

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

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Address delivered on
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to both Houses of the
Malagasy National Assembly
in Tananarive

Official visit to Madagascar

**Address by President Malfatti
before both Houses
of the Malagasy National Assembly
(Tananarive, 23 November 1971)**

1. At the end of a visit which, alas, has been only too short, but which has none the less been rich in experience and meetings with friends, I am very touched by the remarkable honour of being able to address such an eminent assembly.

Among the growing number of Europeans taking an interest in the association linking your and African countries to the European Community — I was one such European well before taking up my post in Brussels — the general opinion is that one is not really familiar with the association unless one is familiar with Madagascar.

Please do not think this is simply a tribute to your country's beauty and its renowned hospitality. It is, on a deeper level recognition of your country's very pronounced national personality which enriches the diversity of our association and enhances the solidarity it has forged. It is also recognition of the part your country has played in the setting up and the coming into their own of the joint institutions of our association, and among them it is only right that on this occasion I should single out your Parliament.

As representatives of the Malagasy people, you directly interpret the aspirations and needs of your people. Your

daily duties bring you into contact with complex realities and bestow on you a privileged and difficult rôle in the service of democracy and of your country's economic and social development.

In playing this rôle you have also served our association, not only by ratifying Yaoundé Conventions I and II on two occasions after very thorough debate, but also by being host to the Parliamentary Joint Committee and the plenary Parliamentary Conference of the Association, institutions in which the Malagasy delegation has always played a major rôle.

2. May I first of all say how much my stay here has been a unique opportunity to progress beyond a purely second-hand knowledge of Madagascar and to come into direct and physical contact with your country. During my talks with President Tsiranana and with senior members of your Government, and throughout my travels in your country, I have been very impressed by the ideals and desire for progress cherished by the whole of the Malagasy people.

Your unflinching efforts are being made against a backcloth of difficulties that are only too obvious. It is sufficient to mention: Madagascar's geographic isolation, the caprices of its climate, its mountainous topography, the uneven distribution of its population — all physical factors which hamper and complicate any promotion of development.

3. But in view of the fact that these obstacles have not frustrated you, that you have confronted your difficulties with determination and that you are already beginning to achieve results, I see an unmistakable example and hope. It is in this context that the traditional friendship between Europe and Madagascar is important and vital. Henceforth there is nothing standing in the way of solidarity between us

based on mutual respect of each other's personalities and on an open attitude towards exchanges of whatever kind, or of a natural affinity demonstrated by your parallel opting for peace and development.

4. The last quarter-century has been marked by a series of fundamental changes in the international order. I would like here to refer in particular to two closely connected developments which primarily concern relations between Europe, Africa and Madagascar.

The first of these changes was the abandonment by the countries of Europe of nationalism of a kind which in the past had led to so many conflicts: the work of building up a European Community is part of this completely new approach. The second change, beyond decolonization, was the re-establishment of balanced relations, based on reciprocal respect of national sovereignty, between States which had for a time been connected by unequal ties.

The building of Europe and the introduction of a free association between this Europe and the African States and Madagascar have gone hand in hand. These two developments represent a beneficial turnabout, unprecedented in history, in relations between States. The difficulties which both these enterprises have encountered and are still encountering — difficulties that are only to be expected in such ambitious undertakings — should not obscure this essential fact.

5. In a world which is rapidly becoming smaller as technology progresses, no country can any longer plan its future in isolation. These facts, together with the traumatic memories and lessons of the last world war, led to the decision by six West European countries at the beginning of the 'fifties to place the development of their national

identities within a common enterprise: the European Community. Its aim was economic integration which, by preparing the way for political unity at a later date, would at last provide a permanent guarantee of peace and prosperity for the peoples of Europe.

Europe therefore has tried at last to replace the short-lived and cruel force of arms by the more difficult, but much more rousing challenge of cooperation and mutual enrichment.

Before considering the new links which this newly emerging Europe is striving to form with Madagascar and its African partners, I should like briefly to recall the European Community's achievements and present activity.

6. Although pragmatic and concentrated on certain sectors of the economy at the outset, the Member States' venture has been taking definite shape over the years. The first links were forged in 1953 with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community. The pooling of resources in these two industries, which were fundamental to the economy at that time, and the setting up of an institutional system proper to them, marked the beginnings of a path which led to the far more ambitious decision to set up the European Economic Community. The Treaty of Rome, which lays down the aims to be achieved, was signed in 1967. Since then, customs barriers between Member States have been dismantled, a common customs tariff has been introduced and common policies, with a variety of aims and results, have been prepared and implemented. In short, at the end of the sixties, the main aims which the drafters of the Treaty had set themselves had been achieved. But the results obtained also illustrated the scale of the new tasks to be achieved if integration were to reach the point of no return.

7. In December 1969, therefore, the Heads of State or Government of the Six met in The Hague to open the way for new moves to build up the Community. The conclusions and developments arising out of the Hague Conference may be summarized under three headings: completion, strengthening and enlargement of the Community.

Although the bulk of the provisions of the Treaty of Rome had been implemented, some items had fallen behind schedule. The first point was therefore to ensure that the initial commitments of the Common Market had been fulfilled.

The logic of past achievements required that the Community — if it were not to lose ground, to be watered down to just a trade bloc — should transform itself into an economic and monetary union. The Community has been working towards such a profound change over the last two years.

The changeover — at present under way — from a Community of Six to a Community of Ten is the natural complement to the desire for the unification of Europe expressed at The Hague. In all probability, therefore, the Community will open its doors to Britain, Norway, Denmark and Ireland on 1 January 1973. It will then have a population of 240 million, be the world's major trading power and, potentially, its second industrial economy.

8. These facts are not unknown to you, Gentlemen. If I have mentioned them, it is because I believe that the search for unity and power connected with them cannot be an aim in itself for Europe. It is true that, in the first place, the peoples of Europe are striving for unity for themselves, to do away with long-standing divisions and to increase their prosperity. It is also true that the pace of technological

change highlights in many fields the inadequacy of national resources and the need to pool them. This unprecedented historical change, however, will not be achieved by a Europe built pacifically for the sole purpose of greater material benefits. A programme to mobilize action is required; it must look beyond national egotism and the bald logic of economics. In a world where all manner of inequalities abound, where the gap between growth rates, far from narrowing, widens as time goes by, an increasingly bold policy of cooperation for development can and must be — I am convinced — one of these programmes mobilizing Community action.

9. What is needed is not to introduce radical innovation so much as to strengthen and extend a system of cooperation which, for the most part, has already had a proven framework over many years in the association between the Community and the AASM. On the eve of the enlargement to which I have just referred, and at a time when a serious monetary and trade crisis is having an adverse effect on international economic relations, it is perhaps worthwhile to take stock of what our policy of cooperation has achieved and the current and potential problems; then to examine in what way and on what bases this policy could be intensified.

I shall certainly not embark on a detailed analysis of the association's functioning, past and present, before an assembly such as yours. Please allow me, however, to stress some of the underlying principles which appear to us essential and — whatever improvements may be introduced in the future — should therefore be retained.

10. The association owes its origins to historical, geographic, economic and cultural factors which have shaped the relations between the member countries of the Community and the countries today associated with it. While the Community agreed to take on special responsibilities towards the associates, the latter wished to transform the former links by engaging with Europe in active cooperation on an equal footing. The original pattern of the association's policy was built up on this mutual trust and commitment. In this way, the policy has acquired a significance which goes far beyond that of a purely trade and financial agreement. It expresses a fundamental choice, political in nature and represented in concrete form by the association's Institutions. In 1963 — nearly a decade ago now — the first Yaoundé Convention placed the association on the basis of a dialogue between legally equal partners and to this end set up joint institutions for decision-making, consultation and arbitration. In 1969 the second Yaoundé Convention confirmed the principles and organization of the association.

This institutionalized dialogue has enabled the association — a living body — to modify and adapt the way it is run to meet the wishes and needs of the various partners. We have had constant proof of this flexibility of adaptation in both financial and technical cooperation and trade cooperation.

11. Financial and technical cooperation between the Community and the AASM may be summarized in one name, the European Development Fund, whose activity is supplemented by that of the European Investment Bank. Here again I shall not dwell on past achievements. It is, of course, important to know that during the life of the first Yaoundé Convention, Community aid totalled \$ 800 million, and that for the period covered by the present Convention the figure

has been increased to \$1 000 million. Similarly, whereas aid in the form it has usually taken in the last few decades has had the effect of bringing the indebtedness of the developing countries up to an intolerable level, it is not unimportant that the Community's cooperation has largely been in the form of grants. Having recalled these basic facts, I should now like above all to draw attention to the detailed working of our cooperation, since this reveals most about the nature of the links we have forged together.

The basic choices as to how Community aid is to be used, are left to the Associated States. This obviously does not exclude the fact that, for technical reasons and in order to organize better the utilization of funds during the five-year period of the Convention, the Community bodies liaise closely with the authorities in the Associated States. This concerted action makes it possible to examine the various schemes put forward for financing and to adopt the list of projects which will finally be given Community financial backing. Notwithstanding this, it is always up to the beneficiaries of cooperation to submit projects and decide priorities. They also prepare the dossiers and award contracts, in accordance with procedures determined by common accord. And, finally, it is their job as placers of the contracts, to direct the operations for each project.

I have felt it necessary to stress the capital rôle played by each Associated State in the administration of our financial cooperation because I believe that this is a very concrete example of a principle of policy of much more general application; I am here referring to the principle of mutual respect of the sovereignty of all partners in our association. This sovereignty is limited only by rules freely accepted in the common interest.

The proof of my point is quite simply provided by the fact that for over twelve years, twenty-four countries have been developing and have voluntarily maintained with each other

their association links, although these countries differ in almost every conceivable way in their internal political and economic systems and in their foreign relations.

This solidarity in diversity has only been possible because the association has always respected the independence of its members and placed its goal of human progress above the vicissitudes of politics.

This concept of the administration of cooperation, and the guidelines set by the association's institutions — I am here of course, thinking of the Council and the Parliamentary Conference — have enabled the Community's financial support to be adapted in the best possible way to the development requirements of each Associated State and to its sovereignly chosen policies.

Although efforts had initially been directed almost exclusively towards setting up and modernizing infrastructure, emphasis is now being placed on stimulating industrial growth too. To do this measures to stimulate investment are needed. The European Development Fund has therefore progressively developed and widened the range of its means of action. Some of the formulae that have been introduced by joint agreement, are participation in companies' venture capital and loans to development banks.

12. What better example could be chosen to illustrate how the technical and financial cooperation just described in broad outline works in practice than the relations between the Community and Madagascar. In accordance with the guidelines of the 1964-1968 five-year plan, over half the \$70 million which the Community was able to make available to Madagascar under the second EDF was concentrated on developing agricultural production, the remainder being earmarked for infrastructure, particularly transport. As for the third Fund — the current one — we are likewise

guided by the lines laid down by Madagascar in connection with its programme of major projects and preparations for the new five-year plan. The prime aims are still the development of production, especially in agriculture, and improved transport infrastructure. The first \$20 million earmarked for Madagascar by the third Fund are being used for this strategy. Good examples are the Community's participation in the scheme to improve rice productivity in the uplands and in the development of the Andapa basin.

13. While, by and large, the financial and technical side of the association appears to have operated with a sufficient degree of adaptability, can the same be said for its trade aspect? Problems arise in this field which, as we shall see later, the association must overcome. However, the new tasks awaiting the association must not make us forget what has already been achieved.

Free trade areas have been established between the Community and each of the Associated States. In addition, the Community has tried to facilitate the AASM's participation in the international economic scene through specific aids to increase the competitiveness of their economies.

The establishment, however, of free trade areas — 18 in all, between the EEC and each of the Association States — was in no way to constitute an obstacle to the diversification of the AASM's economies or, in particular, to their industrialization. This explains in the first place why the Associated States, though they liberalized their imports by 1968-69 as regards quotas, have none the less been able to avail themselves of the facility expressly provided for in the Yaoundé Convention of maintaining or intensifying import restrictions if their development needs, balance of payments or the need to protect infant industries so requires.

Still on the subject of industrialization, which is often hampered by the small size of some domestic markets, I would

point out that the association conventions by no means forbid the maintenance or establishment of customs unions, free trade areas or economic cooperation agreements between the Associated States. Examples are the UDEAC (Central African Customs and Economic Union), the UDEAO (West African Customs Union), and, more recently the CEAO (West African Economic Community). This taking into consideration of the optimum « regional » scale of development has become more prominent recently and the AASM and the Community have by joint agreement decided to pay greater attention, in financing schemes through the European Development Fund, to those which are multinational in scope. It is true that in Madagascar's case your geographic isolation and your country's size mean that this problem of the optimum regional scale of development is raised in a very special way.

14. I have given a broad outline of the workings of the association on which the AASM and the Community have embarked, but it is not for me of course to utter a unilateral value judgment. Notwithstanding, how can one refrain from making the point that all the partners wish to maintain and develop this joint enterprise into a setting of ever greater solidarity? The renewal of the Yaoundé Convention has recently furnished proof of this desire. Indeed, fears expressed during the negotiations on the enlargement of the Community show the value which the AASM and the Community attach to the association. And need one mention the uncertainties which have been hanging over the world economy, and especially the economies of the developing countries, following President Nixon's announcement in August of various domestic and external economic measures? At this worrying time, the association and its instruments provide a guarantee of stability, the significance of which is obvious to all.

It is in the light of enlargement and of the international crisis that I believe that certain problems confronting our cooperation policy should be examined, and also criticisms levelled at it.

15. At a time when negotiations on enlarging the EEC are under way, the possible repercussions of new members, especially of British membership, on the Community's policy of cooperation for development have given rise to some questioning. One principle has, however, been upheld clearly in all the solutions arrived at: enlargement may in no way call into question what has already been achieved by the Community in the association. The present trade agreements, financial assistance and joint bodies will be retained and extended to include those English-speaking African countries of the Commonwealth that wish to accede to the Yaoundé Convention. Any widening of the association must in no way diminish the benefits enjoyed by its original members. These principles, which the Community was ready to defend vigorously, were — I must make this point — accepted by the future members without any reserves and will be formally embodied in the Accession Treaty.

Indeed in this light enlargement offers an opportunity to intensify and improve the association as it is. To this end it is likely that various adjustments to the trade arrangements will have to be made. Tariff regulations alone are not enough to solve the serious difficulties faced by the commodity producing countries which depend for the most part on one crop. The answer given during the enlargement negotiations to the problem of Commonwealth sugar provides an indication of the kind of solutions which might be applied to similar problems arising in the AASM. The principle of such an approach seems to me to be already established.

16. This determination on both sides to round off the association should not make us forget the criticisms from outside to which it has given rise. In a world faced with the global problem of underdevelopment, there have been various conflicting approaches in the search for solutions. Two types of criticism have been levelled against the cooperation between Europe and Madagascar and between Europe and Africa. The first type, general in nature, contrasts « regional » and « world » solutions, only to condemn the former. The second, more specific and mostly advanced by certain big industrial nations, is aimed at particular aspects of the association, chiefly trade. Criticism of either type — need I add — does not seem to any of us to be justified.

17. The argument about a « world » or « regional » approach is based on a false premise. There is no question of opting for one or other approach but of combining them in order to ensure that cooperation for development is as effective as possible. It happens that, of all the developing countries, the Associated States are among the least developed. Hence the Community's special commitment on their behalf is seen primarily as an attempt to level out the inequalities between the developing countries themselves, since these inequalities would only hinder the application of more general measures and reduce their effectiveness. Seen in these terms, the association does not exclude but is rather the indispensable complement to such measures.

Far from shirking its responsibility, Europe is participating actively in the moves at world level to reduce the differences in development. For example, after consulting its partners in the association and after taking a number of precautions to protect its legitimate interests, the Community implemented its offer of generalized preferences on 1 July of this year. Similarly, in its recent memorandum on

cooperation matters, the Commission of the European Communities recommends an intensified Community policy which would at the same time meet needs in connection with cooperation with the Associated States and fulfil requirements deriving from better coordinated action at international level on the broadest basis.

It is obvious that the decisions taken on 15 August by the US Authorities — in particular on monetary matters, aid and the implementation of generalized preferences — have substantially modified the opportunities for a balanced approach to the problems of world cooperation for development. While there is no doubt about the Community's desire to participate on the broadest international basis in the search for the right solutions, it is nonetheless clear that the method we have adopted to reconcile our world obligations with our regional responsibilities is today seriously jeopardized. Our hope remains that — as our friendly relations with the Associated States strengthen naturally — we will be able to take part in a general attempt to introduce mechanisms which can meet the expectations and needs of the developing countries as a whole. But the Community will take care that, whatever the outcome of the present crisis, the solutions to be finally adopted will not harm the interests of the Associated States, and indeed will offer them better opportunities for establishing themselves — profitably — in the world trade network.

18. I would like finally to come back to the reproaches levelled by outsiders at the trade aspects of the association. Examination of the trend of the Associated States' foreign trade during recent years shows that reproaches of this kind are totally unjustified. The « preferential » policy, as it is called, has by no means stood in the way of the development or diversification of the Associated States' trade flows, nor of the intensification of trade between the

Community and other developing countries. As to the main point of contention, the repercussions of the Euro-African and Euro-Malagasy free trade areas on trade trends, consideration of foreign trade statistics suffices to show that the association has in no way hindered the diversification of the AASM's trade. To take only one example — the most telling — the Community's exports to the Associated States have doubled during the period covered by the two Yaoundé Conventions, whereas US exports to the AASM trebled during the same period. With these figures is it really necessary to say anything more?

19. As I come to the end of my speech, and before thanking you for the kind attention you have given me, I should like to reaffirm my confidence in the future of our Association. Paradoxically, the criticisms of which it has been the target — and as we have seen they are unfounded — are proof of its vitality. The firm resolve to cooperate which is its basis is the fundamental element without which any institutional enterprise would be doomed to failure. For, and here I quote Mr Pearson, « cooperation for development means more than a simple transfer of funds. It means a set of new relationships which must be founded on mutual understanding and self-respect ». I believe that the Community and the Associated States have succeeded in this undertaking without precedent. This is reason for satisfaction and confidence, but it must also spur us on to do all in our power to develop all the potentialities of the system we have created. The stakes are very high: as President Tsiranana has already had occasion to say: « What is at stake is the happiness of our peoples and peace ».

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EXTRAITS DU DISCOURS PRONONCÉ PAR M. LE PRÉSIDENT MALFATTI
DEVANT LES DEUX CHAMBRES DE L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE MALGACHE

(Tananarive, le 23 novembre 1971)

Après avoir souligné le rôle éminent de la République malgache dans l'Association entre la Communauté européenne et les E.A.M.A., le Président Malfatti a fait brièvement l'historique des relations entre les deux Parties et brossé le cadre général dans lequel ces relations sont appelées à se développer; déclarant notamment: "Au moment où se sont engagées les négociations en vue de l'élargissement de la CEE, les répercussions possibles des nouvelles adhésions - principalement de l'adhésion britannique - sur la politique communautaire de coopération au développement n'ont pas été sans soulever un certain nombre d'interrogations. Dans les réponses qui ont été apportées jusqu'ici, un principe a été posé avec netteté: l'élargissement ne doit en aucune manière remettre en question l'acquis communautaire dans le domaine de l'Association. Les dispositions commerciales, l'assistance financière et les institutions paritaires existantes seront maintenues et élargies aux pays africains anglophones du Commonwealth, qui souhaiteraient adhérer à la convention de Yaoundé. Cette extension éventuelle ne devra en aucun cas réduire les avantages dont bénéficient les premiers Associés. Ces principes que la Communauté était prête à défendre avec rigueur, ont été acceptés - je dois le dire - sans réticence aucune par les futurs adhérents et ils devront trouver une expression formelle dans le traité d'adhésion.

Sur ces bases, l'élargissement apparaît au contraire comme l'occasion d'un renforcement et d'une amélioration de l'Association existante. A cet égard, certains aménagements du régime commercial devront vraisemblablement être envisagés. En effet, les simples dispositions tarifaires ne suffisent plus à résoudre les graves difficultés des pays producteurs de matières premières, principalement des monoculteurs. La réponse qui, lors des négociations d'élargissement, a été donnée au problème du sucre du Commonwealth, fournit une indication sur les solutions qui pourraient être apportées aux problèmes analogues se posant aux EAMA. Le principe d'une action en ce sens me paraît d'ores et déjà acquis.

Cette détermination commune à parfaire l'Association ne doit pas nous faire oublier les critiques externes auxquelles elle a donné lieu. Dans un monde confronté au problème global du sous-développement, la recherche de solutions a vu s'opposer plusieurs approches. Deux types de critiques ont ainsi été formulées à l'égard de la construction euro-malgache et eurafricaine. L'une, générale, tend à mettre en opposition solutions "régionales" et solutions mondiales pour condamner les premières. L'autre, plus spécifique et émanant essentiellement de certains grands pays industrialisés, porte sur des aspects partiels de l'Association, principalement sur son volet commercial. L'une et l'autre de ces critiques - ai-je besoin de le dire - ne nous semblent ni aux uns, ni aux autres fondées.

La querelle du "mondialisme" et du "régionalisme" repose sur un faux problème. Il ne s'agit en aucun cas d'opter entre l'une ou l'autre des deux approches, mais de les combiner, afin d'assurer à la coopération au développement son maximum d'efficacité. Il se trouve que de tous les pays en voie de développement, les Etats associés sont parmi les plus défavorisés. Dès lors, l'engagement particulier de la Communauté à leur égard paraît d'abord comme un effort de compensation à des inégalités existant entre pays en voie de développement eux-mêmes, inégalités qui ne pourraient que faire obstacle à l'application et à l'efficacité de mesures de portée plus générale. Ainsi conçue, l'Association n'exclut pas, mais au contraire se présente comme le volet complémentaire indispensable de telles mesures.

L'Europe ne se dérobe pas, mais bien à l'opposé participe activement aux efforts déployés sur le plan mondial pour réduire les écarts de développement. Ainsi, après avoir consulté ses partenaires des EAMA et pris un certain nombre de précautions destinées à sauvegarder leurs intérêts légitimes, la Communauté a mis en vigueur le 1er juillet dernier son offre en matière de préférences généralisées. De même, dans son récent memorandum sur les problèmes de la coopération, la Commission des Communautés européennes préconise une politique communautaire renforcée où, simultanément, seraient satisfaits les impératifs de la coopération avec ses associés et les exigences d'une action mieux coordonnée sur le plan international le plus large.

Il est évident que les décisions prises le 15 août dernier par les autorités américaines - en particulier dans les domaines monétaires, de l'aide ou de la mise en vigueur des préférences généralisées - modifient sensiblement les données d'une approche équilibrée des problèmes de la coopération mondiale au développement. Sans remettre en cause la volonté de la Communauté de participer sur le plan international le plus large à la recherche de moyens adéquats, il est évident que la voie que nous avons suivie pour concilier nos obligations mondiales avec nos responsabilités régionales se trouve aujourd'hui gravement hypothéquée. Notre souhait reste que - dans l'approfondissement naturel de nos relations amicales avec les Etats associés - nous puissions participer à un effort général visant à mettre sur pied des mécanismes susceptibles de répondre à l'attente et aux besoins de l'ensemble des pays en voie de développement. Mais la Communauté veillera, quelle que soit l'issue de la crise actuelle, à ce que les solutions qui prévaudront en définitive, non seulement n'affectent pas les intérêts des Etats associés, mais bien au contraire leur offrent des chances accrues de s'insérer avec profit dans le réseau des échanges internationaux.

Je voudrais revenir enfin sur les reproches qui ont été adressés, de l'extérieur, aux dispositions commerciales de l'Association. Si on examine l'évolution des échanges extérieurs des Etats associés au cours des dernières années, ces reproches apparaissent totalement injustifiés. La politique dite "préférentielle" ne s'est en rien opposée au développement et à la diversification des courants commerciaux des Etats associés ainsi qu'à l'intensification des échanges entre la Communauté et les autres pays en voie de développement. S'agissant du principal point litigieux, celui des répercussions des zones de libre-échange eurafricaines et euromalgache sur l'orientation des échanges, il suffira de considérer les statistiques du commerce extérieur pour constater que l'Association n'a en rien gêné la diversification des courants d'échanges des EAMA. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple - mais le plus significatif - on notera que les exportations de la Communauté vers ses Associés n'ont fait que doubler au cours de la période couverte par les deux conventions de Yaoundé, alors que les exportations des Etats-Unis vers les EAMA ont triplé pendant la même période. En se référant à ces données, est-il nécessaire encore d'argumenter ?

Enfin, le Président Malfatti a souligné en conclusion, parlant de l'Association, que "... les critiques mêmes qu'elle subit et dont nous avons vu l'absence de bien-fondé, prouvent sa vitalité. La ferme volonté de coopération qui est à sa base est l'élément fondamental sans lequel toute construction institutionnelle serait vouée à dépérir". Puis, citant M. Pearson : "La coopération pour le développement est plus qu'un simple transfert de fonds; elle suppose que se crée une forme nouvelle de relations qui doit être fondée sur la compréhension et le respect mutuels". "Je crois", a affirmé le Président Malfatti, "que la Communauté et les Etats associés ont réussi dans cette entreprise sans précédent. C'est une raison de satisfaction et de confiance, mais ce doit être aussi une incitation à mettre tout en oeuvre pour développer toutes les virtualités du système que nous avons su créer. L'enjeu est d'une importance capitale : comme le Président Tsiranana a déjà eu l'occasion de le dire : "il y va du bonheur de nos peuples et de la paix".