberalisation: Lessons from the Argentine Footwear Case', World Bank Policy Research Paper (Doc. WPS3614, May 2005).
- Barak-Erez, D., 'Symbolic Constitutionalism: On Sacred Cows and Abominable Pigs' (2010) 6(3) *Language, Culture and the Humanities* 420–35.
- Barbarinde, O. and G. Faber, 'From Lomé to Cotonou: Business as Usual?' in S. Bilal and R. Grynberg (eds), *Navigating New Waters: A Reader on ACP-EU Trade Relations* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).
- Barral, V., 'Sustainable Development in International Law: Nature and Operation of an Evolutive Legal Norm' (2012) 23 *European Journal of International Law* 377–400.
- Bartels, L., 'Interim Agreements under Article XXIV GATT' (2009) 8 *World Trade Review* 339–50.
- Bartels, L., 'The Legal Status of the Initialled EPAs and Legal Constraints on Renegotiation' (2008) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.ictsd.org/bridges-news/trade-negotiations-insights/news/the-legal-status-of-the-initialled-epas>.
- Bartels, L., 'The Trade and Development Policy of the European Union' (2007) 18 *European Journal of International Law* 715–56.
- Bartels, L. and F. Ortino (eds), *Regional Trade Agreements and the WTO Legal System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Beeson, M., *Regionalism and Globalisation in East Asia: Politics, Security and Economic Development* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

- Benhabib, S., 'Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy' in S. Benhabib (ed.), *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Bermann, G. and P. Mavroidis (eds), *WTO and Developing Countries* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Bernal, R., *Globalisation, Trade and Economic Development: The CARIFORUM-EU Partnership Agreement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Bertelsmann-Scott, T. 'SACU-One Hundred Not Out: What Future for the Customs Union?' SAIIA Occasional Paper (September 2010) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-papers/77-sacu-one-hundred-not-out-what-future-for-the-file>.
- Best, J., 'Legitimacy Dilemmas: The IMF's Pursuit of Country Ownership' (2007) 28 *Third World Quarterly* 469–88.
- Bhagwati, J., 'The Broken Legs of Global Trade' Project Syndicate (2012) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-broken-legs-of-global-trade>.
- Bhagwati, J., *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Agreements Undermine Free Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Bhagwati, J., *The World Trading System at Risk* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- Bhagwati, J., D. Greenaway and A. Panagariya, 'Trading Preferentially: Theory and Practice' (1998) 108 *The Economic Journal* 1128–48.
- Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and A. Panagariya, (eds), *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Bhagwati, J. and A. Panagariya, 'Preferential Trading Areas and Multilateralism – Strangers, Friends, or Foes?', in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and A. Panagariya, (eds), *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Bilal, S. and R. Grynberg (eds), *Navigating New Waters: A Reader on ACP-EU Trade Relations* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).
- Bilal, S. and F. Kratke, 'Blending Loans and Grants: To Blend or not to Blend?' ECDPM Report 2013 accessed 9 December 2016 at ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Blending-Loans-Grants-Blend-Not-Blend.pdf.
- Bilal, S. and D. Liu, 'Contentious Issues in the interim EPAs: Potential Flexibility in the Negotiations' (2009) ECDPM Discussion Paper No. 89.

- Bilal, S. and I. Ramdoo, 'Which Way Forward in the EPA Negotiations? Seeking Political Leadership to Address Bottlenecks' ECDPM Discussion Paper No. 100 (2010).
- Bilal, S. and C. Stevens, 'The Interim Economic Partnership Agreements between the EU and African States: Contents, Challenges and Prospects' ECDPM Policy Management Report 17 (2009).
- Blumenfeld, J., *Economic Interdependence in Southern Africa: From Conflict to Cooperation?* (London: Pinter Publishers Ltd, 1991).
- Bohman, J., 'Critical Theory' in E. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2012 edition) available 19 December 2016 at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/critical-theory/>.
- Bond, P., 'Removing Neocolonialism's APRM Mask: A Critique of the African Peer Review Mechanism' (2009) 36 *African Political Economy* 595–603.
- Bormann, A. and M. Busse, 'The Institutional Challenge of the ACP/EU Economic Partnership Agreements' (2007) 25 *Development Policy Review* 403–16.
- Bossche, P.v.d., *The Law and Policy of the World Trade Organisation: Text, Cases and Materials*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Bowen, B., 'The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)' [1990] *Trocaire Development Review* 29–45.
- Bown, C.P. and B.M. Hoekman, 'WTO Dispute Settlement and the Missing Developing Country Cases: Engaging the Private Sector' (2005) 8(4) *Journal of International Economic Law* 861–90.
- Boyle, A. and D. Freestone, *International Law and Sustainable Development: Past Achievements and Future Challenges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Bratton, M. and D. Posner, 'A First Look at Second Elections in Africa' in R. Joseph (ed.), *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
- Bratton, M. and N. van de Walle, 'Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa' (1994) 46 *World Politics* 453–89.
- Braude, W., *Regional Integration in Africa: Lessons from the East African Community* (Johannesburg: South African Institute for International Affairs, 2008).
- Bräutigam, D. and S. Knack, 'Foreign Aid, Institutions and Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa' (2004) 52 *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 255–85.
- Brenton, P., 'Integrating the Least Developed Countries into the World Trading System: The Current Impact of EU Preferences under Everything But Arms', (2003) World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No 3018.

- Brenton, P., 'The Changing Nature and Determinants of EU Trade Policies', CEPS Working Document No.150 (October 2000).
- Brenton, P. and M. Minchin, 'Making EU Trade Agreements Work: The Role of Rules of Origin' (2003) 26 *The World Economy*, 755–69.
- Bretherton, C. and J. Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge 2006).
- Broberg, M., 'The European Union-Caribbean Relations: On the Apparent Deterioration of the EU-Caribbean Relationship' (2016) 21 *European Foreign Affairs Review* 75–94.
- Brown, W., 'Restructuring North-South Relations: ACP-EU Development and Cooperation in a Liberal International Order' (2000) 27 *Review of African Political Economy* 367–83.
- Bruton, H.J., 'A Reconsideration of Import Substitution' (1998) *Journal of Economic Literature* 903–36.
- Buckel, S. and A. Fischer-Lescano, 'Gramsci Reconsidered: Hegemony in Global Law' (2009) 22 *Leiden Journal of International Law* 437–54.
- Budd, E., *Democratization, Development, and the Patrimonial State in the Age of Globalization* (New York: Lexington Books, 2004).
- Buiter, W.H., 'Country Ownership: A Term Whose Time Has Gone' (2007) 17 *Development in Practice* 647–52.
- Bull, H., 'The Twenty Years' Crisis Thirty Years On' (1969) 24 *International Journal* 625–38.
- Busch, M. and E. Reinhardt, 'Developing Countries and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/World Trade Organisation Dispute Settlement' (2003) 37 *Journal of World Trade* 719–35.
- Buthelezi, S., *Regional Integration in Africa Vol 1: Prospects and Challenges for the 21st Century* (East London, South Africa: Ikhwezi Afrika Publishing, 2006).
- Cadot, O., A. Estevadeordal, A. Suwa-Eisenmann and T. Verdier (eds), *The Origin of Goods: Rules of Origin in Regional Trade Agreements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Canterbury, D., 'European Bloc Imperialism' (2009) 35 *Critical Sociology* 801–23.
- Caporaso, J., 'International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations' in J.G. Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- Caribbean Negotiating Machinery, 'CRNM Continues its EPA Public Education Outreach Program' electronic Newsletter of the CRNM (16 October 2008) available 19 December 2016 at www.crn.org.
- Caribbean Regional Negotiating Forum, 'The Economic Partnership Agreement' CRNM Public Education Document (15 October 2008).

- Carpenter, T., 'A Historical Perspective on Regionalism' in R. Baldwin and P. Low (eds), *Multilateralizing Regionalism: Challenges for the Global Trading System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919–1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001).
- Chabal, P., 'The State of Governance in Africa' (2010) SAIIA Occasional Paper 26 accessed 12 December 2016 at <http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/29713/1/SAIIA%20Occasional%20Paper%20no%2026.pdf?1>.
- Chabal, P., 'A Few Considerations on Democracy in Africa' (2002) 74 *International Affairs* 289–303.
- Chabal P., 'The Quest for Good Government and Development in Africa: Is NEPAD the Answer?' (2002) 78 *International Affairs* 447–62.
- Chabal, P. and J.P. Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).
- Chaisse, J., 'Promises and Pitfalls of the European Union Policy on Foreign Investment – How will the New EU Competence on FDI Affect the Emerging Global Regime?' (2012) 15(1) *Journal of International Economic Law* 8.
- Chan, A. and R. Ross, 'Racing to the Bottom: International Trade Without a Social Clause' (2003) 24(6) *Third World Quarterly* 1011–28.
- Chase, K., 'Multilateralism Compromised: The Mysterious Origins of Article XXIV' (2006) 5 *World Trade Review* 1–30.
- Cheru, F., *African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Chikeka, C., *Africa and The European Economic Community 1957–1992* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 1993).
- Chipeta, C. and K. Schade (eds), *Deepening Integration in SADC: Macroeconomic Policies and Social Impact* (Gaborone: Freidrich Ebert Foundation: 2007).
- Christopher, A., 'Performance-Based Conditionality: A European Perspective' (2004) 32 *World Development* 1059–70.
- Clapham, C., 'Boundaries and States in the New African Order' in D. Bach, *Regionalization in Africa: Integration and Disintegration* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).
- Clapham, C., 'Degrees of Statehood' (1998) 24 *Review for International Studies* 143–57.
- Clapham, C., 'Discerning the New Africa' (1998) 74 *International Affairs* 263–70.
- Clapham, C., 'Democratisation in Africa: Obstacles and Prospects' (1993) 14(3) *Third World Quarterly* 423–38.

- Clough, M. 'The WTO Dispute Settlement System – A Practitioner Perspective' (2000) 24 *Fordham International Law Journal* 252–74.
- Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Collier, P., P. Guillaumont, S. Guillaumont Jeanneney and J.W. Gunning 'Reforming Stabex' (2002) 22 *The World Economy* 669–82.
- Collier, P. and A. Venables, 'Rethinking Trade Preferences: How Africa Can Diversify Its Exports' (2007) 30(8) *World Economy* 1326–45.
- Cooper, S. and B. Taylor, 'Power and Regionalism: Explaining Regional Cooperation in the Persian Gulf' in F. Laursen (ed.), *Comparative Regional Integration: Theoretical Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003).
- Cordner, C., 'Aristotelian Virtue and Its Limitations' (1994) 69(269) *Philosophy* 291–316.
- COSATU, 'Statement by the Congress of South African Trade Unions against the break-up of the Southern African Customs Union', (Polity, 01 July 2009) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.polity.org.za/article/cosatu-statement-by-the-congress-of-south-african-trade-unions-against-the-break-up-of-the-southern-african-customs-union-01072009-2009-07-01>.
- Crawford, G., 'Evaluating European Union Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy and Good Governance: Towards a Participatory Approach' (2002) 14 *Journal of International Development* 911–26.
- Cremona, M., 'Balancing Union and Member State Interests: Opinion 1/2008, Choice of Legal Base and the Common Commercial Policy under the Treaty of Lisbon' (2010) 35 *European Law Review* 692.
- Cronin, D., 'French Report Condemns EPAs', (tralac, 08 July 2009) available at: http://www.tralac.org/cgi-bin/giga.cgi?cmd=cause_dir_news_item&news_id=48448&cause_id=1694 accessed on 13 June 2011.
- Curran, L., L. Nilsson & D. Brew, 'The Economic Partnership Agreements: Rationale, Misconceptions and Non-Trade Aspects' (2008) 26 *Development Policy Review* 529–553.
- Dam, K., 'Regional Economic Arrangements and the GATT: The Legacy of a Misconception' (1963) 30 *The University of Chicago Law Review* 615–665.
- Damro, C., 'Market Power Europe: Exploring a Dynamic Conceptual Framework' (2015) 22 *Journal of European Public Policy* 1336–54.
- Das, D., *Regionalism in Global Trade* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2004).
- Davenport, M. and S. Page, *Europe: 1992 and the Developing World* (Overseas Development Institute, 1991).

- Davey, W., 'A Model Article XXIV: Are There Realistic Possibilities to Improve It?' in Bagwell, K. and P. Mavroidis (eds), *Preferential Trade Agreements: A Law and Economics Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Davies, R., 'The SADC EPA and Beyond' (October/November 2014) 3 *GREAT Insights Magazine* available 19 December 2016 at <http://ecdpm.org/great-insights/economic-partnership-agreements-beyond/sadc-epa-beyond/>.
- Davies, R. and J. Thurlow, 'Formal-Informal Economy Linkages and Unemployment in South Africa' (2010) 78 *South African Journal of Economics* 437–59.
- Davis, C. and S. Bermeo, 'Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication' (2009) 71 *The Journal of Politics* 1033–49.
- Del Falice, C., 'Power in Discursive Practices: The Case of the "Stop the EPAs" Campaign' (2014) 20 *European Journal of International Relations* 145–67.
- Dennis, P. and L. Brown, 'The ECOWAS: From Regional Economic Organisation to Regional Peacekeeper' in F. Laursen (ed.), *Comparative Regional Integration: Theoretical Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003).
- Desai, V. and R.B. Potter (eds), *The Companion to Development Studies*, 3rd edn (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Destà, M.G., *The Law of International Trade in Agricultural Products: From GATT 1947 to the WTO Agreement on Agriculture* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2002).
- Dimopoulos, A., 'The Effects of the Lisbon Treaty on the Principles and Objectives of the Common Commercial Policy' (2010) 15 *European Foreign Affairs Review* 153.
- Dirar, L., 'Norms of Solidarity and Regionalism: Theorising State Behaviour Among Southern African States' (2016) 24 *Michigan State International Law Review* 667–723.
- Disdier, A., L. Fontagné and M. Mimouni, 'The Impact of Regulations on Agricultural Trade: Evidence from the SPS and TBT Agreements' (2008) 90 *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 336–50.
- Do, V. and W. Watson, 'Economic Analysis of Regional Trade Agreements', in L. Bartels and F. Ortino (eds), *Regional Trade Agreements & the WTO Legal System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Doidge, M., 'Joined at the Hip: Regionalism and Interregionalism' (2007) 29 *Journal of European Integration* 229–48.
- Donnelly, J., *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

- Draper, P., 'EU-Africa Trade Relations: The Political Economy of Economic Partnership Agreements' (2007) ECIPE Jan Tumlir Policy Essays, No. 02/2007.
- Duddy, J.M., 'Geingob lays into EU' (The Namibian, 2009), available 19 December 2016 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/200906010608.html>.
- Dunlop, A., 'What Future for Lomé's Commodity Protocols?' (1999) ECDPM Paper accessed 12 December 2016 at <http://ecdpm.org/publications/future-lomes-commodity-protocols/>.
- Durkheim, E., *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).
- Durkheim, E., *The Division of Labour in Society*, W.D. Halls (trans.) (New York: The Free Press, 1984).
- Ebegbulem, J.C., J.A. Adams and A.A. Achu, 'The Challenges of Integrating Africa into the Globalised World through New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)' (2012) 2 *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* – Special Issue 270–8.
- Eccles, R. and N. Nitin (eds), *Networks and Organisations: Structure, Form and Action* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1992).
- ECDPM, 'EPA Development Support: Possible Scenarios for EPA-related support mechanisms' ECDPM In Brief No. 16 (November 2006).
- Economic Justice Network, 'Impacts of EPAs on Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods in the SADC Region', EJN of FOCCISA Report (undated), available 19 December 2016 at <http://ejn.org.za/index.php/learning-centre/epa-issues/21-trade-ejn-research/91-impacts-of-epas-on-agriculture-and-rural-livelihoods-in-the-sadc-region>.
- Economic Justice Network, 'Trade and Development Cooperation Agreement, Southern African Development Community Configuration and European Trade Negotiations: In the context of the European Partnership Agreements', EJN of FOCCISA Report (undated), available 19 December 2016 at http://www.ejn.org.za/images/stories/Learning%20Centre/EPA%20Issues/1%20EJN%20ReResear/TDCA_SADC_EPAs_Web.pdf.
- Edwards, S. and M. Savastano, 'Latin America's Intra-Regional Trade: Evolution and Future Prospects' in D. Greenaway, T. Hyclack and R. Thornton (eds), *Economic Aspects of Regional Trading Arrangements* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).
- Ekeh, P., 'The Concept of Second Liberation and the Prospects of Democracy in Africa: A Nigerian Context', Paper given at the Conference on Dilemmas of Democracy in Nigeria, University of Wisconsin, November 10–12 1995, cited in L. Anderson, *Transitions to Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

- El-Ojeili, C. and P. Hayden, *Critical Theories of Globalisation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).
- Eldar, O., 'Reform of IMF Conditionality', (2005) 8 *Journal of International Economic Law* 509–49.
- Elliott, A. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Social Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- Englebert, P., 'Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa' (2000) 53 *Political Research Quarterly* 7–36.
- EPA Watch, Namibian Civil Society letter to Trade Commissioner Karel de Gucht, 'Re: Open letter on undue pressure on Namibia to sign an interim EPA' (18 June 2010) available 19 December 2016 at <http://epawatch.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/namibia-ngo-letter-100618.pdf>.
- Erasmus, G., 'Deeper Regional Integration in SADC: Do the EPAs undermine the Process', tralac Trade Brief SIITB03/2011 (March 2011).
- Erasmus, G., 'Regional Trade Agreements: Developments and Implications for Southern African states' (2009) 1 *Namibia Law Journal* 29–35.
- Erasmus, G., F. Flatters and R. Kirk, 'Rules of Origin as Tools of Development? Some Lessons from SADC' in O. Cadot, A. Estevadeordal, A. Suwa-Eisenmann and T. Verdier (eds), *The Origin of Goods: Rules of Origin in Regional Trade Agreements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Erdmann, G. and U. Engel, 'Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept' (2007) 45 *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 95–119.
- Eriksen, E.O. and J. Weigård, *Understanding Habermas: Communicative Action and Deliberative Democracy* (London: Continuum, 2003).
- Estevadeordal, A., J. Harris and K. Suominen, 'Harmonising Preferential Rules of Origin Regimes Around the World' in R. Baldwin and P. Low (eds), *Multilateralising Regionalism: Challenges for the Global Trading System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Estevadeordal, A. and K. Suominen, 'Mapping and Measuring Rules of Origin Around the World', in O. Cadot, A. Estevadeordal, A. Suwa-Eisenmann and T. Verdier (eds), *The Origin of Goods: Rules of Origin in Regional Trade Agreements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Ethier, W.J., 'The New Regionalism' (1999) 108 *The Economic Journal* 1149–61.
- EU Commission, 'The Economic Impact of the SADC EPA Group-EU Economic Partnership Agreement' of June 2016.

- European Commission and European External Action Service, 'Towards a New Partnership Between the European Union and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Countries After 2020' Summary Report of 18 March 2016, Ref. Ares(2016)1372862.
- European Commission, *Trade for All: Towards a More Responsible Trade and Investment Policy*, Trade Policy Strategy Report (15 October 2015).
- EU Commission, 'Caribbean Regional Indicative Programme: 11th European Development Fund (EDF)', Ares(2015)3671530 of 7 September 2015.
- European Commission, 'Monitoring the Implementation and Results of the CARIFORUM-EU EPA Agreement', Final Report, EUROPEAID/129783/C/SER/multi Lot 1: Studies and Technical Assistance in All Sectors (September 2014).
- EU Commission, 'Access to EU markets for exporters from African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries', EC Memo (2011) available at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2011/september/tradoc_148215.pdf.
- European Commission, *Europe 2020: A European Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth* (3.3.2010) COM (2010) 2020.
- European Commission, 'Fact Sheet on the Interim Economic Partnership Agreements: SADC Group' *European Commission* (2009) available 19 December 2016 at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2009/january/tradoc_142189.pdf.
- European Commission, 'Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme 2008–2013', (European Commission, 2008).
- European Commission, European Commission DG Trade, 'Commissioner Mandelson's Open Letter to Namibian Civil Society, 2 September 2008', EPA Flash News (5 September 2008) available 19 December at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2008/september/tradoc_140482.pdf.
- European Commission, 'Applying the arrangements for products originating in certain states which are part of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States provided for in agreements establishing, or leading to the establishment of, Economic Partnership Agreements' Council Regulation 1528/2007, [2007] OJ L348/2.
- EU Commission, 'Proposal for the Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Annex 1 to Council Regulation (EC) No 1528/2007 as regards the exclusion of a number of countries from the list of regions or states which have concluded negotiations' COM (2011) 598 Final.

- EU Commission, 'Civil Society Dialogue: Economic Partnership Agreements', Minutes of Meeting (25 September 2007) available 19 December 2016 at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2007/november/tradoc_136928.pdf.
- EU Commission, 'Communication from the Commission to the Council: Communication to modify the directives for the negotiations of Economic Partnership Agreements with ACP countries and regions' COM (2006) 673 Final.
- EU Commission, 'Trade for Development: EU-SADC Economic Partnership Agreement', DG Trade Report, (September 2005) available 19 December 2016 at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/february/tradoc_127350.pdf.
- EU Commission, Financing Agreement between the European Commission and the Caribbean Forum of ACP States (CARIFORUM) Agreement No. 9816/Reg RCA/003/04 under the 9th EDF (2004).
- EU Commission, Guidelines for the negotiation of new cooperation agreements with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries COM (97) 537 Final of 29 October 1997.
- EU Commission, Green Paper on Relations between the European Union and the ACP countries on the eve of the 21st Century: Challenges and options for a new partnership, COM (96) 570 Final (1996).
- EU Commission, Completing the Internal Market White Paper COM (85) 310 Final, Brussels (1985).
- European Parliament, 'The CARIFORUM-EU Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA): The Development Component' March 2009 EXPO/B/DEVE/2008/60.
- Evans, J., 'The Neoliberal Turn in the SADC' (2010) *Nokoko* 101–129.
- Ewelukwa, U., 'Special and Differential Treatment in International Trade Law: A Concept in Search of Content' (2003) 79 *North Dakota Law Review* 831–78.
- Farrell, M., 'From Lomé to Economic Partnerships in Africa' in F. Söderbaum and P. Stålgren (eds), *The European Union and the Global South* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010).
- Farrell, M., 'Bridging the Gap Between EU, Mediterranean and Africa Relations: Partnership, Governance and (Re)-Evolving Relations' (2010) 2 *L'Europe en Formation* 169–91.
- Farrell, M., 'EU Policy Towards Other Regions: Policy Learning in the External Promotion of Regional Integration' (2009) 16 *European Public Policy* 1165–84.
- Farrell, M., 'A Triumph of Realism over Idealism? Cooperation Between the European Union and Africa' (2005) 27 *European Integration* 263–83.

- Farrell, M., B. Hettne and L. van Langenhove (eds), *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Fasan, O., 'Global Trade Law: Challenges and Options for Africa' (2003) 47 *Journal of African Law* 143–73.
- Fatton, R., 'Bringing the Ruling Class Back In: Class, State and Hegemony in Africa' (1988) 20(3) *Comparative Politics* 53.
- Fawcett, L., 'Regionalism from an Historical Perspective' in Farrell, M., B. Hettne and L.V. Langenhove (eds), *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Ferrer, J.N. and A. Behrens, 'Innovative Approaches to EU Blending Mechanisms for Development Finance' CEPS Special Report (18 May 2011) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.cps.eu>.
- Fierro, E., *The EU's Approach to Human Rights Conditionality in Practice* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2003).
- Findlay, R. and A. Panagariya, 'A Political-Economy Analysis of Free Trade Areas and Customs Unions' in J. Bhagwati, P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (eds), *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Finnemore, M. and K. Sikkink, 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change' (1998) 52 *International Organisation* 887–917.
- Fioramonti, L., 'The European Union Development Strategy in Africa: The Economic Partnership Agreements as a case of Aggressive Multilateralism' MERCURY e-paper No. 10 (August 2011) available 19 December 2016 at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2100538.
- Fiorentino, R., J. Crawford and C. Toqueboeuf, 'The Landscape of Regional Trade Agreements and WTO Surveillance' in R. Baldwin and P. Low (eds), *Multilateralizing Regionalism: Challenges for the Global Trading System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Flint, A., 'The End of a "Special Relationship"? The New EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements' (2010) 36 *Review of African Political Economy* 79–92.
- Fombad, C.M. and Z. Kebonang, 'AU, NEPAD and the APRM: Democratization Efforts Explored', edited by H. Melber (ed.) (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2006).
- Freund, C. (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Friedman, D., 'On Economic Applications of Evolutionary Game Theory' (1998) 8 *Journal of Evolutionary Economics* 15–43.

- Gammage, C., 'A "Sustainability Impact Assessment" of the Economic Partnership Agreements: Challenging the Participatory Process' (2010) 3 *The Law and Development Review* 108–135.
- Gantz, D., *Regional Trade Agreements: Law, Policy and Practice* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2009).
- Garcia, M. and A. Masselot, 'EU-Asia Free Trade Agreements as Tools for Social Norm/Legislation Transfer' (2015) 3 *Asia Europe Journal* 241–52.
- Gathii, J.T., *African Regional Trade Agreements as Legal Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Gathii, J.T., 'The Neoliberal Turn in Regional Trade Agreements' (2011) 86 *Washington Law Review* 421–474.
- Gavas, M., 'Reviewing the Evidence: How Well does the European Development Fund Perform?' *ODI Report* of 31 January 2012 accessed 9 December 2016 at <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8218.pdf>.
- Gavin, B. and P. de Lombaerde, 'Economic Theories of Regional Integration' in M. Farrell, B. Hettne and L. van Langenhove (eds), *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Georgakopoulos, N., *Principles and Methods of Law and Economics: Basic Tools for Normative Reasoning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1991).
- Gibb, R., 'Regional Integration and Africa's Development Trajectory: Meta-theories, Expectations and Reality' (2009) 30 *Third World Quarterly* 701–21.
- Gibb, R., 'The New Southern African Customs Union Agreement: Dependence with Democracy' (2006) 32 *Journal of Southern African Studies* 583–603.
- Gibb, R., 'The European Union and the South' (2000) 21 *Third World Quarterly* 457–81.
- Gibb, R., 'Southern Africa in Transition: Prospects and Problems Facing Regional Integration' (1998) 36 *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 287–306.
- Gibson, C., 'Of Waves and Ripples: Democracy and Political Change in Africa in the 1990s' (2002) 5 *Annual Review of Political Science* 201–21.
- Gilpin, R., *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

- Ginsberg, R., 'Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap' (1999) 37 *Journal of Common Market Studies* 429–54.
- Goldstein, J. and J. Gowa, 'US National Power and the Postwar Trading Regime' (2002) 1 *World Trade Review* 153–70.
- Gonzales, A., 'Policy Implications of Smallness as a Factor in the Lomé, FTAA and WTO Negotiations', Caribbean RNM/IDB Regional Technical Cooperation Project (Bridgetown, September 2000).
- Goodison, P., 'EU Trade Policy and the Future of Africa's Trade Relationship with the EU' (2007) 34 *Review of African Political Economy* 247–66.
- Goodison, P. and C. Stoneman, 'Europe: Partner or Exploiter? The G-90 and the ACP' (2004) 31 *Review of African Political Economy* 725–34.
- Goto, J. and K. Hamada, 'Regional Economic Integration and Article XXIV of the GATT' (1999) 7 *Review of International Economics* 555–70.
- Grace Kennedy Limited, 'Annual Report 2015' available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.gracekennedy.com/index.php/media-centre/gk-annual-reports/annual-reports>.
- Gramsci, A., *Prison Notebooks*, J. Buttigieg (ed.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- Granovetter, M., 'The Impact of Social Structure on Economic Outcomes' (2005) 19 *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33–50.
- Granovetter, M., 'Problems of Explanation in Economic Sociology' in Eccles, R. and N. Nitin (eds), *Networks and Organisations: Structure, Form and Action* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1992).
- Granovetter, M., 'Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness' (1985) 91(3) *American Journal of Sociology* 481–510.
- Grant, A. and F. Söderbaum (eds), *The New Regionalism in Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003).
- Grant, C. and G. Chapman, 'Southern African Customs Union: Myths and Reality' SAIIA online article (23 March 2011) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.saiia.org.za/opinion-analysis/southern-african-customs-union-myths-and-reality>.
- Greenaway, D., T. Hyclack and R. Thornton (eds), *Economic Aspects of Regional Trading Arrangements* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).
- Greene, G., 'The CARIFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement: Lessons from Implementation', Report of The Commonwealth *Hot Trade Topics*, Issue 121 (2015).
- Grieco, J.M., 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism' (1988) 42 *International Organisations* 485–507.

- Grimm, S., 'EU Policies toward the Global South' in F. Söderbaum and P. Stålgren (eds), *The European Union and the Global South* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010).
- Grossman, G.M. and E. Helpman, 'The Politics of Free-Trade Agreements' in J. Bhagwati, P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (eds), *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Grugel, J. and W. Hout (eds), *Regionalism Across the North-South Divide: State Strategies and Globalisation* (London & New York: Routledge, 1999).
- Haarlov, J., *Regional Cooperation and Integration within Industry and Trade in Southern Africa: General Approaches: SADC and the World Bank* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1997).
- Haastrup, T., 'EU as Mentor? Promoting Regionalism as External Relations Practice in EU-Africa relations' (2013) *Journal of European Integration* 1–16.
- Habermas, J., 'The Crisis of the European Union in Light of a Constitutionalization of International Law' (2012) 23 *European Journal of International Law* 335–48.
- Habermas, J., *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* translated by M. Pensky (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).
- Habermas, J., 'A Political Construction for the Pluralist World Society?' (2007) 34 *Chinese Journal of Philosophy* 331–43.
- Habermas, J., *Between Facts & Norms*, translated by W. Rehg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).
- Habermas, J., *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalisation of Society* Vol. 1, T. McCarthy (trans.) (London: Beacon Press, 1984).
- Hafner-Burton, E., *Forced to Be Good: Why Trade Agreements Boost Human Rights* (Cornell University Press, 2009).
- Haight, F.A., 'Customs Unions and Free Trade Areas under GATT: A Reappraisal' (1972) 6 *Journal of World Trade Law* 391–404.
- Hall, K. and M. Sang, *Caribbean Community: The Struggle for Survival* (Trafford, 2008).
- Hansungule, M., 'The Suspension of the SADC Tribunal' (2013) 35 *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 135–45.
- Harrison, G., 'The World Bank, Governance and Theories of Political Action in Africa' (2005) 7(1) *British Journal of International Politics* 240–60.
- Harrison, G. and E. Ruström, 'Trade Wars, Trade Negotiations and Applied Game Theory' (1991) 101 *The Economic Journal* 420–35.

- Harryvan, A., *In Pursuit of Influence: The Netherland's European Policy during the Formative Years of the European Union, 1952-1973* (New York: PIE Peter Lang, 2009).
- Hartley, T., *Constitutional Problems of the European Union* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 1999).
- Hartzenburg, T., 'Introduction' in A. du Pisani, G. Erasmus, T. Hartzenburg and C. McCarthy (eds), *Monitoring Regional Integration in Southern Africa Yearbook 2013/14* (Stellenbosch: tralac, 2014).
- Hartzenberg, T. and G. Maasdorp, 'Regional Integration Arrangements in Southern Africa: SACU and SADC' in Z. Iqbar and M. Khan (eds), *Trade Reform and Regional Integration in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: IMF, 1997).
- Harvey, D., *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Harvey, D., *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).
- Hawkins, T., 'Regionalism in Southern Africa' in G. Mills and C. Mutschler (eds), *Exploring South-South Dialogue: MERCOSUR in Latin America and SADC in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIIA, 1999).
- Heita, D., 'Namibia Inspires NGOs' anti-EPA campaigns' (New Era, 26 March 2010).
- Held, D., A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt and J. Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- Herbst, J., *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Heron, T., 'Trading in Development: Norms and Institutions in the Making/Unmaking of European-African, Caribbean, Pacific trade and development cooperation' (2014) 20 *Contemporary Politics* 10–22.
- Heron, T., 'Asymmetric Bargaining and Development Trade-Offs in the CARIFORUM-European Union Economic Partnership Agreement' (2011) 18 *Review of International Political Economy* 328–57.
- Heron, T. and P. Murray-Evans, 'Limits to Market Power: Strategic Discourse and Institutional Path Dependence in the European Union – African, Caribbean, and Pacific Economic Partnership Agreements' (2016) *European Journal of International Relations* 1–25.
- Hettne, B., 'EU Foreign Policy: The Interregional Model' in F. Söderbaum, and P. Stålgren (eds), *The European Union and the Global South* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010).
- Hettne, B., 'Regionalism and World Order' in M. Farrell, B. Hettne and L. van Langenhove (eds), *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

- Hettne, B., 'Beyond the "New" Regionalism' (2005) 10 *New Political Economy* 543–71.
- Hettne, B. and F. Söderbaum, 'Theorising the Rise of Regionness' (2000) 5 *New Political Economy* 457–73.
- Hilf, M., 'The ECJ's Opinion 1/94 on the WTO – No Surprise, but Wise?' (1995) 6 *European Journal of International Law* 245–59.
- Hinkle, L., M. Hoppe and R. Newfarmer, 'Beyond Cotonou: Economic Partnerships in Africa' in R. Newfarmer, *Trade, Doha, and Development: A Window into the Issues* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2006), 263–80.
- Hinkle, L. and M. Schiff, 'Economic Partnership Agreements Between Sub-Saharan Africa and the EU: A Development Perspective' (2004) 27 *World Economy* 1321–33.
- Hipold, P., 'Regional Integration According to Article XXIV GATT – Between Law and Politics' in A. von Bogdandy and R. Wolfrum (eds), *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* Vol. 7 (Koninklijke Brill NV, 2003).
- Hirsch, M., 'The Sociology of International Economic Law: Sociological Analysis of the Regulation of Regional Trade Agreements in the World Trading System' (2008) 19 *European Journal of International Law* 277–99.
- Hirsch, M., 'Rules of Origin as Trade or Foreign Policy Instruments? The European Union Policy on Products Manufactured in the Settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip' (2002) 26 *Fordham International Law Journal* 572–94.
- Hobbes, T., *Leviathan*, J.C.A. Gaskin (ed.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Hoekman, B., 'Operationalizing the Concept of Policy Space in the WTO: Beyond Special and Differential Treatment' (2005) 8 *Journal of International Economic Law* 405–24.
- Holdgaard, R., *External Relations of the European Community: Legal Reasoning and Legal Discourses* (Aalphen ann den Rijn: Kluwer Law International, 2008).
- Holland, M., *The European Union and the Third World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).
- Hollis, M. and S. Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).
- Holzcheiter, A., 'Discourse as Capability: Non-state Actors' Capital in Global Governance' (2005) 33 *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 723–46.

- Hönich, U., 'Trade in Goods: Full Liberalisation in the EU' in A. Zampetti and J. Lodge, *The CARIFORUM-EU Economic Partnership Agreement: A Practitioner's Analysis* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International, 2011).
- Hooghe, L. 'Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role' (2012) 50 *Journal of Common Market Studies* 87–111.
- Hopf, T., 'Common-Sense Constructivism and Hegemony in World Politics' (2013) 67 *International Organisation* 317–54.
- Horkheimer, M., *Critical Theory* (New York: Seabury Press, 1982).
- Horlick, G., 'Straightening the Spaghetti Bowl' in K. Bagwell and P. Mavroidis (eds), *Preferential Trade Agreements: A Law and Economics Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Hormeku, T., 'Fall-Out from EPA Negotiations: Africa on the Brink of Disintegration', *TWN Africa: African Trade Agenda*, 3:1 (TWN, May 2009) available 19 December 2016 at http://twnafrica.org/ATA3_1-en-june2009.pdf.
- Horwitz, M., 'The Rise of Legal Formalism' (1975) *The American Journal of Legal History* 251–64.
- Howe, P., 'The Utopian Realism of E.H. Carr' (1994) 20 *Review of International Studies* 277–97.
- Howse, R. and J. Langille, 'Permitting Pluralism: The *Seal Products* Dispute and Why the WTO Should Accept Restrictions Justified by Noninstrumental Moral Values' (2012) 37 *Yale Journal of International Law* 367–432.
- Hsu, L., 'Applicability of WTO law in Regional Trade Agreements: Identifying the Links' in L. Bartels and F. Ortino (eds), *Regional Trade Agreements & The WTO Legal System* (Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Huber, J., 'The Past, Present and Future ACP-EC Trade Regime and the WTO' (2000) 11 *European Journal of International Law* 427–38.
- Hudec, R., *Developing Countries in the GATT Legal System*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Hudec, R., 'The New WTO Dispute Settlement Procedure: An Overview of the First Three Years' (1999) 8 *Minnesota Journal of Global Trade* 1–49.
- Humphrey, E. and M. Cossy, 'Implementing the Economic Partnership Agreement: Challenges and Bottlenecks for the CARIFORUM Region' ECDPM Discussion Paper No. 117 of June 2011.
- Hunt, A., 'Problems of the State: Law, State and Class Struggle' (1976) *Marxism Today* 178–87.
- Hunter, J. and C.M. Lewis (eds), *The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development* (London: Routledge, 1995).

- Hurrell, A., 'One World? Many Worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society' (2007) 83 *International Affairs* 127–46.
- Hurt, S.R., 'The EU-SADC Economic Partnership Agreement Negotiations: "Locking" in the Neoliberal Development Model in Southern Africa?' (2012) 33 *Third World Quarterly* 495–510.
- Hurt, S.R., 'Cooperation and Coercion? The Cotonou Agreement between the EU and ACP States and the end of the Lomé Convention' (2003) 24 *Third World Quarterly* 161–76.
- Hurt, S., D. Lee and U. Lorenz-Carl, 'The Argumentative Dimension to the EU-Africa EPAs' (2013) 18 *International Negotiation* 67–87.
- Hutton, N., 'Africa's Changing Relationship with the EEC' (1974) 30 *The World Today* 426–35.
- Hylton, G.A., 'The Challenge of Integrating ACP States into the International Trading Regime: Venturing Outside the Lome Framework', Paper delivered at the CTA International Seminar Brussels (27–29 November 2002).
- ICTSD, 'African countries and EU sign Economic Partnership Agreement' Bridges Africa Newsroom report (21 June 2016) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.ictsd.org/bridges-news/bridges-africa/news/newsroom-17>.
- Ikome, F.N., *From the Lagos Plan of Action to the New Partnership for Africa's Development – The Political Economy of African Regional Initiatives* (Midrand: Institute for Global Dialogue, 2007).
- Ilbery, B., 'Food Supply Chains and Sustainability: Evidence from Specialist Food Producers in the Scottish/English Borders' (2005) 22 *Land Use Policy* 331–44.
- IMF, *Regional Economic Integration and the Globalisation Process: Report on the Proceedings of a Southern African Conference*, Windhoek 10–13 June 1998 (Dar es Salaam: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1998).
- Ingram, J.S., P. Ericken and D. Liverman, *Food Security and Global Environmental Change* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2010).
- Irwin, D., *Free Trade Under Fire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 2009).
- Ishyriion, P., 'Trade-Caribbean: EU Pact Hit by Last-Minute Revolt' Inter Press Service news report (August 2008) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2008/08/trade-caribbean-eu-pact-hit-by-last-minute-revolt/>.
- Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen (eds), *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Jakobeit, C., T. Hartzenberg and N. Charalambides, 'Overlapping Membership in COMESA, EAC, SACU and SADC: Trade Policy Options

- for the Region and for EPA Negotiations' GTZ Trade Programme Report (Eschborn 2005) available 19 December 2016 at <http://hubrural.org/Overlapping-membership-in-COMESA.html?lang=en>.
- Jara, A., 'The WTO and International Trade Law After Doha: Where Do We Go From Here?' (2007) 25 *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 384–94.
- Jensen, M.F. and P. Gibbon, 'Africa and the WTO Doha Round: An Overview' (2007) 25 *Development Policy Review* 5–24.
- Jervis, R., 'Realism, Game Theory and Cooperation' (1988) 40 *World Politics* 317–49.
- Jessop, D., 'CARICOM and the Dominican Republic: The Case for Reconciliation' (28 August 2015) *Argument and Insight* available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.antillean.org/caricom-and-the-dominican-republic-reconcile-142/>.
- Jones, K., *The Doha Blues* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Jones, P., 'The Caribbean Community (CARICOM): Origins, Achievements, The Future: Volume II' Economic Development Institute, *Information Booklet Series II* available 19 December 2016 at <https://ideas.repec.org/p/wpa/wuwpdc/0411006.html>.
- Joseph, R., 'Democratization in Africa after 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives' (1997) 29 *Comparative Politics* 363–82.
- Julian, M., 'EPA Update' *Trade Negotiation Insights*, 9:3 (March 2010) available 19 December 2016 at <http://ictsd.org/i/news/tni/72888/>.
- Julian, M. and M. Dalleau, 'EPA Update' (2011) *Trade Negotiation Insights*, Volume 10 Number 7, October 2011 available 19 December 2016 at <http://ictsd.org/i/news/tni/115340/>.
- Kagaruki, E., 'NEPAD has failed to solve Africa's myriad problems' *The Chronicle* (16 July 2011) accessed 12 December 2016 at <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/oped/1840568-1800138-ig2hrj/index.html>.
- Kamidza, R., 'SADC EPA Information Seminar Failed Civil Society' SEATINI Bulletin, 10:7 (16 July 2007) available 19 December 2016 at http://www.sarpn.org/documents/d0002683/SEATINI_Bulletin_10-07_Jul2007.pdf.
- Keck, A. and P. Low, 'Special and Differential Treatment in the WTO: Why, When and How?' (2004) WTO, Washington DC, Staff Working Paper ERSD-2004-03.
- Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1998).
- Kelsall, T., 'Going with the Grain in African Development?' (2008) 26(6) *Development Policy Review* 627–55.

- Kelsey, J., 'Going Nowhere in a Hurry? The Pacific's EPA Negotiations with the European Union' (2007) *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review* 81–103.
- Kemp, M.C. and H.Y. Wan Jr., 'An Elementary Proposition Concerning the Formation of Customs Unions' (1976) in Caroline Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Keohane, R.O., *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalised World* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Keohane, R.O., 'International Institutions: Two Approaches' (1988) 32 *International Studies Quarterly* 379–96.
- Kessie, E., 'The Legal Status of Special and Differential Treatment Provisions under the WTO Agreements' in G. Bermann and P. Mavroidis (eds), *WTO and Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Khadiagala, G.M., 'Governing Regionalism in Africa: Themes and Debates', Policy Brief 51, (Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies, 2008).
- Killick, T., 'Political Autonomy and the History of British Aid to Africa' (2005) 23 *Development Policy Review* 665–81.
- Konadu-Agyemang, K. 'The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programs and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana' (2004) 52 *The Professional Geographer* 469–83.
- Konstadinides, T., 'EU Foreign Policy under the Doctrine of Implied Powers: Codification Drawbacks and Constitutional Limitations' (2014) *European Law Review* 511–30.
- Kornegay, F. and G. Olivier, 'The European Union and Africa's Regional Economic Communities: Asymmetrical versus Developmental Multilateralism' MERCURY Working Paper (April 2011).
- Kösler, A. and M. Zimmek, *Elements of Regional Integration: A Multi-dimensional Approach* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2008).
- Koutrakos, P., *EU International Relations Law*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2015).
- Krishna, P., 'Understanding Rules of Origin' in O. Cadot, A. Estevadeordal, A. Suwa-Eisenmann and T. Verdier (eds.), *The Origin of Goods: Rules of Origin in Regional Trade Agreements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Krueger, A., 'Are Preferential Trade Agreements Trade Liberalising or Protectionist?' (1999) 13(4) *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 105–24.
- Krueger, A., 'Why Trade Liberalisation is Good for Growth' (1998) 108 *The Economic Journal* 1513–22.

- Krueger, A., 'Trade Policy and Development: How We Learn' (1997) 87 *The American Economic Review* 1–22.
- Krueger, A., 'The Political Economy of the Rent-Seeking Society' (1974) 64 *The American Economic Review* 291–303.
- Krugman, P., 'Regionalism versus Multilateralism: Analytical Notes' in C. Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Krugman, P., 'The Move Towards Free Trade Zones, Implications of Trade and Currency Zones. A symposium sponsored by the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City' (1991).
- Krugman, P., 'Is Free Trade Passe?' (1987) *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 131–44.
- Kwarteng, C., *Africa and the European Challenge: Survival in a Changing World* (Aldershot, UK and Brookfield, VT, USA: Avebury, 1997).
- Lacarte-Muró, J. and P. Gappah, 'Developing Countries and the WTO Legal and Dispute Settlement System: A View from the Bench' (2000) 3 *Journal of International Economic Law* 395–401.
- La Chimia, A. and S. Arrowsmith, 'Addressing Tied Aid: Towards a More Development-Oriented WTO?' (2009) 12 *Journal of International Economic Law* 707–47.
- Lamy, P., 'Stepping Stones or Stumbling Blocks? The EU's Approach Towards the Problem of Multilateralism vs Regionalism in Trade Policy' (2002) 25 *The World Economy* 1399–413.
- Landsberg, C., 'The African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): Restoring a Relationship Challenged?' (2012) 12 *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 49–71.
- Lang, A., *World Trade Law after Neoliberalism: Reimagining the Global Economic Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Langenhove, L.V., *Building Regions: The Regionalisation of the World Order* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).
- Laursen, F., 'Theoretical Perspectives on Comparative Regional Integration' in Finn Laursen (ed.), *Comparative Regional Integration: Theoretical Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003).
- Laursen, F., *Comparative Regional Integration: Theoretical Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003).
- Lawrence, R., 'Regional and the WTO – Should the Rules be Changed?' in C. Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trading Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Lee, M., *The Political Economy of Regionalism in Southern Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).

- Leutweiler, F. et al, *Trade Policies for a Better Future* (Geneva: GATT, 1981) cited in J. McMillan, 'Does Regional Integration Foster Open Trade? Economic Theory and GATT's Article XXIV' in K. Anderson and R. Blackhurst (eds), *Regional Integration in the Global Trading System* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).
- Libman, A. and E. Vinokurov, 'Regional Integration and Economic Convergence in the Post-Soviet Space: Experience of the Decade of Growth' (2012) 50 *Journal of Common Market Studies* 112–28.
- Limão, N. and M. Olarreaga, 'Trade Preference to Small Developing Countries and the Welfare Costs of Lost Multilateral Liberalisation' in G. Bermann and P. Mavroidis (eds), *WTO and Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Lombarde, P. de., F. Söderbaum and F. Baert, 'The Problem of Comparison in Comparative Regionalism' (2010) 36 *Review of International Studies* 731–53.
- Low, P., 'Is the WTO Doing Enough for Developing Countries?' in G. Bermann and P. Mavroidis (eds), *WTO and Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Lowe, V., 'Sustainable Development and Unsustainable Arguments' in A. Boyle and D. Freestone, *International Law and Sustainable Development: Past Achievements and Future Challenges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Luhmann, N., *Social Systems* translated by D. Baecker and J. Bednarz (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996).
- Lumsdaine, D.H., *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime 1949–1989* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- Luiz, J., 'Challenges and Prospects for Economic and Business Development in Africa' in J. Luiz (ed.), *Managing Business in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Luiz-Fabri, H., 'Is There a Case – Legally and Politically – For Direct Effect of WTO Obligations?' (2014) 25 *European Journal of International Law* 151–73.
- Lyakurwa, W. and O. Ajakaiye, 'Policy Advice and African Studies' in H. Melber (ed.), *On Africa: Scholars and African Studies – Contributions in Honour of Lennart Wohlgemuth* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute), 207.
- MacLeod, G., 'New Regionalism Reconsidered: Globalization and the Remaking of Political Economic Space' (2001) 25 *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 804–29.
- Madava, T., 'Zimbabwe: SADC Troika Meeting in Limbo' *Financial Gazette* (Harare) 3 October 2012, available 19 December 2016 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201210041266.html>.

- Malmström, C., 'Values in EU Trade Policy – Targeting Corruption', Speech of 19 April 2016, 4th OECD Integrity Forum, Paris accessed 9 December 2016 at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2016/april/tradoc_154461.pdf.
- Mambara, J., 'An Evaluation of Involvement of Southern Africa's Civil Society in EPA Negotiations to Date', Trades Centre Report: Zimbabwe (2007).
- Manger, M. and K. Schadlen, 'Political Trade Dependence and North-South Trade Agreements' (2014) 58 *International Studies Quarterly* 79–91.
- Manners, I., 'The Normative Ethics of the European Union' (2008) 84 *International Affairs* 45–60.
- Manning, P. and G. Smith, 'Symbolic Interactionism' in A. Elliott (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Social Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
- Mansfield, E.D. and H.V. Milner, 'The New Wave of Regionalism' (1999) 53 *International Organization* 589–627.
- Mansfield, E.D. and E. Reinhardt, 'Multilateral Determinants of Regionalism: The Effects of GATT/WTO on the Formation of Preferential Trade Agreements' (2003) 57 *International Organisation* 829–62.
- Marceau, G. and J. Wyatt, 'Dispute Settlement Regimes Intermingled: Regional Trade Agreements and the WTO' (2010) 1 *Journal of International Dispute Settlement* 67–95.
- Martin, L., 'Interests, Power and Multilateralism' (1992) 46 *International Organization* 765–92.
- Mashayekhi, M. and T. Ito (eds), 'Multilateralism and Regionalism: The New Interface' UNCTAD Report (2004) UNCTAD/DITC/TNCD/2004/7, 43 available 19 December 2016 at http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditctncd20047_en.pdf.
- Matambalya, F., *The New EU-ACP Partnership: Consequences for Eastern and Southern Africa* (Dar es Salaam: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2000).
- Matambalya, F. and S. Wolf, 'The Cotonou Agreement and the Challenges of Making the New EU-ACP Trade Regime WTO Compatible' (2001) 35 *Journal of World Trade* 123–44.
- Matsushita, M., 'Legal Aspects of Free Trade Agreements: In the Context of Article XXIV of the GATT 1994' in M. Matsushita and D. Ahn (eds), *WTO and East Asia: New Perspectives* (London: CMP Publishing, 2004).
- Matsushita, M. and D. Ahn (eds), *WTO and East Asia: New Perspectives* (London: CMP Publishing, 2004).

- Matsushita, M., T. Schoenbaum and P. Mavroidis (eds), *The World Trade Organisation: Law, Practice and Policy*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Mathis, J., 'The "Legalization" of GATT Article XXIV – Can Foes Become Friends?' in Bagwell, K. and P. Mavroidis (eds), *Preferential Trade Agreements: A Law and Economics Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Mathis, J., *Regional Trade Agreements in the GATT/WTO: Article XXIV and the Internal Trade Requirement* (The Hague: TMC Asser Press, 2002).
- Matthews, D., 'Lomé IV and ACP/EEC Relations: Surviving the Lost Decade' (1991) 22 *California Western International Law Journal* 1–58.
- Mattli, W., *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Mavroidis, P., 'Remedies in the WTO: Between a Rock and a Hard Place' (2000) 11 *Journal of International Economic Law* 763–813.
- Mbeki, T., 'The African Renaissance', Speech delivered on 13 August 1998 available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0813.htm>.
- McCarthy, C., 'The Southern African Customs Union in Transition' (2003) 102 *African Affairs* 605–30.
- McCarthy, T., 'Kantian Constructivism and Reconstructivism: Rawls and Habermas in Dialogue' (1994) 105 *Ethics* 44–63.
- McKinsey Global Institute, 'Lions on the Move: The progress and potential of African Economies' (June 2010) Report of McKinsey & Company accessed 8 December 2016 at <http://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/middle-east-and-africa/lions-on-the-move>.
- Mcloskey, M., 'The Emperor Has No Clothes: The Conundrum of Sustainable Development' (1998) 9 *Duke Environmental Law and Policy Forum* 153–9.
- McMillan, J., 'Does Regional Integration Foster Open Trade? Economic Theory and GATT's Article XXIV' in K. Anderson and R. Blackhurst (eds), *Regional Integration in the Global Trading System* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).
- McQueen, M., 'ACP-EU Trade Cooperation after 2000: An Assessment of Reciprocal Trade Preferences' (1998) 36 *Journal of Modern African Studies* 669–92.
- Meunier, S. and K. Nicolaïdis, 'The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power' (2006) 13 *Journal of European Public Policy* 906–25.
- Meyn, M., 'Economic Partnership Agreements: A "Historic Step" Towards a "Partnership of Equals"?' (2008) 26 *Development Policy Review* 515–28.

- Meyn, M., 'The End of Botswana Beef Exports to the European Union?', ODI Policy Briefing (September 2007) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/392.pdf>.
- Meyn, M. and J. Kennan, 'Economic Partnership Agreements: Comparative Analysis of the Agricultural Provisions', UNCTAD Report (2010) available 19 December 2016 at http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/ditctncd20093_en.pdf.
- Mills, G. and C. Mutschler, *Exploring South-South Dialogue: MERCOSUR in Latin America and SADC in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIIA, 1999).
- Milner, C., 'An Assessment of the Overall Implementation and Adjustment Costs for the ACP Countries of Economic Partnership Agreements with the EU' Commonwealth Secretariat Report (September 2005).
- Minta, I., 'The Lomé Convention and the New International Economic Order' (1984) 27 *Howard Law Journal* 953–74.
- Mkandawire, T., 'Aid, Accountability and Democracy in Africa' (2010) 77 *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 1149–82.
- Mold, A. (ed.), *EU Development Policy in a Changing World: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).
- Montana, I., 'The Lomé Conventions from Inception to the Dynamics of Post-Cold War, 1957–1990s' (2003) 2 *African and Asian Studies* 63–97.
- Moore, M. (ed.), *Doha and Beyond: The Future of the Multicultural Trading System*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Moravcsik, A., 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51(4) *International Organisation* 513–66.
- Morgenthau, H., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948).
- Mosoti, V., 'Africa in the First Decade of WTO Dispute Settlement' (2006) 9 *Journal of International Economic Law* 427–53.
- Mourik, A.V., 'The Economic Theory of Customs Unions and Free Trade Areas' in Tacis & EIPA (ed.), *Free Trade Agreements and Customs Unions: Challenges and Constraints* (Brussels: EIPA, 1997).
- Moyo, D., *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa* (London: Penguin, 2010).
- Mukherji, I., 'Asian Economic Integration' in Anil Kumar Thakur and Adesh Sharma (eds), *Asian Economic Integration* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications PVT Ltd: 2008).
- Mulaudzi, C., 'New Regionalism in Southern Africa? Between South African Hegemony and Globalisation' (2009) XVI *Lusotopie* 47–65.

- Munck, R., 'Neoliberalism and Politics, and the Politics of Neoliberalism' in A. Saad-Filho and D. Johnston, *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Murray, R., *Human Rights in Africa: From the OAU to the African Union* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Naumann, E., 'Rules of Origin under EPAs: Key Issues and New Directions' in S. Bilal and R. Grynberg (eds), *Navigating New Waters: A Reader on ACP-EU Trade Relations* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007).
- Ndayi, Z., 'Contextualising NEPAD: Regionalism, Plurilateralism and Multilateralism' (2009) 16 *South African Journal of International Affairs* 371–87.
- Ndulu, B., L. Kritzinger-van Niekerk and R. Reinikka, 'Infrastructure, Regional Integration and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa' in FONDAD, *Africa in the World Economy – the National, Regional and International Challenges* (The Hague: FONDAD, 2005).
- Niekerk, J.P.V. and W.G. Schulze, *The South African Law of International Trade: Selected Topics* (SAGA Legal Publications, 2000).
- Nkrumah, K., 'The Voice of Africa' Speech by Osagyefo the President on the Opening of the Ghana External Broadcasting Service (27 October 1961) available 12 December 2016 at <http://www.nkrumah.net/index.html>.
- Nkrumah, K., 'Guide to Party Action: Address by Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah at the First Seminar at the Winneba Ideological School' (3 February 1961) available 12 December 2016 at <http://www.nkrumah.net/index.html>.
- North, D.C., 'The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development' in J. Harris, J. Hunter and C.M. Lewis (eds), *The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Nozick, R., *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford: Basic Books Ltd, 1974).
- Nussbaum, M., 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice' (2003) 9 *Feminist Economics* 33–59.
- Nwobike, J.C., 'The Emerging Trade Regime Under the Cotonou Partnership Agreement: Its Human Rights Implications' (2006) 40 *Journal of World Trade* 291–314.
- Ochieng, C., 'The EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements and the "Development Question": Constraints and Opportunities posed by Article XXIV and Special and Differential Treatment Provisions of the WTO' (2007) 10 *Journal of International Economic Law* 363–95.

- OECD, 'Agricultural Policies in OECD Countries: Monitoring and Evaluation' OECD Report (2009) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.oecd.org/agriculture/agriculturalpoliciesandsupport/43239979.pdf>.
- OECD, *Handbook on Economic Globalisation Indicators* (OECD, 2005).
- OECD and WTO, 'Aid for Trade Case Study: Caribbean Trade and Private Sector Development Programme (CTPSDP)-Phase II' Report dated 23 February 2011 available 19 December 2016 at <https://www.oecd.org/aidfortrade/47461989.pdf>.
- Oelbaum, J., 'Populist Reform Coalitions in Sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana's Triple Alliance' (2002) 36 *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 281–328.
- Ohmae, K., *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economics* (London: Harper Collins, 1995).
- Ojo, O. (ed.), *Africa and Europe: The Changing Economic Relationship* (London: Zed Books, 1996).
- Omotola, J.S., 'Globalisation, New Regionalism and the Challenge of Development in Africa' (2010) *Africana* 103–35.
- Onguglo, B. and T. Ito, 'In Defence of the ACP Submission on Special and Differential Treatment in GATT Article XXIV, ECDPM Discussion Paper 67 (2005).
- Oosthuizen, G., *The Southern African Development Community: The Organisation, its Policies and Prospects* (Midrand: Institute for Global Dialogue, 2006).
- Osaghae, E.E., 'The Character of the State, Legitimacy Crisis and Social Mobilisation in Africa: An Exploration of Form and Character' (1989) 14(2) *Journal of African Development* 27–47.
- Osborne, M., *An Introduction to Game Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Oshikoya, T., 'The Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations: Implications for Africa' in O. Ojo (ed.), *Africa and Europe: The Changing Economic Relationship* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996).
- Østergaard, T., 'Classical Models of Regional Integration – What Relevance for Southern Africa?' in B. Odén (ed.), *Southern Africa After Apartheid: Regional Integration and External Resources* (Nordic Africa Institute, 1993).
- Østergaard, T., *SADCC: A Political and Economic Survey* (Copenhagen: Danida, 1990).
- Outhwaite, W., *The Habermas Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).
- Oyejide, A., 'Development Dimensions in Multilateral Trade Negotiations' in M. Moore (ed.), *Doha and Beyond: The Future of the Multicultural Trading System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

- Panagariya, A., 'EU Preferential Trade Arrangements and Developing Countries' (2002) 25 *The World Economy* 1415–32.
- Panagariya, A., 'Preferential Trade Liberalisation: The Traditional Theory and New Developments' (2002) 38 *Journal of Economic Literature* 287–331.
- Panagariya, A. and R. Findlay, 'A Political-Economy Analysis of Free-Trade Areas and Customs Unions' in J. Bhagwati, P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (eds.), *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
- Panke, D., 'Lobbying Institutional Key Players: How States Seek to Influence the European Commission, the Council Presidency and the European Parliament' (2012) 50 *Journal of Common Market Studies* 129–50.
- Parsons, C., *How to Map Arguments in Political Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Pauwelyn, J., 'Legal Avenues to Multilateralising Regionalism: Beyond Article XXIV' in R. Baldwin and P. Low (eds), *Multilateralising Regionalism: Challenges for the Global Trading System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Pauwelyn, J., 'Enforcement and Countermeasures in the WTO: Rules are Rules – Toward a More Collective Approach' (2000) 94 *The American Journal of International Law* 335–47.
- Payne, R.A., 'Persuasion, Frames and Norm Construction' (2001) 7 *European Journal of International Relations* 37–61.
- Peel, J., 'A GMO By Any Other Name ... Might be an SPS risk! Implications of Expanding the Scope of the WTO Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures Agreement' (2000) 17 *European Journal of International Law* 1009–31.
- Perry-Kessaris, A., 'Reading the Story of Law and Embeddedness through a Community Lens: A Polanyi-meets-Cotterrell Economic Sociology of Law?' (2011) 62 *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* 401–13.
- Pitcher, A., M. Moran and M. Johnston, 'Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa' (2009) 52 *African Studies Review* 125–56.
- Prévost, D., 'Sanitary, Phytosanitary and Technical Barriers to Trade in the Economic Partnership Agreements between the European Union and the ACP countries' ICTSD Issue Paper No. 5 (August 2010).
- Pricewaterhouse Coopers, 'European Commission Regional Workshop on Sustainable Development and Regional Trade Agreements – Caribbean Workshop on Building Sustainable Development Issues into Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), Report of PwC (2006).

- Putte, L. van den and J. Orbie, 'EU Bilateral Trade Agreements and the Surprising Rise of Labour Provisions' (2015) 31 *International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations* 263–83.
- Qobo, M., 'The Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa in the Context of Globalisation and the Prospects for a United States of America' (2007) Institute for Security Studies Paper 145.
- Ramdoos, I., 'ECOWAS and SADC Economic Partnership Agreements: A Comparative Analysis', ECDPM Discussion Paper No. 165 (September 2014) available 19 December 2016 at www.ecdpm.org/publications.
- Ramsamy, P., 'SADC: Evolution and Perspectives' in G. Mills and C. Mutschler (eds), *Exploring South-South Dialogue: MERCOSUR in Latin America and SADC in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIIA, 1998).
- Ramsamy, P., 'Challenges and Prospects for Regional Integration Strategies in Southern Africa' in IMF (ed.), *Regional Economic Integration and the Globalisation Process: Report on the Proceedings of a Southern African Conference*, Windhoek 10–13 June 1998 (Dar-es-Salaam: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1998).
- Ravenhill, J., *Global Political Economy*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Ravenhill, J., *APEC and the Construction of Pacific Rim Regionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Reisen, M.V., 'The Enlarged European Union and the Developing World: What Future' in A. Mold (ed.), *EU Development Policy in a Changing World: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).
- Ricardo, D., *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (Dover: Dover Publications, 2004), first published 1817.
- Richardson, M., 'Endogenous Protection and Trade Diversion' in C. Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Riddell, J.B., 'Things Fall Apart Again: Structural Adjustment Programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa' (1992) *Journal of Modern African Studies* 53–68.
- Rodney, W., *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 2nd edn (Fahamu, Kenya: Pambazuka Press, 2012).
- Rogerson, C., 'The Turn to "New Regionalism": South African Reflections' (2009) 20 *Urban Forum* 111–40.
- Rosendorff, B.P., 'Stability and Rigidity: Politics and Design of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Procedure' (2005) 99(3) *American Political Science Review* 389–400.

- Roux, W., 'The Interim EPA: Why Namibia Shouldn't Sign', Pambazuka News Article, Issue 444 (30 July 2009) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/58067>.
- Ruggie, J.G., 'Embedded Liberalism and the Postwar Economic Regimes' in *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalisation* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Ruggie, J.G., *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalisation* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Ruggie, J.G. (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- Rutazibwa, O., 'The Problematics of the EU's Ethical (Self)Image in Africa: The EU as an "Ethical Intervener" and the 2007 Joint Africa-EU Strategy' (2010) *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 209–228.
- Saad-Filho, A. and D. Johnston, *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Sachs, J.D. and A.M. Werner, 'Sources of Slow Growth in African Economies' (1997) 6 *Journal of African Economies* 335–76.
- SADCC, 'Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation – A Declaration by the Governments of Independent States of Southern Africa' made at Lusaka 1 April 1980.
- SADC Secretariat, 'Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan' (Gaborone, 2003).
- Sandberg, H.M., J.L. Seale Jr. and T.G. Taylor, 'History, Regionalism and CARICOM Trade: A Gravity Model Analysis' (2006) 42 *The Journal of Development Studies* 795–811.
- Sands, P., 'International Law in the Field of Sustainable Development' (1994) LXV *BYIL* 303.
- Saner, R. and L. Paez, 'Technical Assistance to Least-Developed Countries in the Context of the Doha Development Round: High Risk of Failure' (2006) 40 *Journal of World Trade* 467–94.
- SANGOCO, 'South Africa Civil Society Speaks Out. Our Goals and Visions: Fighting Poverty and Inequality', SANGOCO Report, (September 2005).
- Samatar, A.I., 'Structural Adjustment as a Development Strategy? Bananas, Boom and Poverty in Somalia' (1993) 69 *African Development* 25–43.
- Saurombe, A., 'The Role of SADC Institutions in Implementing SADC Treaty Provisions Dealing with Regional Integration' (2012) 15 *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal* 454–85
- Scheiper, S. and D. Sicurelli, 'Empowering Africa. Normative Power in EU-Africa Relations' (2008) 15 *Journal of European Public Policy* 607–23.

- Schlemmer, E.C., 'South Africa and the WTO: Ten Years into Democracy' (2004) 29 *South African Yearbook of International Law* 125.
- Schraeder, P.J., *African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformation*, 2nd edn (Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth 2003).
- Sen, A., *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Senona, J., 'EPAs and Doha Round: Development or Discontent' (2009) 8 *Journal of International Trade Policy* 60–83.
- Sidaway, J.D., 'Post-Development' in V. Desai and R.B. Potter (eds), *The Companion to Development Studies*, 3rd edn (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Sidaway, J. and R. Gibb, 'SADC, COMESA & SACU: Contradictory Formats for Regional Integration in Southern Africa?' in D. Simon (ed.), *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region* (Oxford: James Curry Ltd, 1998).
- Simon, D., *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region* (Oxford: James Curry Ltd, 1998).
- Simon, H.A., 'Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science' (1985) 79(2) *American Political Science Review* 293–304.
- Sissoki, M., L. Osuji and W. Cheng, 'Impacts on the Yaoundé and Lomé Conventions on EC-ACP Trade' (1998) 1 *The African Economic and Business Review* 6–24.
- Skogstad, G., 'Ideas, Paradigms and Institutions: Agricultural Exceptionalism in the European Union and the United States' (2002) 11 *Governance* 463–90.
- Slocum-Bradley, N. and A. Bradley, 'Is the EU's Governance "Good"? An Assessment of EU Governance in its Partnership with ACP States' (2010) 31 *Third World Quarterly* 31–49.
- Smith, A., *Wealth of Nations* (London: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 2012) first published 1776.
- Smith, K., 'The ACP in the European Union's Network of Regional Relationships: Still Unique or Just One in the Crowd?' in K. Arts and A.K. Dickinson (eds), *EU Development Cooperation: From Model to Symbol* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
- Snape, R., 'History and Economics of GATT's Article XXIV' in C. Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Snidal, D., 'The Game Theory of International Politics' (1985) 38 *World Politics* 25–57.

- Snyman, A.F., 'Regional Organisations and Their Members: The Question of Authority' (2009) XLII *Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 189–209.
- Söderbaum, F., 'African Regionalism and EU-African Interregionalism' in M. Telò (ed.), *European Union and New Regionalism: Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Söderbaum, F., 'Exploring the Links between Micro-Regionalism and Macro-Regionalism' in M. Farrell, B. Hettne and L. van Langenhove (eds), *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).
- Söderbaum, F., *The Political Economy of Regionalism: The Case of Southern Africa* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).
- Söderbaum, F., 'Modes of Regional Governance in Africa: Neoliberalism, Sovereignty-Boosting and Shadow Networks' (2004) 10(4) *Global Governance* 419–36.
- Söderbaum, F. and A. Sbragia, 'EU Studies and the "New Regionalism": What can be Gained from Dialogue?' (2010) 32 *European Integration* 563–82.
- Söderbaum, F. and P Stålgren (eds), *The European Union and the Global South* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010).
- Söderbaum, F. and I. Taylor, *Regionalism and Uneven Development in Southern Africa: The Case of the Maputo Development Corridor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
- Söderbaum, F. and L. van Hangenhove, 'The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism' (2005) 27 *Journal of European Integration* 249–62.
- Soko, M., 'The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Southern Africa', Notre Europe Paper 63 (December 2007) accessed 13 December 2016 at <http://www.eng.notre-europe.eu/011-1481-The-Political-Economy-of-Regional-Integration-in-Southern-Africa.html>.
- Soko, M. and J.P. Lehmann, 'The State of Development in Africa: Concepts, Challenges and Opportunities' (2011) 14 *Journal of International Studies* 97–108.
- Sørensen, G., 'IR Theory after the Cold War' (1998) 24 *Review of International Studies* 83–100.
- South Centre, 'The EU-CARIFORUM EPA: Regulatory and Policy Changes and Lessons for other ACP Countries' Analytical Note SC/TDP/AN/EPA/32 (September 2013).
- South Centre, 'EPA Contentious Issues Matrix: Key Problems and Recommendations' Report (June 2010) Analytical Note, SC/TDP/AN/EPA/26.

- South Centre, 'Article XXIV and RTAs: How Much Wriggle Room for Developing Countries?' Analytical Note (December 2008) SC/AN/TDP/RTA.
- Spaak, T., 'Legal Positivism, Law's Normativity, and the Normative Force of Legal Justification' (2003) 16 *Ratio Juris* 469–85.
- Srinivasan, T.N., 'Nondiscrimination in the GATT/WTO: Was There Anything There to Begin With and is There Anything Left?' (2005) 4 *World Trade Review* 69–95.
- Stein, A., 'The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States and the International Economic Order' (1984) 38 *International Organization* 355–86.
- Stevens, C., 'The EU, Africa and EPAs: Unintended Consequences of Policy Leverage' (2006) 44 *Journal of Modern African Studies* 441–58.
- Stevens, C., 'The Single European Market: Opportunities and Challenges in Trade' in O. Ojo (ed.), *Africa and Europe: The Changing Economic Relationship* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996).
- Stoneman, C. and C. Thompson, 'Trade Partners or Trading Deals: The EU and US in Southern Africa' (2007) 34 *Review of African Political Economy* 227–45.
- Storey, A., 'Normative Power Europe? Economic Partnership Agreements and Africa' (2006) 24 *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 331–46.
- Summers, L.H., 'Regionalism and the World Trading System' in C. Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Preferential Trading Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Sunstein, C., 'On Analogical Reasoning' (1993) 106 *Harvard Law Review* 741–91.
- Sykes, A.O., 'Regulatory Protectionism and the Law of International Trade' (1999) 66 *The University of Chicago Law Review* 1–46.
- Tannenwald, N., 'Ideas and Explanation: Advancing the Theoretical Agenda' (2005) 7 *Journal of Cold War Studies* 13–42.
- Tar, U., 'The Challenges of Democracy and Democratisation in Africa and the Middle East' (2010) 3 *Information, Justice and Society* 81–94.
- Taylor, I., 'South African "Imperialism" in a Region Lacking Regionalism: A Critique' (2011) 32 *Third World Quarterly* 1233–53.
- Taylor, I., 'Can NEPAD Succeed without Prior Political Reform?' (2005) Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, Working Paper No. 2005/23.
- Taylor, I., 'Commentary: The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Prospects and Challenges' (2002) 101 *African Affairs* 403–12.
- Telò, M., *Europe: A Civilian Power?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

- Teunissen, J.J. (ed.), *Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Africa* (The Hague: FONDAD, 1996).
- Tharakan, P.K.M., 'European Union and Preferential Arrangements' (2002) 25 *The World Economy* 1387–98.
- Theobald, R., 'Patrimonialism' (1982) 34 *World Politics* 548–59.
- Thomson, A., *An Introduction to African Politics*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2010).
- Thompson, C.B., 'Regional Challenges to Globalisation: Perspectives from Southern Africa' (2000) 5 *New Political Economy* 41–57.
- Torvik, R., 'Natural Resources, Rent Seeking and Welfare' (2002) 67 *Journal of Development Economics* 455–70.
- Traidcraft, 'Economic Partnership Agreements: Building or shattering African regional integration?' Traidcraft Report (May 2007) available 9 December 2016 at <http://www.traidcraft.co.uk>.
- Traidcraft, 'The Low Down on EPAs', Traidcraft Trade Update, Issue 6 (October –December 2006) available 9 December 2016 at <http://www.traidcraft.co.uk>.
- Tralac 'The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan: SADC's trade-led Integration Agenda' tralac Trade Brief S12TB02/2012 (2012) available 12 December 2016 at: <https://www.tralac.org/publications/article/4612-the-regional-indicative-strategic-development-plan-sadc-s-trade-led-integration-agenda.html>.
- Trebilcock, M. and M.M. Prado, *An Advanced Introduction to Law & Development* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2014).
- Tsie, B., 'States and Markets in the Southern African Development Community (SADC): Beyond the Neoliberal Paradigm' (1996) 22(1) *Journal of Southern African Studies* 75–98.
- Tsolo, M., I. Mogotsi and G. Motlaleng, 'The Impact of European Union-South Africa Trade Development and Cooperation Agreement on Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland' (2010) 3 *Review of Economic and Business Studies* 135.
- Udombana, N., 'Back to Basics: The ACP-EU Cotonou Trade Agreement and Challenges for the African Union' (2004) 40 *Texas International Law Journal* 59–108.
- Ukpe, A.I., 'Will EPAs Foster the Integration of Africa into World Trade?' (2010) 54(2) *Journal of African Law* 212–31.
- Ulmer, K., 'Trade Embedded Development Models' (2015) 31 *International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations* 305–29.
- Ulrich-Petersmann, E., 'The WTO Constitution and Human Rights' (2000) *Journal of International Economic Law* 19–25.

- UNECA, 'Economic Report on Africa 2012: Unleashing Africa's Potential as a Pole of Global Growth' (UNECA, 2012), 19–20, accessed 13 December 2016 at <http://repository.uneca.org/bitstream/handle/10855/21725/Bib-69455.pdf?sequence=1>.
- UNECA, 'Economic Report on Africa 2011' (UNECA, 2011), 34 available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.uneca.org/publications/economic-report-africa-2011>.
- Unger, R.M., *What Should Legal Analysis Become?* (London: Verso, 1996).
- UNICE, 'Economic Partnership Agreements with Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Countries: UNICE Position on the EPA Process' Executive Summary (9 May 2005) available 19 December 2016 at <http://www.business-europe.eu>.
- United Nations, 'The Millennium Development Goals Report 2012', United Nations Report (2 July 2012) available 19 December 2016 at <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Default.aspx>.
- United Nations, 'Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: *Our Common Future*' (Brundtland Report) of March 1987.
- Vandenbergh, J., 'On Carrots and Sticks: The Social Dimension of EU Trade Policy' (2008) 13 *European Foreign Affairs Review* 561–81.
- van Reizen, M., 'The Enlarged European Union and the Developing World: What Future?' in A. Mold (ed.), *EU Development Policy in a Changing World: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).
- Vickers, B., 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Small States in the EU-SADC EPA Negotiations' (2011) 100 *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 183–97.
- Viner, J., *The Customs Union Issue* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1950).
- Walker, A., 'The EU-SADC EPA: The Moment of Truth for Regional Integration', *Trade Negotiation Insights* 8(6), August 2009, available 19 December 2016 at <http://ictsd.org/i/news/tni/52416/>.
- Waltz, K., *The Theory of International Politics* (Lake Zurich, IL: Wave-land Press, 1979).
- Wang, J, I. Masha, K. Shirono and L. Harris, 'The Common Monetary Area in Southern Africa: Shocks, Adjustment, and Policy Challenges', IMF Working Paper, WP/07/158 (2007).
- Warleigh-Lack, A., 'Towards a Conceptual Framework for Regionalisation: Bridging "New Regionalism" and "Integration Theory"' (2006) 13 *Review of International Political Economy* 750–71.

- Warleigh-Lack, A. and B. Rosamund, 'Across the EU Studies – New Regionalism Frontier: Invitation to a Dialogue' (2010) 48 *Journal of Common Market Studies* 993–1013.
- Watson, M., 'The Historical Roots of Theoretical Traditions in Global Political Economy' in J. Ravenhill, *Global Political Economy*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Weber, M., *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* Vol. 1, G. Roth and C. Wittich (eds) (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978).
- Weber, M., *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, A.M. Henderson and T. Parsons (trans.) (New York: The Free Press, 1947).
- Welch, C., 'Human Rights and Development: NGOs' in P. Zeleza and P. McConaughay (eds), *Human Rights, The Rule of Law, and Development in Africa* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Wendt, A., 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics' (1992) 46 *International Organisation* 391–425.
- Winters, A., 'Preferential Trading Agreements: Friend or Foe?' in K. Bagwell and P. Mavroidis (eds), *Preferential Trade Agreements: A Law and Economics Analysis* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Wonnacott, P. and R. Wonnacott, 'Is Unilateral Tariff Reduction Preferable to a Customs Union? The Curious Case of Missing Tariffs' in C. Freund (ed.), *The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreements* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2007).
- Woolfrey, S., 'State of Play in SADC-EU EPA Negotiations' in A. Bösl, G. Erasmus, T. Hartzenberg and C. McCarthy, *Monitoring Regional Integration in Southern Africa Yearbook 2009* (tralac, 2009).
- World Bank, 'Global Development Finance: External Debt of Developing Countries' (2012) available 19 December 2016 at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/gdf2010.pdf>.
- World Bank, *African Development Indicators 2010* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2010).
- World Bank, *Trade Blocs: A World Bank Policy Research Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- World Bank, *Governance, The World Bank's Experience* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1994).
- World Bank, *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth: A Long Term Perspective Study* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1989).

- World Trade Organisation, 'Report (2012) of the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements to the General Council' 26 November 2012 WT/REG/22.
- World Trade Organisation, 'Note on the Meeting of 20 March 2012' Sixty-fourth Session of the CRTA, WT/REG/M/64 (16 April 2012).
- World Trade Organisation, 'The WTO and preferential trade agreements: From co-existence to coherence' WTO Report (2011).
- World Trade Organisation, *WTO Annual Report 2009* (Geneva: WTO, 2009).
- World Trade Organisation, 'Submission on Regional Trade Agreements: Japan Comments on the ACP Paper TN/RL/W/155', WTO Negotiating Group on Rules, TN/RL/W/165 of 8 October 2004.
- World Trade Organisation, 'Development aspects of regional trade agreements and special and differential treatment in WTO rules: GATT 1994 Article XXIV and the Enabling Clause' Submission by the ACP to the WTO Negotiating Group on Rules, TN/RL/W/155 of 28 April 2004.
- World Trade Organisation, 'Trade Policy Review: Southern African Customs Union', Report by the Secretariat WT/TPR/S/114 (Geneva: WTO, 2003).
- World Trade Organisation, Singapore Ministerial Declaration, adopted 13 December 1996 (WT/MIN(96)/DEC).
- Young, A., 'Trade Politics Ain't What it Used to Be: The European Union in the Doha Round' (2007) 45 *Journal of Common Market Studies* 789–811.
- Zacarias, A., 'From Closed to Open Regionalism' in G. Mills and C. Mutschler (eds), *Exploring South-South Dialogue: MERCOSUR in Latin America and SADC in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIIA, 1999).
- Zahrni, V., 'How Regionalization can be a Pillar of a More Effective World Trade Organisation' (2005) 39 *Journal of World Trade* 671–99.
- Zezeza, P. and P. McConaughay (eds), *Human Rights, The Rule of Law, and Development in Africa* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).