

respectively. Canada ranked 20 out of 24 with its 0.5 percent contribution (although the accuracy of these figures is questioned by External Affairs officials). Overall, however, it is not any single national government's programme, but the collective effort made through multilateral institutions, first among them the European Communities which account for the major contribution to CEEC reforms. As Appendix II shows, multilateral organizations provided 38 percent of all PHARE assistance. The EC gave 33 percent of this total, followed by the World Bank (29 percent).

Who benefits from Western assistance? The changing scope of assistance mirrors the changes in post-Cold War politics. PHARE initially concerned only Poland and Hungary, the first countries to embrace market reforms and multiparty elections. The basic direction of Western decision-making since has been to expand the aid programme to the other CEEC as soon as reform governments are elected to power. Very quickly, in February 1990, the senior experts considered the request of five other CEEC anxious to benefit from the battery of programmes already offered to Poland and Hungary. The European Commission then launched fact-finding missions to assess whether commitment to reform justified extending PHARE to the GDR, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic), Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, other Western organizations went ahead to include Czechoslovakia. For example, NATO's Coordinating Committee (COCOM) liberalized its strategic export controls, and the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) negotiated cooperation agreements with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Finally, the G-24 Foreign Ministers officially extended PHARE programmes to the five other CEEC at the July 1990 summit.

In fact, not all former communist party states have been equally favoured. The G-24 first offered assistance to Romania in principle but not in practice — its government was in bad odour after allowing violent repression of civilian demonstrations. All aid would be withheld until Western concerns about political liberties could be allayed. Only in January 1991 was Romania given the benefit of the doubt. After receiving reports from two parliamentary groups, the G-24 senior officials "noted progress in the reform process in Romania and therefore agreed to extend economic assistance to this country."¹¹ For quite other reasons, the GDR received only limited G-24 aid. Once the two Germanys were slated for unification, the donor governments agreed to continue some project lending to the GDR, but to cancel its eligibility as at year-end 1991. Albania, despite radical political change, still waits at the gates, having received only emergency humanitarian aid.

11 Commission of the European Communities, Press Release, Brussels, 20 January 1991.