


# ASSOCIATION

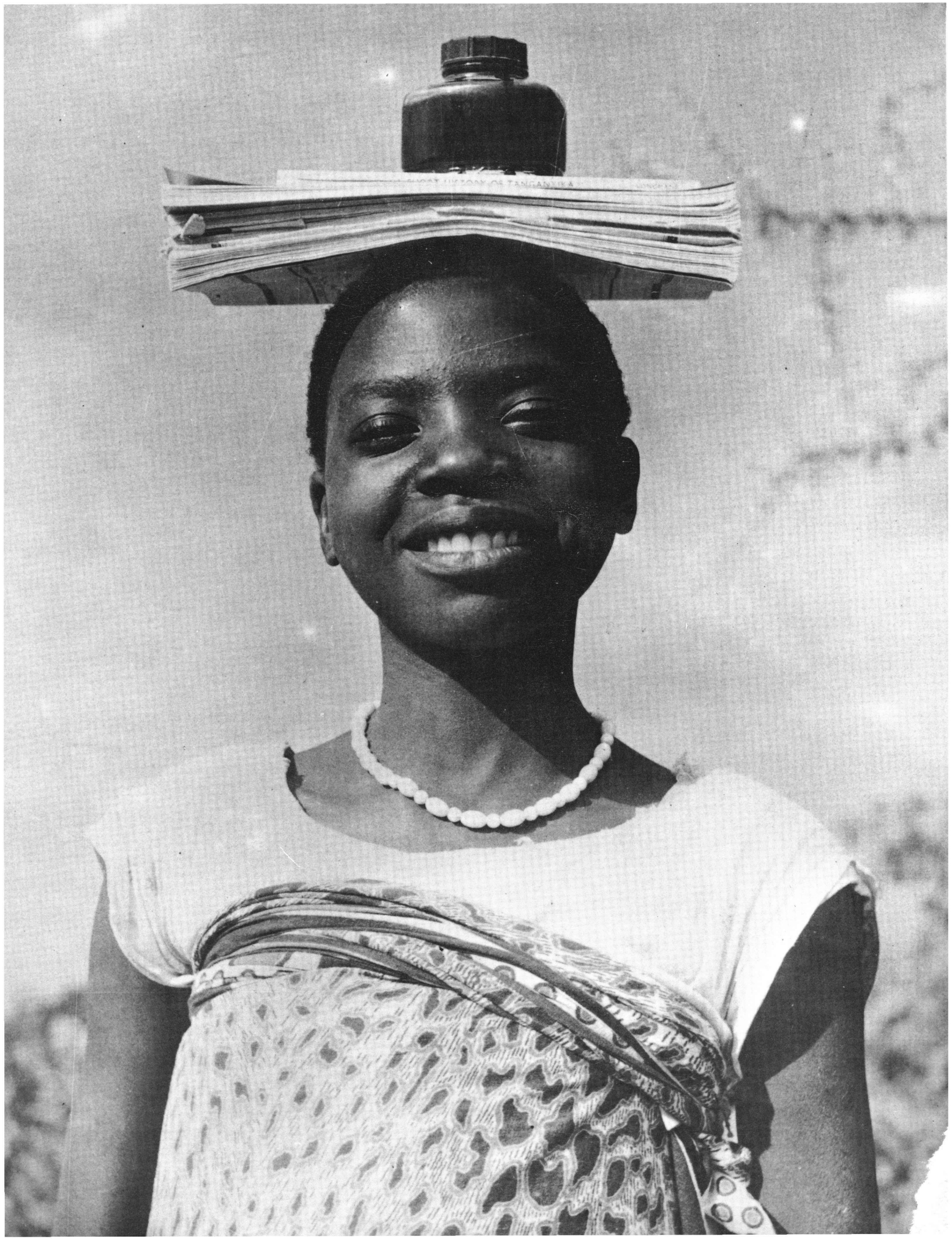
# NEWS

*May-June 1974*



number 25

**DOSSIER: EDUCATION**



**Dr Erhard EPPLER,  
West German development  
cooperation minister:**

**"I consider it necessary  
to liberalize world  
trade in the interests  
of the developing countries".**

"Association News" was going to press when we received the following exclusive interview with Dr Erhard Eppler, West German economic cooperation minister. Lucien Pagni asked Dr Eppler to outline his country's stand on development aid and international cooperation now that the raw materials and food crises, threatening part of Africa and the Indian sub-continent with famine, are calling for a new aid strategy

from Europe to bring the Third World out of under-development.

During the negotiations between the A.C.P. countries (Africa, Caribbean, Pacific) and the European Community, "Association News" hopes to follow the interviews with Dr Eppler and Mr Pedini in this issue by further interviews with the E.E.C. development cooperation ministers.

(See summary after this interview).

► *In accordance with United Nations strategy for the second Development Decade, the Federal Government adopted its approach to development policy in February 1971 and decided on its contribution and its commitments for the period up until 1980. From your point of view, Dr Eppler—and leaving aside for the moment the energy crisis—have there been any additions, changes or shifts in emphasis in this policy since 1971?*

— From the outset it has been our intention to review and update our development policy every two years. This was done for the first time last year. The most striking shift of emphasis is the attempt to "Europeanize" the approach to development policy. By

stages we wish to achieve a comprehensive, world-wide development policy of the European Community and its Member States. In so doing we stand by, of course, the Community's commitments towards the associated countries. In our opinion the Community's own income should be used for cooperation with the associated and non-associated developing countries.

Another important change of emphasis in our approach is the increased stress upon aid to development programmes. We believe that in this way we are better able to do justice to the idea of cooperation through partnership. In future we shall finance approved sectoral and regional programmes in developing countries and shall increase our support

for the setting up of organizations in the developing countries which are in a position to plan and implement such programmes.

One essential aim of our development policy continues to be to help see to it that in particular the underprivileged sections of the population in the Third World are better provided for. Accordingly we shall go on concentrating our measures upon rural areas and upon those sectors which can contribute to increased employment.

► *According to your answer when the Opposition revised the matter in parliament, the Federal Government is setting aside in the current year DM 3 008 million for development aid*

as a whole. By 1978 this sum is to be doubled. Is this an attempt to reach the target figure—established by the United Nations—of 0.7% of the gross national product? Do you not think that, apart from the quantitative aim, which is politically indispensable, the quality of the projects financed and the question of whether they achieve the desired end must be given more prominence?

— As far as we are concerned, the quality of the aid has always taken pride of place. That is why, for example, we have improved the terms of our aid loans and progressively eliminated the tying of aid until it was completely done away with last year. Our aid is oriented towards the needs of the developing countries.

The weakness of the 0.7% goal is that aid contributions that differ as to quality are compared with each other. The significance of the 0.7% goal is primarily political. In the next few years we shall be increasing our aid disproportionately in order to get nearer the target figure. We subscribe to the goal of 0.7%, but cannot yet say when we will reach it.

► *The Federal Government has always been in favour of a liberal economic policy towards the developing countries and above all has always firmly supported the efforts of G.A.T.T. and U.N.C.T.A.D. to encourage the foreign trade of developing countries and, in particular, to eliminate trade barriers hindering trade in raw materials, semi-manufactures and manufactures, in order to promote satisfactory economic growth in the Third World. Do you consider the practical achievement of the Federal Government in recent years in trade with the developing countries—among them the A.A.S.M.—to be satisfactory?*

— It is no longer possible to regard the position of the developing countries in world trade as being the same for all of them. Distinctions must be made according to level of development, access to raw materials and export

potential. There is no denying that trade between all the industrialized countries and the Third World has not developed to the benefit of the poorer countries. Since 1958 their share in world trade has fallen from 23.4% to 17.8% in 1971. The reasons are unfavourable prices for the main export products and a relatively slow growth of the volume of the exports. I consider it necessary to liberalize world trade still further in the interests of the developing countries. For the industrialized countries this means growing pressure on them as suppliers. For this reason the necessary changes in our economic system must be introduced in time. The Federal Republic and the Community have reason to be satisfied with the trend of external trade in as much as it has been possible to maintain the position of the developing countries in the Community market. Of the Community's total imports from developing countries—oil imports excepted—in the period from 1958 to 1971 the A.A.S.M. were able to maintain a share of the market of between 17 and 19%.

Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Togo and Zaire even showed an above average increase in the Community market in relation to the Community's total imports from developing countries, while Senegal, Cameroon, Somalia and Madagascar experienced a downward trend. The remainder of the A.A.S.M. were more or less to maintain their positions.

► *Since the Federal Republic does not attach very much significance to international commodity agreements as a factor in the stabilization of the developing countries' earnings from production while at the same time it wishes to satisfy those countries' urgent request for improved trade relations with the industrialized nations, what is your opinion of the proposal contained in the Commission's memorandum on the new association concerning a system of stabilizing the export earnings of the eight most important African products, which embraces variations both in price*

*and in amounts exported, and is thus in practice a system of insurance against bad years?*

— The developing countries have shown great interest in this proposal of April 1973 for the stabilization of earnings from sugar, groundnuts, groundnut oil, cotton, cocoa, coffee, bananas and copper. They are particularly interested because it would guarantee them a certain continuity of earnings. I can understand this. However, the system does not take sufficient account of the individual developing countries. In the present world economic situation we must consider that some individual developing countries have much more favourable opportunities of development on account of their raw materials, while others will fall even further behind on account of a lack of raw materials or because they have raw materials which are less promising with regard to price.

At all costs we must ensure that this system does not perpetuate inherited one-side market structures or prove too much for the financial framework of the Association.

► *In February 1973 you declared yourself in favour of a joint development policy for the European Community in four propositions stressing the effectiveness of Community action as against individual action by the Member States and demanding that the Community assume responsibility for a world-wide development policy.*

*Do you consider that Europe will succeed in developing a strategy for a European development policy which permits it to achieve economic cooperation on a basis of partnership with the countries of the Third World, in view of the situation which has now arisen as a result of the shortage of oil and raw materials?*

— The latest developments in the area of energy and raw materials, as in other areas, show the need for joint

action by the Community and its Member States in development policy too. The increases in the price of oil and other important raw materials mean for the industrial countries a serious burden on their trade balances and balances of payments. For many developing countries, particularly those with few materials and large populations, they are nothing short of a catastrophe. At current prices the developing countries will have to find, for their 1974 energy requirements alone, an extra amount which far surpasses the total annual aid from all DAC countries. For this reason not only should efforts to step up official development aid be continued, but the quality and efficiency of the aid should be considerably increased. For this purpose there is more need than ever for a strengthening of the Community's development policy instruments and for a coherent policy on the part of the Member States. The decision taken at the Paris Summit Conference to work progressively towards a worldwide, comprehensive development policy has still not been carried out. The Community has, however, made a significant start with the report on Cooperation in development matters, which was produced by a Council working party. The Council has already been able to reach agreement on a number of points in this report, particularly on harmonizing and coordinating the development policy of the Member States. I hope that in spite of the difficulties which still remain the Community will shortly succeed in making a decisive breakthrough towards a convincing development strategy embracing all aspects of cooperation through partnership with the Third World.

► At the end of your book "*Wenig Zeit für die Dritte Welt*"<sup>(1)</sup> (*Not much time for the Third World*) you wrote that aid for the Third World is an investment in a common future, since we will have either a common future or no future at all.

(1) Book review, "Association News", No. 24.



Dr Erhard Eppeler:

*"Aid for the Third World is an investment in a common future, since we will have either a common future or no future at all".*

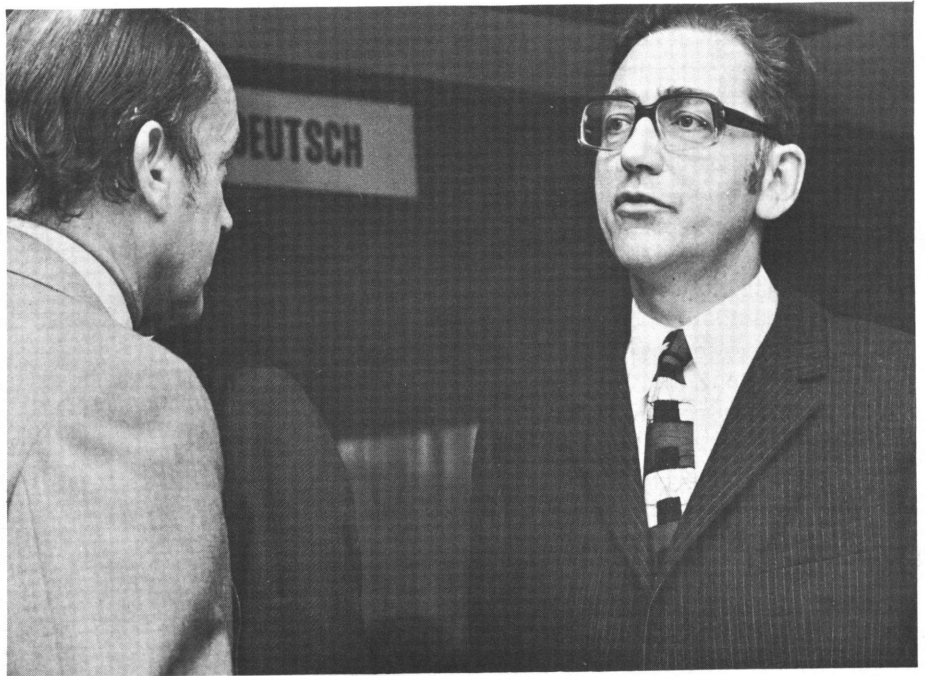
*Today this is all the more true as there appears to be no alternative and no other way out. In view of the fundamental shift in the relationship between the industrialized nations and the countries of the Third World, marked by their new awareness of common interests and their now distinct solidarity, there is, after disappointing years of development aid, a drive towards a new type of cooperation. This cooperation can come about only if the industrialized nations are prepared to hive off certain manufacturing processes. Such a development would inevitably require structural changes in the industrialized countries.*

*What are the consequences going to be for Europe and its industry? What measures would you propose in this new situation? Would you prefer an approach towards and responsibility*

*for these adjustments to be adopted on a European or multinational level rather than on the level of bilateral measures taken by individual countries?*

— Structural changes in the industrialized nations are indispensable. The slogan that machines must go to where the people are is not new, but in the new circumstances it must certainly be taken more seriously than hitherto. As a result of dearer energy, dearer raw materials, and dearer labour the process of hiving off certain industrial manufacturing processes is being speeded up. Since virtually every developing country has created its machinery for the encouragement and control of private investment, this means for many Third World countries that there is a prospect of accelerated industrialization. In the Federal Republic of Germany approximately ten sectors of industry

are affected by this change in structure, since they are dependent upon raw materials and labour-intensive. In these branches of industry the tendency to transfer individual manufacturing processes to the developing countries can be observed. There is widespread agreement that structural changes must not be blocked but encouraged. I believe that it is necessary to develop structural policy machinery to forestall the problems and much remains to be done here. The Government, industry and the unions should get together in order to ascertain what is necessary and what is possible. I would not exclude some sort of guidance of investment for sectors of industry that are shrinking. Of course I would prefer a European-level approach, but as yet there is not even the beginnings of a Community concept of structural policy towards the hiving off of branches of industry to the developing countries.



**Dr Eppler (right) and Mr Cheysson.**

*Two men with the same objective.*

► *One final question, how can the general public, which up to now—to be objective—has shown a declining interest in development aid, partly because distorted impressions still prevail and partly because the appropriate information is not available, be involved in this new approach to development aid?*

*Do you see an opportunity, particularly in view of the oil situation, which is causing even greater confusion*

*among the general public, of clarifying the issues and encouraging interest in this common future?*

— I must agree with you that interest in development aid on the part of the German public has not increased appreciably in recent months and is often still clouded with preconceptions. But the oil crisis has brought home the many people that our affluence is also dependent upon raw materials from the Third World. Many are becoming more aware of the need for cooperation

in partnership, without any one-sided dependence and without the right of the stronger, as practised by the industrialized countries towards the developing countries for decades.

The great confusion, predicted by many, has not come about. Willingness to understand the other side has been surprisingly great. I believe that the discussion on our supply of raw materials is a good opportunity to find out that we must look to each other if we wish to solve the problems of the future. ■

● Mr Erhard Eppler, born in Ulm, West Germany, is 48 years old. In 1946, after his secondary education, he studied history and languages (German, English) at University. In 1951 he obtained a Ph.D. and taught for nine years at the German school at Scheweningen (Netherlands). His political career began at the age of 20, when he became a member of the German Socialist Party (S.P.D.). In 1961 he was elected a Deputy in the Bundestag (parliament), and then a member of the S.P.D.'S Political Bureau.

Dr Eppler, author of a book on aid to the Third World, has been Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development since 1968.



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Mario PEDINI:

## «The recent international crisis has demonstrated the close interdependence between the african continent and Europe»

Mario Pedini has sponsored several Acts of the Italian Parliament relating to technical, cultural, scientific and economic cooperation with developing countries. He is 56, holds degrees in philosophy and law, and lectures in the University of Parma on economics and European Community law. He has been a member of the Italian Parliament since 1953 and the European Parliament since 1959. In 1967 he tabled a Bill in Italy to make membership of the European Parliament directly elective by universal suffrage.

He was Under Secretary of State for Scientific Research and subsequently Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with special responsibility for emigration questions. He has been responsible for various reforms, including the reorganisation of Italian schools abroad; remodelling of the consultative committee for Italians abroad; the setting up of a citizenship register for Italians residing abroad; and a parliamentary enquiry into Italian emigration problems.

In 1969 he undertook a difficult mission to secure the liberation of Italian technicians imprisoned during the secession movement in Nigeria.

He was appointed Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to deal with international economic and cooperation problems. In this capacity he attends meetings of the E.E.C. Council of Ministers and was present at the Summit Conference at



C. C. E. J. L. Debaize

the Hague (1969). Subsequently he attended the conference which negotiated the arrangements for the enlargement of the Community.

► *Mr. Pedini, you are regarded as an authority on the Third World. Two years ago you published a book under the title "Afrique, 10 ans" which recapitulates the chief political and other experiments which have taken place in Africa. More recently you wrote "African Notebook", which contains the fruit of your political knowledge of the new countries of Africa. As a member of the European*

*Parliament, you have been closely in touch with euro-african relationships and we should be glad if you would tell us of the principal landmarks in your interest in Africa.*

The first time I went to Africa was in 1961, on a mission for the European Parliament. My task was to explain to the Congolese and other governments

what was meant by a possible association with the European Economic Community, on the lines provided in part IV of the Treaty of Rome. There were various difficulties, but my mission was successful. A meeting was held in Rome at the end of January of the first Parliamentary Conference instructed to open the political discussions which were to culminate in 1963 in the Yaoundé Con-



ference. I was particularly impressed by the Congo. I saw several young university men desperately trying to save their country at a time of much difficulty and disturbance for the new nation.

I also met personalities of the old Africa and personalities of the new Africa, Europeans whose minds were open to the future and Europeans whose focus was still on the past. I met, too, Americans who did not understand Africa and soviet citizens lucidly expounding their class doctrine.

Since then I have gained some knowledge of all the new african countries, more especially through their people, both their leaders and their younger generation. I had already had a chance of securing impressions of Africa in my very first experiences. I have seen countries in which skilful compromises were made, so that they attained their freedom and political stability from the start; and I have seen others which have had to pass through dramatic intervals to conquer their freedom for themselves.

I have carried out a number of missions, both on a personal basis and with colleagues from the European Parliament. With representatives from the african parliaments, we took part in the European-African-Malagasy Parliamentary Conference, which was one of the strongest driving forces towards an association which now links 18 african countries and Madagascar with the European Economic Community.

During these many encounters I learnt that the integration of Europe cannot go through if it is not rounded off by links of cooperation with Africa; and that Africa cannot consolidate its freedom except through confident cooperation with a united Europe.

I have seen the african nations beset with their growing pains. Though they have followed different paths, they have come through in the present decade to asking themselves the same question—how should they organise an african State for an Africa linked, with values of a universal character, with a Europe which respects Africa's spiritual autonomy? The years immediately ahead will determine how this theme is to

develop, and I hope the time will come in the 1980s when the problem of civil tolerance between different races will have been solved once for all. Our cooperation is helping towards this, and it may enable Africa to create nations without degenerating into nationalism, such as has been the destruction of Europe in the past. I have discussed these matters in my new book "African Notebook", published a few days ago. In it I have tried to portray the many friends in Europe, Africa and Madagascar, who, through these long years, have done so much to determine my attitude and promote my confidence in the future.

► *Italy recently passed a new law on financial and technical cooperation with developing countries. Can you tell us the main lines of Italy's approach and the part played by education in the technical assistance programmes?*

The new law No. 1222 reflects a general approach to technical cooperation with developing countries. It provides for intervention in projects of special social-economic interest; the availability of experts for developing countries; the granting of aid, support and promotion for civil volunteer organisations; the supply of material to schools or social promotion centres in developing countries; the award of bursaries for technical and trade training for young people attending local or italian universities. The section on the volunteer service is specially important. The volunteer of working age is given exemption from national military service if he undertakes two years of civil work in a developing country. This revives the essential provisions of one of the laws I sponsored as long ago as 1966. This volunteer service is open to both sexes, including people already in jobs in Italy. The cooperation volunteer has a guarantee that his original job will be kept open for him, and if he is a teacher he has the same advantages and opportunities for advancement. The law has been in force for 3 years, and has led to the formation of private volunteer organisations in Italy, which are now in course of being given legal recognition and will have government aid. These private bodies keep all their independence, and this leads to their being of very different kinds. The part played by

the State in the technical cooperation service is mainly one of coordination.

There are certainly many ways in which the law in question could be improved; but its great merit is that it regards technical cooperation not as an economic matter, but as a contribution to cooperation between people. Though there were various difficulties in the early stages, largely in the problem of training the cooperation volunteers and the experts, I think the law is an excellent instrument for civil and social promotion.

► *A new pact between the European Community and Africa is now in the gestation process. Would you tell us what, in your view, should be the main characteristics of the new euro-african relationships?*

In many ways the political context of these relationships is new. The enlargement of the Community has provided an opportunity of extending the Association to the english-speaking countries in Africa and negotiations for this purpose are in progress in Brussels.

The new international position accentuates the need for making the Association an area of wide regional cooperation, based on criteria of political and economic solidarity. In other words, it will be possible to make this zone a new pattern for an international economy. It would not be founded on the markets being mutually complementary, but rather on coordinated undertakings aimed at joint development and cooperation in all economic sectors. In this context the problem of stabilising the prices of raw materials naturally becomes the problem of stabilising the export receipts of developing countries. In the same way, cooperation in industrialisation calls for new forms of association in terms of capital, technology and enterprise.

The new Association Convention will therefore be more complex than the last. Its general framework will, in all probability, have to be adapted to the requirements of different african countries, which are subject to economic conditions which are themselves often very different.

The economic content of the Treaty of Association may therefore take a long

time to develop. In our view the important thing is to maintain at all costs the complex general character which has been the feature of the two previous Yaoundé agreements. In other words, the Association must consist of economic, commercial and technical sections, to which will be added the pattern for extensive cultural cooperation and joint institutions between the members. In the past the Association has avoided the risk that it might become an instrument of neocolonialism, because it put the signatory countries on the same level, through the joint institutions, the Council of Ministers, the parliamentary conference of the Association and the joint committee. Continued use must be made of the European Development Fund, which has done so much in the past by grants to help finance economic and social investments, for which the multiplier was high. The Associated countries must be enabled to take an increasingly active part, especially by setting up better technical machinery. New tasks, too, will probably be assigned to the EDF in connection with regional programmes, the correction of single-crop economies and the stabilisation of export receipts. This implies an enlargement of the finance capacity of the fund and an improvement in its relations with other international bodies, for the purpose of dealing with underdevelopment, or undertaking concerted operations with countries possessing capital resources and willing to apply them in the campaign against poverty. It will thus be the easier to tackle the big ecological and environmental problems which affect rich and poor countries alike, and will become increasingly urgent for humanity as a whole. As in the past, the new Association must give an important place to cultural cooperation and particularly to youth encounters. It would be advisable to consider an international community convention on the status of cooperation workers and experts; but contact programmes at youth level will have to be established, so that the future leaders of the peoples may get to know the world around them and the manifold ways of its moral and cultural expression. As long ago as 1967, the question was raised of forming a development institute as part of the Association. It would be as well that the earlier projects should be revived.

The new Association between the European Economic Communities and the african countries and Madagascar, is thus in the process of enlarging its action. It is placed, however, in an historical setting which can be defined with some certainty. Africa has come through many organisational crises and is now turning more and more towards the search for an african pattern for its society and for its nation States. Provided Europe respects this tendency, it can now help the african nations to be themselves, without degenerating into a type of nationalism, such as has cost Europe so much. Moreover, the recent international crisis has **demonstrated the close interdependence between the african continent and the european continent**. It has shown, too, that Europe, which has great need of raw materials and energy and for which external trade is an essential extension of its activity, can be regarded as the pilot market which will be in the natural interest of the african market, to which it can supply technique, equipment and organisational knowhow. In the future we shall be able to work together in tackling the problems of desalination of sea-water, erosion, environmental pollution, the search for water. For us Europeans the euro-african project does not prevent our remaining faithful to Atlantic friendship, for it is in itself a contribution to peace. Its culmination is a consistent policy of cooperation between the Community and the mediterranean countries, which have their habitat around a sea which is the link between the two continents and the meeting place of complementary civilisations. ■

CORRECTION

*In the Current News section in our last issue, we wrongly identified a photograph as being Mr. M. Dewulf, a belgian member of the European Parliament. The photo was in fact of Mr. Pedini. We apologise for the mistake.*

**QUADERNO AFRICANO**  
(African notebook)\*

"Times have completely changed. The Africa of today is responsible for its own destiny.... The aim we set ourselves must be to get to know the new Africa in its own individual form and during its process of formation. The Africa of today needs to be discovered and rediscovered. We must sense its message, think back to the glory of past civilisations, the wars between the empires of old in the valleys of the Niger and the Congo; we must learn to understand african art, in its magical and religious message; from Bénin Gulf to the Tassili mountains, we must rediscover the meaning of ancient civilisations, such as the Meroé and Zimbabwé; we must live again through the adventurous migration of the herdsmen, understand the dignity of the nomads, search for human remains in Chad, the mountains of Guinea and the valleys of Kenya, where the rocks disclose traces of humanity which are probably the oldest in the world".

These remarks speak for themselves. They are the beginning of Mario Pedini's account of his personal experiences and his political reflections which he has collected in his most recent work, "Quaderno Africano". In a preface to the work the journalist Alberto Bevilacqua comments that "the Africa of Pedini is the essence of anti-myth". There is no element of rhetoric in this work of a politician, who feels it his duty to make a fresh contribution to the better understanding of an Africa which, abandoning reliance on the picturesque, is now finding its political, its economic and its social place in the dynamic of modern life. It is the work of a man who, in some of the african countries, is known as "the white African". He is a lover of Africa and thinks of it as the natural home of humanity. He is also a lover of Europe, and believes that a better understanding of Africa and its problems is a condition for renewing Europe's thought and attitude towards the Third World. With Africa, better than with any others, we Europeans can cooperate in an international society, which will be more mature and more responsible. This depends on how far we are capable of transforming the older geographical and economic links into active relationships of solidarity and cooperation, into an action programme, even in the political field, into a new discovery of cultural values for which we have a spiritual affinity springing from our own past and from a thousand years of eurafrican history".

This work of Mario Pedini appears just as Africa and Europe are negotiating a new Association. It contains a wide survey of several african countries, and of the economic and political problems of the continent, and is thus a real contribution to setting up the new links between Africa and Europe.

(\*) Published by Sugarco Edizioni srl, Galleria del Corso 4, Milano (Italy), 1974.

## Setting out the problems

Maybe mathematician Henri Poincaré was a trifle optimistic when he said a problem which is rightly stated is half solved. Nevertheless, the statement is a step towards the solution. And if there is any problem which constantly raises difficulties in development policies, about which the results often seem absurdly small and incommensurate with the efforts made, it is the problem of education.

In this issue education is the subject for the "Dossier" section. It begins with a discussion with Amadou Mahatar M'Bow, Deputy Director General for Education in UNESCO. The attractive personality of this senior international administrator, formerly Minister for Education in his own country, makes him specially suited to talk on a subject of such close human concern, which needed a man with a warm heart whom one can see to be full of humanity. President Senghor has written: "The human being is the beginning and the end of development". In fact, the human being is right at the heart of the very notion of development, which cannot be considered in abstract terms. No development can be soundly conceived unless it be in the service of human beings and designed to improve the material and intellectual conditions of their lives, and the underlying dignity of existence. What has been done so far, however, is unrealistic and unsurely based, so that the result is not likely to be up to expectations and efforts and new problems will no doubt arise. This is specially true of education.

There is no field in which the people of today have suffered more from the mistakes of the people of yesterday. Perhaps this is because it is a field in which the general results do not begin to show till after a long interval. The mistakes were initially those of the colonial period, when a queer mixture of calculation, artlessness and ignorance led to the belief that the education systems of the metropolitan countries could be transplanted into Africa, often without any allowance for african cultures and peculiarities. Other mistakes were made by the people responsible for education policies at the time of independence. They themselves owed their training to pre-independence systems, and were generous enough to think it desirable to aim at

instruction for as many people as possible in a comparatively short time, without going sufficiently deeply into the questions of requirements, resources and consequences. How true it seems, both for the people of yesterday and for those of today, that "the present would be filled with all the futures if it were not for the projection of the past".

The figures are impressive. A recent UNESCO enquiry shows that in 1970 the population of the 35 nations south of the Sahara—apart from one or two exceptions, practically the whole of the group of african countries currently negotiating in Brussels—was not far short of 235m. Of these, there were 18 400 000 pupils undergoing primary education and over 2 100 000 in the secondary cycle. The regional bureau for education in Africa estimates that only 46% of the children in primary education age-groups and 6.4% of the secondary education age-groups actually go to school, and the relegation and abandonment rates are high. Nevertheless the budget credits for education vary in different countries between 2% and 6.8% of the GNP and between 7% and 30% of public expenditure. This was one of the points Mr. M'Bow emphasised in a lecture he gave in 1973 at the Académie des Sciences d'outre-mer. The effort is enormous; but it goes into "the dispensation of teaching ill-adapted to local realities and national problems, so that the african schools tend in many ways to appear as an instrument of social disequilibrium".

Almost everywhere in Africa, however, changes and improvements are in progress. Without returning to the school for the "élite" of former days, it is quite clear that "the problem is no longer confined to the quantitative development of educational systems. In most of the african countries the problem is already arising of the internal product of the school system and its external effectiveness—in other words, the *adaptation of the school to the life and needs of society*". The problems now seem to have been stated correctly. It is to be hoped that those who have set out to find the most suitable solutions for each case, will be "intelligent enough to avoid having too many". ■

“Tristes Tropiques”? The Caribbean has kept its traditional spirit of gaiety and music (see photo), for which it owes some debt to Africa. But the charm of the islands does not rule out the serious consideration of their problems. The associate Caribbean and Pacific and Indian ocean countries now have a forum in this rubric. After the Jamaican ambassador in issue No. 20, the ambassador of Trinidad and Tobago in Brussels writes below.



## Trade and development

by James O'Neil LEWIS

The importance of international trade to the developing countries is evident. But theorists who maintain that world trade must be free defend a thesis that is not in the interests of the developing countries, whose struggling economies are in no position to play world markets on the same terms as the rich countries. This is the opinion of Mr. James Lewis, the ambassador of Trinidad and Tobago to Brussels, who gives the following résumé of the world trade picture as seen by the developing countries.

However convenient it may be to consider international trade in terms of intercountry dealings, it is people, and not geographical entities, who trade. Trade is an activity of human beings,

involving the exchange of the products of the enterprise of human beings. And perhaps the most important reason for engaging in trade is that it enables one set of human beings to obtain, without

the use of force, things which they need and cannot or do not produce for themselves, but which other human beings are willing to make available to them on mutually acceptable terms.

It is on this basis that millions of 'trading' transactions take place among individuals daily all over the world. And it is indeed the sum total of these individual transactions in any given period that really constitutes the 'trade' of that period.

In general, and where the transactions take place within a given geographical

location, such 'trading' is usually simple and involves no more than a willingness of sellers to sell, and of buyers to buy, at prices on which they have agreed.

But where these individual transactions involve persons living in different places, problems often arise which are beyond the means of the individuals concerned to resolve to their mutual satisfaction. These problems tend to be more serious when the traders are also separated by national boundaries. In such cases, much more is usually required to complete a 'trading' transaction than a mere agreement between the individuals concerned. And what needs to be done then can often most effectively or most conveniently be done by a government or governmental authority.

Thus, most governments take an interest in the regulation of the trading activities of their citizens, although the extent of that interest varies widely—from almost complete control in the case of most Communist countries to minimal direct government interference, except for certain political reasons, in the case of most western industrial countries.

Developing countries have a particular interest in trade. Because of the generally limited range of their current output, the peoples of many of these countries are dependent almost for their very existence on their ability to export and to import. In nearly all of them, the prevailing relatively low standards of living would fall still lower if these countries were not able to maintain some level of trade with other countries.

### *The importance of trade to developing countries (\*)*

Governments of developing countries also have an interest in the development and expansion of trade. This is not merely because a substantial portion of government revenue is generally derived from trade duties, but also because, for the economic development of their

countries, these governments need to ensure an ever-increasing quantity of capital goods and other manufactures, a large part of which must be imported and paid for in exports. They are vitally concerned not only with the expansion of the markets for their primary production but also with the establishment of markets for the products of their new manufacturing industries.

As the G.A.T.T. noted several years ago in its report on "International Trade 1961",

*"The establishment of markets, wider and more diversified than the national markets, would thus appear as a necessary condition if a high rate of industrial development is to be maintained."*

And the report added:

*"Unless such markets are suitably organized so as to allow each country to specialise according to its resources, optimum efficiency of the investments made in each country will not be reached."*

Few people would now question the value of international trade, although many recognise that the advantages of such trade are, generally, not evenly or equitably distributed.

Some blame the maldistribution on the barriers to trade which are from time to time erected by countries pursuing what they consider their proper national interests. And in recent years considerable ingenuity has been displayed by some economists in demonstrating the advantages—at any rate, the theoretical advantages—of the freeing of international trade. The exercises of these economists all seem directed towards the conclusion that, given certain assumptions, free trade makes all the participating countries at least potentially better off.

Among the assumptions on which this conclusion seems to rest are, to use the language of the economists themselves: that factors of production are mobile; that returns to scale are constant with respect to proportional changes of all factors of production; that the full

employment of all resources is effected by flexible factor prices; that there are no external economies or diseconomies, either of production or consumption; and that lump-sum taxes and subsidies are feasible.

Reduced to ordinary language, these assumptions seem to imply that persons in search of work can move freely from one area to another; that the same combinations of land, labour and capital will produce the same levels of production in one country as in any other; that prices in general change with changes in supply and demand; and that those countries or persons who are adversely affected by the freeing of trade can be compensated by those who have benefited from the freeing of trade.

Applied to the circumstances of most developing countries, the theoretical advantages of free trade would thus appear to depend upon the freedom of unemployed labour in the developing countries to move to areas where there is a demand for labour; upon capital moving to those developing countries where there is a demand for more investments; and upon the willingness of the developing countries' trading partners to offset, by aid, any adverse effects which free trade might cause.

Those who prescribe complete 'free trade' as the solution to the problems of developing countries often seem, however, to ignore the assumptions underlying the economic theories on which they rely to support their prescription. Without these assumptions, no elaborate economic theory is needed to show that 'free trade' alone cannot improve the situation of countries already at a trading disadvantage.

### ***Free trade tends to worsen the developing countries' position***

Far from improving the position of the developing countries, free trade tends to worsen it, since, in the majority of cases, these countries have but

(\*) Editor's sub-titles.

recently emerged from the old colonial system which generally kept them relegated to the status of suppliers of raw materials for the benefit of their metropolitan countries. To expect them to be able, almost overnight, to trade on equal terms with some of these very metropolitan countries is to ask the impossible of them and to remove from them such hope as they may entertain of ending their economic subservience in the same way as many of them have ended their political subservience.

It was in recognition of the fact that many of these developing countries require special opportunities through

This attitude is not entirely the result of benevolent altruism. It rests also on a sound basis of enlightened economic self-interest. Developing countries are, by their very nature, areas of rising consumer demand. Development generally implies a movement towards higher levels of personal consumption which cannot be satisfied by the unaided efforts of the developing country. The total supply of goods and services effectively available to a developing country tends to be determined at any given time by the total resources at its disposal at that time. And because these resources are generally relatively limited, the level of actual consumption must be low.

seem—increasingly unbridgeable gap. It appears unbridgeable because the developing society usually either cannot increase the range and volume of its resources fast enough by its own efforts or cannot readily exchange what it has for what it needs but does not as yet produce. In other words, if most developing countries could export much more than they now do, they would not only be able to produce much more, but would also be able to consume much more of what other countries produce.

### *Developing countries' share of world exports continually falling*

Far from being able to export more, developing countries have watched the degree of their participation in world export trade steadily decline. According to the G.A.T.T. Report on International Trade in 1972, the Developing Areas' share of Total World Export Trade declined from 21.4% in 1960 to 17.9% in 1972. In the same period, the share of the Industrial Areas rose from 63.8% to 69.3%.

But the Industrial Areas have not only increased their share of total world exports. They have also increased their share of the total of world exports of primary products!

In 1969, exports of primary products from the Industrial Areas accounted for 42.7% of total world exports of primary products; in 1972, the percentage was 46%.

Over the same period, the share of the Developing Areas in the total of world exports of primary products remained at roughly the same percentage—40.7% in 1969 and 40% in 1972.

The Developing Areas fared no better in respect of manufactured exports, their share of the world total of such exports being 6.6% in 1969 and 6.9% in 1972. The Industrial Areas increased their share only slightly—from 82% in 1969 to 83.2% in 1972. But at that level of exports there is hardly room for significant increases.



*Holidays mean ice-cream for these Caribbean children. But as they grow up, the holidays could stretch on indefinitely for lack of work.*

trade, as well as by aid, to help them to overcome their present relatively low levels of living that the European Economic Community not only established a Development Fund but also agreed that Associated States should be allowed, at least for an agreed period, to maintain tariffs against imports from the Community while at the same time exporting their products to Community countries on the same terms as member states of the Community.

In the developed affluent society, new production generally creates new demand. In the developing indigent society, demand generally exceeds available production—that is, the production which the existing resources of the developing society can immediately command. Between the range of demand and these resources can satisfy and the range of demand which could be satisfied out of the existing resources of other countries, there is a wide and—it would

These percentages are revealing but they tell only part of the story. In money terms, the Industrial Areas have been exporting more primary products to themselves than the Developing Areas have been exporting to them. In 1972, for example, the value of exports of primary products from Industrial Areas to Industrial Areas was 49.37 billion dollars (U.S.). The value of the exports of primary products from Developing Areas to Industrial Areas was 40.45 billion dollars (U.S.).

This experience was not confined to 1972 alone. In each of the years from 1969 to 1972, the Industrial Areas exported in value more primary products to themselves than did the Developing Areas export to them. Over the four year period, the total value of such primary product exports from Industrial Areas to Industrial Areas was 160.18 billion dollars (U.S.), as against a total of 132.50 billion dollars (U.S.) from the Developing Areas to the Industrial Areas.

No less significant has been the steady encroachment by the Industrial Areas on the market for primary products within the Developing Areas themselves.

Over the three years, 1969-71, the Industrial Areas exported to the Developing Areas primary products to a total value of 19.30 billion dollars (U.S.). In the same period, the Developing Areas exported to themselves primary products to a total value of 23.30 billion dollars (U.S.). In 1971, the Industrial Areas' exports of these products to the Developing Areas totalled 7.22 billion dollars (U.S.); and in the same year the Developing Areas exported to themselves a total of 8.56 billion dollars (U.S.).

The picture which emerges from these figures can hardly comfort the Developing Areas. They see themselves not merely being unable to increase their share of the markets for the products of their newly established manufacturing industries against the competition and restrictive practices of the mature Industrial Areas: worse, they see the markets for their primary products being steadily taken over by those very Industrial Areas.

## The Caribbean Free Trade Association

Ever since the federation of the West Indies was dissolved in 1962, the government of Trinidad and Tobago has been one of the keenest advocates of the formation of regional economic groups.

Negotiations for this purpose led to the formation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA)<sup>(1)</sup> in 1968. This consists of 11 former British territories in the Caribbean—Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, the Barbadoes and a number of smaller islands, including Grenada, Santa-Lucia, Dominica and Antigua. These countries are all members of the Commonwealth, but their political status differs. Guyana is fully independent, most of the territories are associated with Great Britain and the little island of Montserrat is still a Crown colony.

CARIFTA is essentially a free trade association, aimed at eliminating customs barriers between the member countries. In practice, 90% of the goods produced in the region enjoy free circulation throughout the 11 territories, with a total population of five million consumers. This regional organisation is not a common market, for there is no common external tariff on goods from outside sources, but it nevertheless aspires to more advanced forms of economic integration. The initial agreement provides for the setting up of supra-national organisations and for joint measures to promote development. The latter would include transport coordination and industrialisation programmes, the formation of an inter-regional bank, a joint airline company, a press agency and a

regional radio and television authority. Steps had also to be taken to reduce the gaps between the standards of life and state of development inside the organisation, for it consists both of little islands which rank as "poor countries" and the wealthier class, such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Part of this programme has already been carried out. The organisation has its secretariat-general which has been in operation at Georgetown (Guyana) since June 1968. In October 1969 a development bank was set up at Kingston (Jamaica) and some of the Spanish-American countries (Venezuela and Colombia) have also become members. The nucleus of a common agricultural policy has been formed by a protocol on produce marketing which came into force in May 1968, and an agreement on oils and fats. Free trade conditions have certainly induced a remarkable growth in intra-regional commerce, but for lack of a real development policy and aid to the less advanced countries, this has widened the gap between the richer and the poorer countries. Some such as Trinidad and Tobago are exporting more, but the only growth the little islands have seen has been in their deficits and their debts to their bigger partners. This has set up a certain resistance and partial return to protectionism, an increase in which might spell the end of the Association. This, however, is a danger of which the principal members of CARIFTA are fully conscious.

(Le Monde Diplomatique)

(1) See article by Graham Norton p. 49.

Faced with such a situation, what hope can there be that the Developing Areas will ever be able to improve significantly the living standards of their peoples?

Further, the Industrial Areas not only continue to make access to their markets most difficult for all of the products of the Developing Areas, but also seek to secure increasing concessions from the Developing Areas for access to their markets! They demand special treatment from the Developing Areas when they already enjoy a superior trading relationship vis-à-vis the Developing Areas. Where they cannot get such special treatment from the Developing Areas, they demand reciprocity for any concessions they make, albeit grudgingly, to the Developing Areas.

What do the Industrial Areas wish to achieve? A 100 percentage share of total world exports? A 100 percentage share of total exports of primary products? A 100 percentage share of total exports of manufactures?

Enlightened self-interest, if nothing else, ought to make them more concerned to enable the Developing Areas not merely to continue to subsist but also to achieve some improvement in the conditions of life of their peoples.

Furthermore, the situation of the developing countries has tended to be aggravated both by erratic movements in the prices of their principal export products—while the prices of the manufactured goods they import have generally moved steadily upwards—and by the increasing production of commodities by the developed countries and the widespread substitution by those countries of synthetic materials for the natural products of the developing countries.

More and more, the developing countries are in danger of being reduced to the role of residual suppliers to the developed countries. The scope for their trade appears to be, if not diminishing, certainly not increasing; and such aid as they receive from the developed countries is eventually spent on the purchase of imports at rising prices from,

or on the servicing of foreign debts to, the very countries which provide the aid.

In its issue of January 12, 1963, the London "Economist" noted that:

*"The underdeveloped countries, poor as they are, have been contributing, involuntarily, to western prosperity. Since the early 'fifties the volume of food and agricultural products exported has risen by about a third. But in value they have increased by only a sixth and the rise in the price of manufactures has wiped out even that small gain. In November the ratio of Britain's import to export prices was 84 (1954 = 100). In eight years the cost of imports in terms of exports has therefore fallen by 16%."*

It is true that that was written more than 10 years ago, but it illustrates what was then, and still is, the dilemma of most of the developing countries. They must import, since even their minimum basic wants cannot all be satisfied out of their own primary production—they cannot drink oil or wear cocoa or construct their homes out of coffee. At the same time, it is being made more and more difficult for them to export to the countries which can afford to take their exports. When they are able to export at all, they frequently come up against serious fluctuations in market prices and, consequently, in producer incomes. These fluctuations are often facilitated, if not actually engineered, by the activities and policies of some of the developed countries.

### *The problem of guaranteeing producers' incomes*

From time to time, various proposals have been put forward for meeting the problem of stabilising commodity prices or maintaining producers' incomes, but these, where they have been adopted,



*From craftsmanship to industrialisation.*

have not been particularly successful. They have almost all involved some restriction of production; and it has been sought to justify such restriction on the ground that the supply of primary products would otherwise greatly exceed the demand and lead to serious problems of stock-piling, if prices were not to be allowed to fall. Even if, in the face of the almost complete exclusion from world trade of large consuming areas such as China, developing countries could accept this argument, bitter experience has taught them that restriction of production leads inexorably to reduction of employment. And the fact is that, for many of these developing countries, there simply is, as yet, no really significant alternative employment outside of primary production.

Theoreticians may argue that as long as total income can be maintained, those who are affected by the fall in employment that may result from a restriction of production can be compensated out of





C.C.E. — J.L. Debaize

*Mr. O'Neil Lewis (right) presents his credentials to E.E.C. Commission president Mr. F.X. Ortoli.*

the stabilised export earnings. In practice compensatory schemes of this nature involve arrangements that are often cumbersome, and sometimes open to objection on the ground that their effective application requires detailed investigations into the lives of the affected producers.

**What would seem to be needed therefore is not the restriction of production by the developing countries but rather the expansion of the market for their products at prices that are at least stable, if not steadily rising.** To the extent that they are able to produce and market a greater volume and range of products, the developing countries are also able to import a greater volume and range of products. The pattern of their imports may vary over the years, but the overall volume is almost certain to increase, since their needs are also steadily increasing.

It is therefore clearly in the interests of the developed, industrialized countries not only to assist—by trade as well as by aid—the efforts of the developing countries to improve the efficiency, and extend the range, of their production, but also to take positive action to ensure effective access to their markets, at remunerative prices and in adequate and increasing quantities, for the new manufacturing exports of the developing countries.

#### *Access to markets at remunerative prices*

For many developing countries, this may mean gaining effective access to countries to which they have hitherto sent no exports, not even of their basic commodity products. This is likely to be particularly true of those recently independent developing countries, whose

production and trade have in general been geared to the special requirements of their former metropolitan powers.

The trade patterns thus set are often not easily altered. Traditional business links with the former metropolitan countries, and long-established financing, shipping and marketing arrangements, all help to maintain the previously existing patterns and tend to make new trade directions **seem** less attractive and, even, more risky than, perhaps, they really are.

Thus, while the traditional commodity exports of the developing countries tend to continue to go to the traditional markets, the products of their new manufacturing industries often find great difficulty in entering those markets and, consequently, tend to be diffused in negligible quantities over a large number of relatively unimportant markets.

This is a situation to which developing countries find it difficult to adjust. How, they may ask, are they ever going to improve their economic position if they are not able to sell the output of their new industries? It is not merely a question of gaining access to new markets. Access, in the sense of unrestricted, even tariff-free, entry, may be available and yet, because of the competitive disadvantages under which most developing countries have to market their manufactured products, they may be able actually to sell only very little.

The fact is that when it comes to selling their manufactured goods, that is to say, finding actual buyers for those goods, in the markets of the developed countries, the developing countries must compete not only among themselves but, more important, also with developed countries, whose manufacturing expertise, efficiency, experience and export capability are almost always greatly in advance of those of the developing new-comers.

In those circumstances, the mere removal of tariff-barriers and of measures having equivalent effects would not be enough to enable the developing countries to sell their manufactured products on the markets of developed countries. Much more is needed.

*Proposals by the President of Niger...*

M. Hamani Diori, President of Niger is reported to have suggested at a Press conference in Brussels in September 1973, during the "African Fortnight", that both for agriculture and for industrial goods, there should be development contracts.

According to the report of the Press Conference which appeared in **Association News** (No. 22 – November/December 1973), the President urged that:

*"For groundnuts and cotton, more particularly, Europe should undertake a 5-year commitment to buy predetermined quantities from these (associate) countries; and these contracts would be immune from the dangers of currency fluctuations and would not suffer the serious penalisation which comes from the deterioration in the terms of trade".*

Underlying the President's proposal was, no doubt, the desire to draw attention to, and to emphasise the importance of, the need to devise some generally acceptable method of ensuring for the developing countries stable and assured markets, for reasonable periods and at reasonable prices, of reasonable quantities of their agricultural and industrial products, whether groundnuts and cotton, or sugar, bananas and manufactured textiles.

*...and by Mr. Cheysson*

During the same "African Fortnight", M. Claude Cheysson, the Member of the E.E.C. Commission in charge of Development and Co-operation, was reported (by Association News) as having said in a lecture on "European Development Policy":

*"Europe is the biggest market in the world. About 38% of the world's trade now comes from or into Europe. I think we must say quite simply that if we really believe in development, our biggest duty is to open this market to products from the Third World.*

*"Commercial preferences are not always enough and customs preferences are not always enough; this means that we must go further. I am glad indeed that my predecessor, in his memorandum defining the attitude of the Commission in the future Association, made it a key matter that export earnings should be stabilised or, in more precise terms, that the countries associated with us should be insured against the risk of a bad year.*

*"I should like to say that, in my opinion, we ought to go further than merely covering the risk of a bad export year. Little by little we should build up, for*

*the main products exported from developing countries, a really remunerative market which we should not only build up, but also guarantee. This is not a thing which can be done indiscriminately. First we must see which of the productions are really economic; but when we find production which is competitive and profitable, I regard it as the duty of industrial countries to provide such production with a permanent, stable and remunerative market".*

*"Out of many, one people", the Jamaican emblem, is charmingly illustrated by these Caribbean girls of different races.*



Throughout the developing world, these views of the President of Niger and of M. Cheysson will no doubt have been enthusiastically received, since underlying them appears to be the acceptance of the idea that tariff-free access to the markets of the industrialised countries will not in itself provide a lasting and satisfactory solution to the problems of the developing countries. The markets, in M. Cheysson's words, must be "permanent, stable and remunerative"; and the marketing arrangements must be such as to provide for contracts that, in the words of the President of Niger, "would be immune from the dangers of currency fluctuations and would not suffer the serious penalisation which comes from the deterioration in the terms of trade".

### ***The role of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement***

It is these very features, which the President and M. Cheysson have defined, that made the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement the valuable instrument it proved to be in the 20 years of its existence.

Against the evident weaknesses of other Commodity Agreements the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement stood out in sharp contrast. Precisely because it sought to achieve less than what most of those other Agreements aimed at, it was able to accomplish more. It demonstrated that, if any commodity agreement is to be really successful, it must ensure that over a reasonable period buyers can obtain a fixed portion of their requirements and sellers can dispose of a fixed portion of their output at a mutually satisfactory price. This was the great strength of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement—that it provided a fixed

market for a fixed quantity of output at a fixed price for a fixed period. There is no reason why this could not also be the strength of all international commodity agreements, given the willingness of the participants to reconcile national aspirations with international obligations in the interest of world economic stability.

For, national aspirations may be expected to play an increasingly important part in the formulation and operation of commodity agreements, especially where the commodities represent the major sources of revenue of the participating countries. In most of these cases, the producing countries are low-income countries whose governments are not prepared to play a passive role in the development of their economies. Although they would welcome an upward movement of prices which did not involve a reduction in output or exports, they are particularly concerned to ensure that frequent fluctuations in total income do not occur.

**Commodity agreements which aim at preventing such fluctuations are therefore of vital interest to the governments of these countries.** Faced with the need to make long-term plans for economic development, they naturally wish to secure as much stability as possible in the prices of the few basic commodities upon which they are, at least for the time being, forced to rely. For the purposes of their budgets, it would therefore obviously be an invaluable advantage if they could be sure that there was little or no change during each fiscal year in the prices of the major exporting products on which their revenues are based.

As governments, they would no doubt much rather forego the chance of obtaining unexpected revenue increases

through sudden price rises in favour of a steady and reasonable revenue return. Considerations of this nature prompted the formation during 1960 of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, whose principal aim originally was to ensure that posted prices of crude oil were not unilaterally altered by producing companies, especially in the Middle East and Venezuela.

**It was in that respect, too, that the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement appeared, to the participating producing countries at any rate, to provide advantages superior to those available under other types of agreement.** Export quotas, buffer stock manipulations, quantitative restrictions, subsidies—all those appeared as unsatisfactory substitutes for a reasonable level of prices negotiated once a year and remaining unchanged during the year.

It would not be over-simplifying the issues to state that while other agreements provided mechanisms for correcting undue fluctuations, the Commonwealth agreement was able to ensure that such fluctuations did not occur.

But it did much more. It demonstrated that it is possible to reconcile the interests of producers and consumers, to promote expansion without sacrificing stability, and to ensure the orderly, long-term development of an industry in several countries.

It has thus been able to point the way to the solution of a problem that has long bedevilled mankind and done much to sharpen the differences between the industrialised nations and the primary producing countries of the world. ■

**J. O'NEIL LEWIS**

*(See p. 14 for a statistical outline of Trinidad and Tobago).*



## TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

### An outline

Trinidad and Tobago are two little islands of the West Indies which have now become a prosperous nation and a landmark in the history of decolonisation. The territory of Trinidad and Tobago became an independent state and a member of the British Commonwealth on August 31, 1962. It maintains close economic relations with the United States, but its geographical location is just off the South-American coast. The population is, for the most part, of african or afro-asiatic origin. It was one of the countries most resolutely engaged in the anti-colonialist struggle, and it is one of the most westernised countries in the Third World.

**Economy:** The capital of Trinidad and Tobago is Port of Spain, population rather over a million, area 5,128 sq km. Far from being a poor country it is quite wealthy, producing oil, most of which is refined locally, sugar, rum, coconut, rice, lemons, coffee, bananas and groundnuts. Despite the trading difficulties which have beset the Third World in general, Trinidad and Tobago has long had a trade surplus. In 1972, the exports were u.a. 232.5 m and imports were u.a. 210 m. The country has practically everything it needs for growing rapidly into an advanced industrial country. The annual income per inhabitant is more than \$600 U.S., the natural resources are considerable, more than 90% of the children go to school and the tourist potential is

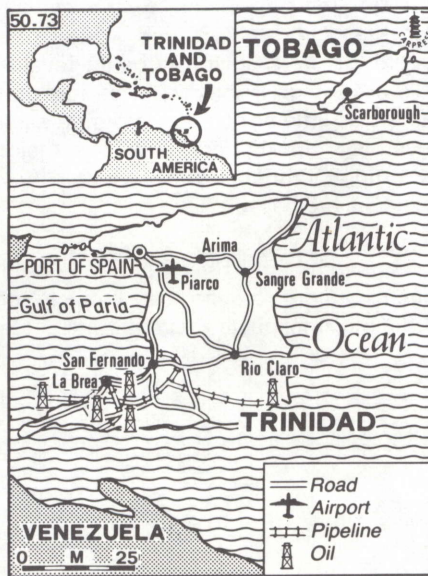
enormous, with everlasting sunshine, beautiful beaches and much else.

**Politically,** the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago is a peaceful little country enjoying great freedom of expression. Since 1956, it has flourished under the competent and dynamic leadership of Dr. Eric Williams, who decided to withdraw from the headship of the State in 1973 but finally bowed to the insistence of the people that he should

change his mind. He holds an Oxford doctorate of philosophy and was the author of a much discussed book entitled *"Capitalism and Slavery"*, published in 1944. He has been appointed Professor of History in the University of Howard (U.S.A.) where he is continuing his research into the history of his country. With Senghor and Nkrumah, Mr. Williams is one of the small group of Black intellectuals who, even while in power, have not neglected the claims of authorship. On independence he laid before his people his *"History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago"*. Subsequently he was to publish *"Inward Hunger"*, an autobiography, and *"From Columbus to Castro"*, a history of the Caribbean.

If we accept the theories of evolutionists, such as Walt Rostow, on the political and social consequences of economic development, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago satisfied all the conditions for soon becoming one of the wealthy industrial countries of the world.

Nevertheless, the Port of Spain government will have to make a major effort to check the decline in agriculture, so as to absorb the growing unemployment arising from the changed methods and prevent continued dependence on external markets, both for the sale of the country's many manufactured products and for supplies of a large part of its food requirements.



## Fruit and vegetables: formation of a Euro-African organisation

It is part of the Community programme that the african countries, Madagascar and Mauritius, associated with the E.E.C., should be encouraged to take part in international trade fairs and exhibitions. In this connection the Commission's Directorate General for Development and Cooperation organises meetings of specific trades if requests are put forward and given practical support by representatives of the Associated countries.

The aim of these meetings is to promote the formation and growth of established connections between producers in the A.A.S.M. and importers and distributors in the E.E.C. countries. In some cases, and for some products, they result in recommendations from trade representatives, which help to determine the line to be taken in organised promotion campaigns aimed at increasing sales of the products concerned in external markets.

Several such meetings have been held on the production and marketing of tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetables of A.A.S.M. origin. These have resulted in the formation of a liaison committee of african producers and european importers and distributors. The principal task of this committee is to provide its members with a permanent supply of mutual information, without which it does not seem possible to secure a smooth expansion in production and marketing. It is made up of representatives from all sections of the trade concerned—production, export,

The constitutive meeting for the Liaison Committee and those professionally engaged in the african production and european marketing for tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetables from the A.A.S.M. was held on May 11, 1973, when the A.A.S.M. were taking part in the Brussels International Fair.

► *Would you tell us the background circumstances which led the representatives of this trade to set up the committee?*

The initiative came from the Directorate General for Development and Cooperation of the E.E.C. Commission, under the section of the Yaoundé Convention which deals with aid for the promotion and marketing of produce from the A.A.S.M. It had called together producers in the different Associated african countries and Madagascar, and members of the trade engaged in

marketing tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetables in the E.E.C. countries. The object was to consider the possibility of securing bigger sales.

The first of these meetings was held in September 1971, during the A.A.S.M. participation in the Marseilles Fair. The contributions to these discussions showed agreement in the trade with the trade fair programme of the E.E.C., the principles of which had been laid down by the Council of Association.

This meeting had thus succeeded in its first task, and it was then decided to organise further meetings with more participants, both from the A.A.S.M. and from Community countries. Attendance was to be sought from members of the trades connected with the trade in tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetables, such as air and ocean transport companies and the transit trade.



transit, transport, import and distribution—in the Associated and the E.E.C. countries.

The intention is that these members of the trade will work together in seeking solutions for the problems which arise in all aspects of their activity, and more especially that they should carry out promotion campaigns in the markets of Community countries.

The Liaison Committee for Tropical and Out-of-Season Fruit and Vegetables from the A.A.S.M. is known from its french initials as COLEAMA (1). Its Chairman is Mr. E. N'koumo Mobio, also General Manager of SODEFEL (2). He has been kind enough to give us a few details about this first trade organisation to be set up between the Nine and the Associated african States, Madagascar and Mauritius.

(1) Charlottalei 51-53, B 2000 Antwerp (Belgium).

(2) Development Company for Fruit and Vegetable Production (french initials).

A further meeting was held at Rungis (Paris) on May 4 and 5, 1972. This was to lay down two governing principles.

The first necessity was to follow the progress of tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetables, both at the production and at the marketing stage. Both african and european members of the trade must be able to call on exchanges of information at all times. In other words, the **information must be continuous and reciprocal.**

The second of the governing principles was the **organisation of the action** needed to overcome existing marketing obstacles, and its development by advertising and promotion campaigns in conformity with a general plan.

Those present at the Rungis meeting adopted a recommendation, in accordance with which a working party was

set up on the initiative of the A.A.S.M. Council of Coordination. The working party held a number of meetings to work out the rules of an international association, which had been decided upon in principle in Paris, and to lay down the main objectives of the future committee.

A report was sent forward to the General Meeting, and on this basis those present decided unanimously to set up the **Liaison Committee for Tropical and Out-of-season Fruit and Vegetables of A.A.S.M. origin**. This is a committee of some 60 members, including A.A.S.M. producers and exporters, marketing companies in the E.E.C. countries, air and ocean transport and transit companies and various advisory bodies, including the Coordination Secretariat of the A.A.S.M. in Brussels and the competent departments of the E.E.C., I.F.A.C. and I.R.A.T.

► *Now that you have told us the object of the Committee, the various sections of the trade of which it is made up, and which are its distinguishing feature, could you tell us the main objectives which were laid down at the constitutive general meeting?*

The main objectives were defined at a number of meetings of which I have already spoken. They fall under four headings:

The first was the most reliable information possible on the state of tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetable production in the A.A.S.M., and the prospects of development. From the start this had been regarded as the cornerstone of the discussions to be held in the Committee.

At the same time the trade in Europe would have to keep its african partners posted regarding the state of the market in Community countries in Europe and the prospects for bigger sales in coming years.

The information would thus cover both the production and the marketing side. It would have to be rounded off by notes on the general state of business and information of an agro-technical kind.

There can, however, be no worthwhile thought without action. The Committee will therefore have to define the **action** to be taken:

— in the first instance to bring the **A.A.S.M. supplies more closely into line with the european demand;**

— secondly, to **increase the european demand**, so that A.A.S.M. production can expand.

The **transport** question, too, will call for close study. The goods are highly perishable and may move as refrigerated maritime cargo or by air. This will necessitate frequent contact with transport and transit specialists.

The final assignment for the Committee is contact with public authorities and organisations, national and international. This would be aimed at enabling members of the trade represented in the Committee to put forward their standpoint in any discussions in which their interests are involved.

The first three of these points call for continuous action. It was unanimously agreed from the first that this should be handled by the formation of subcommittees; and three such sub-committees are already active, dealing respectively with information, promotion campaigns and transport.

► *In the various meetings in which you have taken part, producers in the Associated countries have been recommended to have regard to the real outlets available in consuming countries as a guide to the consistent development of their production.*

*The Committee represents a great variety of trading groups and covers a very wide area. Do you think it is in a position to play its appointed part as adviser in all matters relating to production in the Associated countries and as promoter in all matters concerned with increasing sales in different external markets?*

I am firmly convinced that Coleama, our liaison committee, satisfies a need which is felt in the trade as a whole. This is the collection of information about actual and prospective production and the study of market possibilities, to determine trends and apply modern marketing techniques to develop the sales potential.

It is in fact the intention of our Committee to make the fullest possible use of marketing opportunities, for it is one

of the truisms of modern economic life that what you produce you should be able to sell.

The Committee receives and passes on much information and can thus play a useful part in advising A.A.S.M. producers and discourage them from embarking on wildcat production and cut-throat competition in products which cannot be sold on satisfactory terms and would involve serious losses. In addition, the promotion and advertising campaigns for tropical fruit and vegetables, carried out by european marketing companies, should be dynamic enough to result in a considerable increase in the sales of this produce. I am most sincerely convinced that the Liaison Committee is well placed to play the part of production counsellor and to be a dynamic force in promotion campaigns.

In conclusion I would like to add a few remarks. Discussions are now in progress for the renewal of the present Association Convention, which is also to be enlarged to bring in a number of other countries. It is my view that the work of COLEAMA, with the effective help it has from the E.E.C., might well serve as an example in other fields. After all, an association is really a state of mind among people who are working together. Our Coleama has brought together members of the same trade in the A.A.S.M. and the countries of the E.E.C., and they have now begun to work together in their own special field.

The promotion campaigns we contemplate are **important** for the A.A.S.M. producers of tropical and out-of-season fruit and vegetables, and they are **necessary** for the economic and social development of our countries. In addition, they can serve as an example. For this reason we think, and most sincerely hope, that the E.D.F. will take a sympathetic view in the aid it provides for this constructive operation.

► *One last question, Mr. N'Koumo Mobio. What are the conditions of eligibility for membership of Coleama?*

I would repeat, the Committee is an open organisation. All that is needed for membership is application to the appropriate committee organs and payment of the entrance fee and annual subscription. ■

# Education

*Primary school, Rwanda.*

*Give a man a fish and he has food for a day. Teach a man to fish and he has food for a lifetime. If there is a single stepping-stone to development for the Third World, it must be education.*

*Yet in the developed countries, there is more uncertainty about the best forms of education than there has ever been since the industrial age. These children with their slates (see photo) are learning to write as children have done for centuries, but their education as they grow up will be shaped by the changing preoccupations of the moment.*

*"Association News" devotes this dossier to examining these preoccupations, from the world-wide viewpoint of UNESCO to the closer approach of education specialists dealing with the Association. The broad conclusion is that it is time for the developing countries to tidy up the efforts made so far into defined educational policies aimed at providing training relevant to the needs of development.*

Clavreul



**"Everywhere education has to be adapted to the requirements of economic and social development, but the local cultural background must be borne in mind"**



Unesco

**Amadou Mahtar M'Bow**  
Deputy Director General for Education, UNESCO

**Paris:** Those who believe that the key problems of our time are fighting underdevelopment and maintaining peace are equally convinced of the importance of education for these purposes. In reply to questions put by "Association News" editor Alain Lacroix, the UNESCO Deputy Director General for Education, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, outlines the current difficulties in education and suggests solutions.

*Every country in the world is currently facing difficulties about education, and overhauling its education policy. Developing countries, therefore, are not the only ones affected, but many of them, especially in Africa south of the Sahara, seem to constitute a special case. This is that their difficulties arise partly from the education systems inherited from the colonial period, and partly from the accent which was been put during the past 15 years on the quantitative aspect. The latter was due to a variety of rather complex causes, including the resolutions of the 1961 conference at Addis Ababa, the increase in population and the wishes of parents. What do you think about this?*

Like yourself, I believe the peace problem is inseparable from the problem of a better sharing of the world's resources. It is certain that the world cannot live in peace so long as there is a serious gap between the material wealth of some countries and the poverty and ignorance of others. I therefore think the development of countries which are now the least well off is important for preserving peace. You said, too, that education and training play a vital part in development, and I would go further, and say that the past decade has shown us that development could not be pushed forward without training the people who will be capable of taking over.

As you also said, very important difficulties about education are cropping up in every country and systems are being re-

**Editor's note:** We wish to thank Mr. Hymans for his help in securing this interview.

viewed. We recently held a conference in Bucarest, attended by education ministers from all the countries of Europe. It had to consider the problems of higher education, and we found that the problems under this head arise in almost the same terms in eastern and in western Europe. In Africa, too, the education problems are broadly similar, though they do not arise in precisely the same terms as in other developing countries. Everywhere the education has to be adapted to the conditions and requirements of the country's economic and social development, but local cultural backgrounds have also to be borne in mind. In Africa, as you rightly emphasise, the development of education since 1960 has been largely on the quantitative side, and I believe this was in line with what was wanted by the countries themselves. It appeared that modern teaching and modern education were not only the key to development, but that they were also the path to social promotion. It was the élite, who had come through the schools set up in Africa by the Europeans, who had to take charge of the political destiny of most of the african countries. There was thus a very considerable demand for education in most of these countries. The demand was enhanced by the growth in population, so that there was a big increase in the number of school children in most of the countries, which could not happen without some slight prejudice to the quality of the education. In the majority of cases the educational systems were designed on the european pattern and developed from it, and it became increasingly clear that these systems were not suitable for the conditions in the african countries, and for their development requirements. So long, however, as these systems had not developed up to a certain point, I do not think it was possible to assess their inconveniences.



*The consequences of this "education explosion" are quite well known. There were too many school children and too many could not make the grade. There was a recurrence of illiteracy and, despite the efforts of recent years, neither the syllabus nor the teachers were suitable for the needs of the country. The knowledge gained was often too abstract to be used in rural life and this widened the gap between town and country, between the administrator and the peasant.*

*Perhaps the most serious consequence has been the existence of unemployed intellectuals, despite, or perhaps because of, the high proportion of education expenditure in national budgets. A given number of years schooling, and perhaps a diploma, are not necessarily sufficient qualification for a job. Do you not think that the improvements which must be made should be based on the need for a link between employment and education? This would set up forecasting difficulties and a whole range of priority requirements at different levels.*

I think the position regarding education in Africa is now extremely serious. As you say, the systems in most of the countries have been developed in such a way that the expenditure accounts for a very large part of the national budget. Education has not solved all the development problems or even the most fundamental ones, and the paradox has arisen that the high cost of it is acting as a brake on the development process. This is because most of the young people who have been through the schools were not prepared for the tasks which development implies. Most of the young people, when they have finished their schooling, abandon their rural surroundings and crowd into the towns. In general they find they have no prospect of a job, partly because there are not enough vacancies and partly because their education and training has not prepared them for one. This was not only because the whole education system in most African countries was inherited from the developed countries, but still more because of the ultimate objective assigned to schooling in the colonial system. The function of the schools was to prepare adolescents for medium-grade and subordinate employment, or ordinary office jobs in the administration or in private firms. Education in the colonial period was essentially "elitist". In 1960, the average primary school attendance on the African continent was 16% of children of primary school age, varying between 30 or 40% in some countries and less than 10% in others. Schooling was thus selective and, so far as there was wastage, the pupils would return to their own background and could continue in work similar to that in which their parents were engaged. This is no longer the case. What you have is mass education, with an average rate of primary school attendance of 45 or 50% for Africa as a whole and as high as 70 or 80% in some countries. These young scholars think that once they have been through a modern school, their work can no longer be linked with traditional activities, but belongs to the modern world. In practice they have not been prepared to take their place in the modern production circuit, nor has that circuit any jobs to offer them. There is thus an accumulation of young people who have had primary, and perhaps the rudiments of secondary education, but have not been conditioned for employment and can find

no opening for them in the towns. This is a two-fold loss for the country—a loss in resources spent on their education, and a loss to the community which must needs support them without having the benefit of their contribution to its production. This is the whole problem of the overhaul of our education systems. I do not mean, of course, that the schooling must be based wholly on preparation for the future job. It has to give every individual a general education, fitting him or her to play his part in defining the aims of the community to grasp the problems of his country and take part in such action as may determine its progress. Employment, nevertheless, is the most important social fact, and the job itself is the individual's participation in the progress of the society. A youngster who has not the means to participate in this way is less useful to society than one who has. The problems of education, training and employment are therefore closely linked, and UNESCO is doing all it can to strengthen the connection.

*There is now an all-round movement to seek an education system which will be more suitable and more effective. You yourself wrote the preface to a work by a high UNESCO official, which contained the following comment: "In most countries in the world, in Africa and elsewhere, education has become a mighty economic enterprise; but in this age of nuclear energy, electronics and supersonic aircraft, it is still at the artisan stage". It was presumably in the desire to go further that a committee under UNESCO auspices and with Edgar Faure as its chairman, issued a report under the title "Learn to Be". Has UNESCO developed from this an education strategy for the future, particularly for Africa?*

It cannot be said that UNESCO has developed from the committee report an education strategy for the future which will be valid for all countries. The report sets out to study the present educational trends in the world, to identify the problems in educational development in all parts of the world, and to relate them to the prospects of general development. The study is, of course, a general one valid for all countries and containing food for reflection everywhere. At the UNESCO level, we consider it is for the individual country itself to determine the strategy of educational development. The lesson UNESCO has learnt with certainty from the work of the International Committee on Educational Development is demonstrated by the fact that we are now encouraging every country to proceed in the first instance to a definition of its educational development policy. I will try to describe the basis for this.

We believe that the time has come for the African countries to embark on a programme of analysis and reflection. The task of reforming an education system is not particularly easy. It presupposes, in the first instance, a critical analysis of the system as it now functions. The first task, we believe, should be for each of the African countries to undertake a very serious annual study, embodying a critical analysis of the system as it has developed to date. On the basis of this analysis, a general education policy should be laid down, taking into account the objectives of the country's economic and social development and therefore of its own specific characteristics, its requirements and its cultural context. In many countries, we believe, there is at present no considered policy of educational

development. Once the policy has been laid down, the next stage is to plan the general development of education in terms of the general objectives laid down for the country as a whole. We believe that in action undertaken on these lines the initial training and education cannot be separated from the recurrent training. By this we mean that the system must be adapted to development requirements, employment requirements and the continued need for refresher knowledge. The refresher element is an absolute must in the world in which we live, because of the rapid advance in knowledge, the changes induced by scientific and technological advances and the resulting modification in the processes of production.



*"It has become clear everywhere that the education system must be transformed and adapted to the concrete needs of the african countries".*

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*Considering education in all its aspects, what part do you think should be played by vocational training and adult education?*

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In answering this, I should like to talk of my african experience. I find that at present Africa has a good deal to contribute to the rest of the world on educational development. In the traditional african system there is an intimate connection between the various aspects of education—acquisition of knowledge, knowhow, civic and moral instruction and vocational training. It is thought that if education is to be a reality, it must be based on these elements. In fact we have inherited education systems from Europe in which knowledge is, for the most part, kept separate from knowhow and vocational training, and also from the civic and moral instruction which is bypassed in most of the modern education systems. I think the general system needs a new angle, which will take account of these requirements and thus become all-embracing and integral.

This is beginning to be recognised in many european countries. I am not referring to the east european countries, in which vocational initiation is regarded as indispensable from the outset, beginning at the primary level and still more marked at the secondary, so that the child is not separated from the production background but is consistently aware of it. Nor am I speaking of the case of China, where the problems of general education and vocational training are at present linked together. There are other examples, including the U.S.S.R., but I am speaking here about the countries of western Europe. In Sweden, for example, secondary education is so designed that no adolescent can emerge from it without being able to find his place in the production circuit. In other words, the system provides a general education and, in parallel with it, a number of choices by which children who enter the secondary system very early in their school career can acquire vocational specialisation. Thus, the secondary school is not merely an ante-room

to the university, but also a means of access to the pupil's career. The problem would exist at the present time in most european countries if secondary education were regarded as a privilege for the chosen minority, but now that it has been democratised this is no longer the case, and the compulsory school age has been raised in some countries to 16 or 17. It is necessary to give young people who embark on secondary education a chance of coming out of it and going straight into their careers. In Brazil, too, a system of "professionalisation" has been introduced into the secondary system. Nowadays the secondary stage is not regarded solely as a form of general education providing access to higher education, but a system which may be sufficient in itself, and enable the pupil to choose between the academic and the vocational sequel.

In Africa the problem seems to arise in exactly the same terms. It is the wish of the Africans to reform their education system, to incorporate the good elements in the traditional system and enable it to produce adults who will not only be generally educated but will have the knowledge and knowhow they need to find their place in the production effort as soon as they leave school. **The result would be immediate integration into the needs of the country and of society.** There are some countries which are doing this already. In Cameroon, for example, there is at present an extremely important reform in progress.

All this applies to rural as well as to urban communities. I am emphasising this afresh because all our education systems seem to prepare the children for urban life and do not keep them back in the rural community. It is also our view, of course, that education should be considered globally, which means that the education of children and adolescents must be combined with the education and training of adults. We are well aware that the present process of economic development in Africa sets up the need for acquiring a number of basic techniques which have to be inculcated into the adult population, even to people who have not been to school. Hence the importance we now attribute to adult education and the elimination of illiteracy.

*In the 35 countries in Africa south of the Sahara it is estimated that 75 or 80% of the population lives in rural communities. Should there not be a special campaign to develop agricultural education, which seems to be very insufficient?*

Indeed, I think agricultural education should be developed, but I think we must go further. Though so high a proportion of the people live the rural life, the whole education system is designed in terms of the urban experience. Thus the country children are stuffed with notions which have nothing to do with their own background, but taken from something quite different. Our first problem is to adapt the education in the country districts to the realities of those districts, but this does not mean that the children in the country should get an education of lower quality than that of the urban children. We think the children in rural districts are less well off than their town counterparts because they are spoon fed with ideas entirely different from those of their own background. There is also the fact that though the development of Africa must, as things stand, involve a good deal of industrialisation, there must also be very important changes in the rural world, and a modernisation of agriculture. Most of the time the obstacle to this is that the peasantry lack a number of the necessary skills and techniques. This enhances the need for agricultural education not only in rural districts, but also in the town, so that there can be an all-out effort for rural development.

There are several ways of going about this. In some countries attempts have been made to see that rural development becomes a motive force in the general system of education. It must, however, be admitted that education can only play this part if the teaching personnel are prepared for it. I would quote the case of Senegal, where a teachers' training unit was set up in a school for rural supervisors. The idea was that the future school teachers should **get closer to their pupils and their preoccupations** by absorbing some of the training given to the rural supervisors, which would be useful to them as teachers when they return to the villages. Moreover, they would thus be seeking to go further than the school itself and play in the community which would take account of its specific work and action, and contribute to its progress and the process of change. **This is both a balancing factor and a help in the process of social change.**

This is the problem in the form in which it arises. In my view agricultural education is not enough in itself, but education as such should be increasingly slanted towards rural development. In Cameroon, there is a project which is being carried out with UNESCO cooperation. This is the Institute for Rural Education, a project on which the Head of State has spoken several times. Its effect is to give the education system a deeper root in the realities of Cameroon and more especially in its rural realities.

*It is often suggested that audio-visual teaching methods would be a good way of dealing with these requirements.*

*Some of the studies go beyond the techniques which are currently in use, and a UNESCO mission has been studying the possibility of dealing with these educational requirements by satellite. What do you consider to be the usefulness of these audio-visual methods for a school which has to prepare its pupils not only for examinations, but also for life itself?*

In most developing countries audio-visual methods can be an extremely valuable auxiliary, both for the quantitative expansion of education and for improving its quality. In UNESCO we have given much thought to the question. Naturally we do not think these modern techniques can ever replace the schoolmaster, but they may result in considerable improvements in the quality of education. This is because, with these modern techniques, the teaching process is no longer one of memorising facts but of becoming aware of a number of realities in sight and sound, so that the children do not have to absorb them merely in the abstract. This is what I regard as a considerable improvement in the educational quality.

We also think that in countries where the distances are very great and there is no educational infrastructure, radio and



C.C.E. — « Vivante Afrique »

*Learning to read and write, Senegal.*



*Education is not limited to the classroom. Above, the farming school at Louga, Senegal (see article).*

television may be an extremely important diffusion medium, not only for education in the scholastic sense, but also for the general education of the population as a whole, and especially for adults. It is for this reason that UNESCO is currently seeking to promote the use of modern technologies for the development of education in developing countries. The UNESCO action regarding the use of communications satellites is part of this campaign. As you know, we now have a number of projects in hand. One is in Latin America and this is by now quite advanced. One in Africa is under consideration and also one in India, while Iran, too, is taking an interest in communication satellites. The important thing about satellites is that they provide access to a very disperse population spread over very wide areas without any considerable infrastructure at ground level. In most cases, therefore, we eliminate the relay station which might be put up at ground level in favour of direct transmission either by radio or as sound-and-picture programmes by television. UNESCO regards this as very important, but I cannot deny that it raises problems. One is the problem of keeping control of the content of the education. It is thought in some countries that once satellites can be used there will no longer be any possibility of supervising the message. By satellite anybody can send any message he pleases, and it is thought this may raise problems of cultural or other domination. In any case UNESCO is now studying the methods by which satellites could be used to deal with educational requirements in wide-spread regions, keeping to a minimum the possibility of negative cultural influences which some people fear.

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*Is there not also some problem about adapting the message to the different backgrounds of each country or geographical zone?*

I fully agree that this is also a problem at the present stage. The backgrounds and situations are, as you say, very different. One has to allow for the specific characteristics of each country, and even in so huge a country as India account has to be taken

of regional differences. In my view, however, these are problems which can be overcome. Work is being done on this, and we are in touch with the governments concerned. It is quite possible we shall arrive at approaches which will permit the full use of these new technologies for the advance of education as well as that of science and culture.

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*Another problem arising is that of language. Often the teaching is given in a language which is not that used by the pupils at home or in the village. There is now a body of opinion in Africa which does not deny the educational and contact value of the great international languages, but nevertheless presses for the more frequent use of one of the dominant national or regional languages. Prospects under this head differ from one geographical area to another, and as between the different educational levels. Could you give our readers your views on this important problem?*

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The problem of the teaching in the pupil's mother tongue is certainly becoming a matter of concern in most African countries. In Nigeria we have a study in progress for a general educational development scheme, which will of course be carried out within the framework of action taken by the government. We are contributing to working out a 15-year plan, and the first section of it provides for primary education to be "universalised" within five years. The problem of teaching in the mother tongue arises in this connection. The Nigerians deal with it by beginning the primary education in all the states in the mother language of the children. There are various other countries, such as Tanzania, where the problem has a practical solution because Swahili has become the teaching language at the level of primary education. The official language, whether it be French or English, is of course not neglected. In some cases it is introduced at the end of the second or third year, but in others it is kept back until the end of the primary cycle. It becomes predominant in secondary education and sometimes in higher education. There is a very definite wish for the African mother tongues to be used.

Naturally this also raises quite a number of problems, for in most of the african countries these are not written languages and they are themselves somewhat diversified by ethnic and other differences. This is an inconvenience, but I think it can be dealt with in most of the countries. I think, therefore, that mother tongue teaching has a promising future, and will probably hold the field to an increasing extent, at any rate in primary education.

There is still the problem of adult education and illiteracy. In most cases we find it is the official language which has been used in the combat against illiteracy and this has had setbacks almost everywhere. It is certain that if this combat is to be broadened, it will have to be done by using the mother tongues of the adults themselves.

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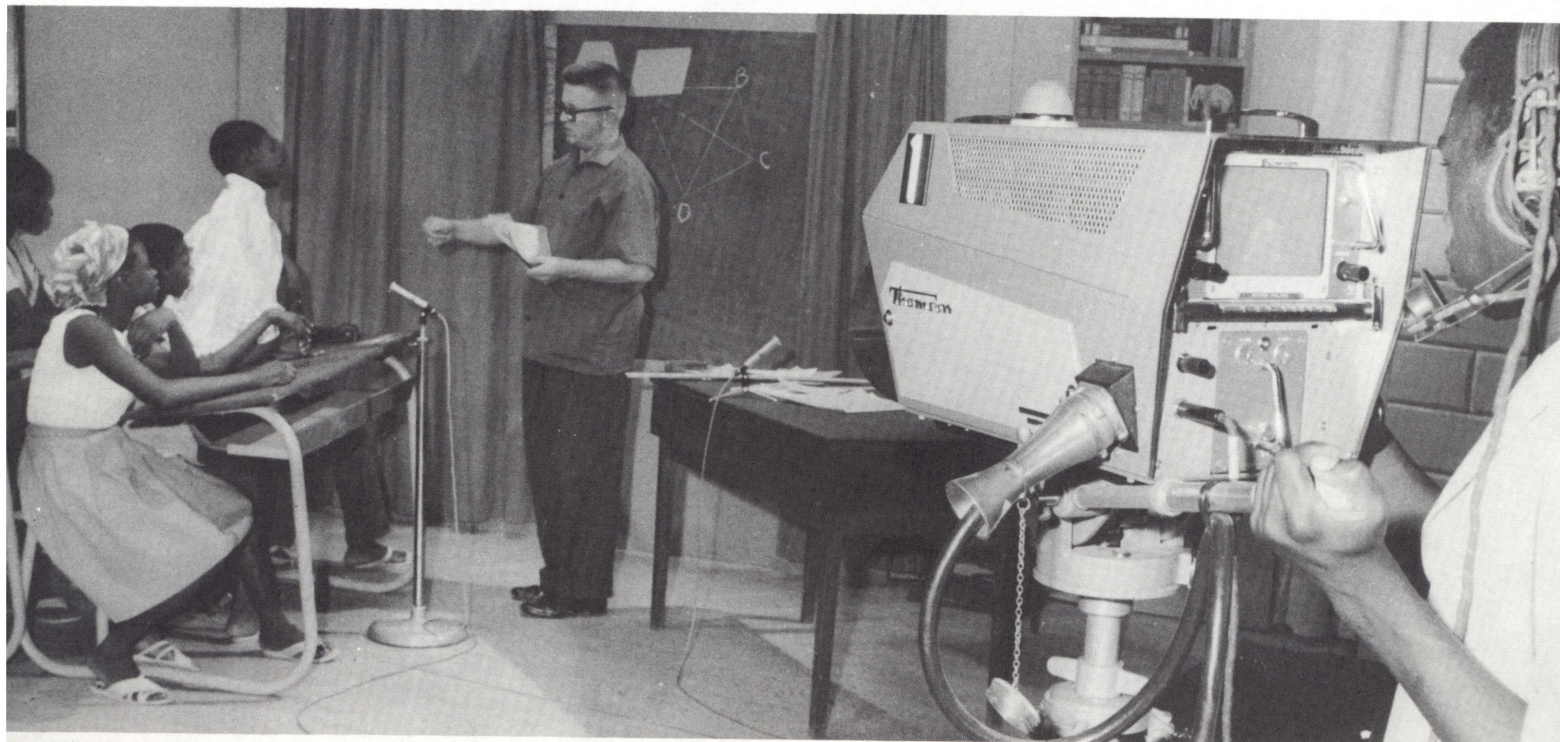
*Behind all improvements there is a finance problem. Already some of the african countries are devoting 20 or 30% of their budgets to education expenditure, as you told us at the beginning of this talk. Often, too, something like 80% of the money provided represents personnel costs. Do you think the money laid out on this enormous educational campaign might be the better spent if there were a clearer and more realistic definition of the methods and objectives, if some of the new techniques were used, and if external aid were more closely adapted to the needs of the country concerned?*

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I should say at once that everything depends on the goodwill of the governments concerned. I think the african countries are now faced with a challenge. This calls on them to transform their education systems so that they are better adapted to their own requirements in economic and social development and also to their cultural context. I agree that this is not an easy matter, particularly since you cannot make a clean sweep of the influence of history, which is extremely strong in most of the african countries. I have been wondering whether the desire of the governments is not sometimes frustrated by the population desiring the opposite. This sounds contradictory, but I will try to explain.

When you start talking about transforming the education system, you run into two sets of difficulties. The first is that most of those in charge were themselves brought up under the old system and think that, since this was good enough for training those now in charge, it must be perfectly suitable for their own children. This, I would say again, is only true to the extent that these systems were only there for a limited number of children and young people, which is no longer the case today when education has risen to much bigger proportions. The objectives must be reviewed in the light of the general requirements of society. The other difficulty is that the population itself often thinks that systems which produced the people now in charge must clearly be good systems. They are apt to tell themselves that if the system were to be changed, the result might be that their children would not have an education

*Young Africans are increasingly familiar with audio-visual education techniques.*



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through which they could rise to the same levels of responsibility. As you will see, the people in charge are not always in a very comfortable position. I think there are a number of blind alleys which must oblige most of the african countries to overhaul their education systems sooner or later, to bring them in line with the current development needs. As I said at the outset, this requires the country concerned to have a clear view of the objectives in training and education.

It is not possible to apprehend these objectives without beginning with a critical analysis of the position. This means looking to see what there is in the existing system which is positive or negative, and laying down a new strategy for educational development, taking into account the results secured hitherto and the objectives laid down for economic, social and cultural development. It is not realistic to suggest that any system of education can be wholly transformed overnight. Once we have fixed the objectives of education and the desired endproduct, the process of transformation can begin and the current position can be changed by degrees. Even here there must be no illusions. The educational reforms, just like the development plans, call for readjustment at intervals. This has to be handled in such a way that the education process maintains its continuity, but it must introduce

the reforms necessitated by the new requirements of society which is far from being a fixed and static entity. As society develops, so must the new systems develop, and we must always be ready to adapt ourselves to new changes.

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*I should like to put one last question. In the position you occupy, do you at present see some degree of similarity of attitude over specific geographical areas, such as Africa, between the english-speaking and the french-speaking countries?*

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Yes. Moreover I think the situation is the same, and both english-speaking and french-speaking countries are feeling the same needs. I am not saying the impulsions are the same, or that there is a general decision everywhere to go as far as possible. There are some countries which feel the changes are necessary and must be put in hand at once and carried out by degrees. There are others which have not yet felt this need to the full. But I think it is generally recognised that changes have got to be made in the system of education and that these changes must adapt the system to the definite requirements of the african countries. ■




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*Where is West Africa? Almost on top of the world, to judge from this geography class in Senegal.*

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## How it all began

The following is an extract from a lecture by Director General M'Bow at the Académie des Sciences d'Outre-mer (Paris) on May 18, 1973. His title was «Education problems and UNESCO»

"On March 7, 1817 Jean Dard opened an elementary school at Saint-Louis in Senegal. He was the first school teacher to be sent to Africa, and Senegal was one of the trading posts France had just recovered under the two Treaties of Paris in 1814 and 1815. These restored to France all the "colonies, fisheries, trading posts and establishments of whatever nature which she had possessed on January 1, 1792" and which had been in british occupation during the wars of the Revolution and the Empire.

Jean Dard was a Burgundian of 27, a native of the little village of Maconge in the Canton of Pouilly-en-Montagne, now known as Pouilly-en-Auxois. The opening of his school was the beginning of schooling systems of the european type in one of the territories which were later to be the french colonies in Africa. The English had opened their first school at Freetown in the week of October 31, 1792, with a certain Mr. Field as the schoolmaster. The colony of Sierra Leone had been founded in 1787 for the african slaves liberated as a result of the campaigns in Great Britain led by William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson.

In the french west african group of colonies, there were about a hundred thousand pupils in the various types of educational establishment in 1938. The development of education continued in other french colonies, and in

british ones, where the effort was on a bigger scale and in conditions which were similar, though not identical.

After the second world war, there was a radical change. The education systems were progressively brought into line with those of the metropolitan countries, alike in structure, syllabus and methods. There was a rapid growth in the number of pupils which was due, in the french-speaking countries, to finance provided by F.I.D.E.S. After 1957, as the result of an enabling Act, there was a positive "education explosion". By 1960, however, the rate of primary school attendance was still only about 16% over the whole african continent, and out of a hundred children entering the primary schools only three could be given secondary education and scarcely two in every 1000 could find their way to a university.

For age groups above 15 years an average of 81% were illiterate and in a number of countries the proportion was over 90%. The school attendance rate was thus less than a third of the world rate at the primary stage, proportionately still lower at the secondary and at the university level it was only 0.09% compared with a world proportion of 3%. There were also considerable disparities between different countries, and in almost all cases the mass of the rural population was still completely illiterate."



*Nothing but smiles from these secondary school girls in Upper Volta.*

# Education and the Association

by Giovanni LIVI\*

“The beginning and end of development is the human being”, President Senghor has written. Since the early sixties the education and training of human beings, especially for responsible staff jobs, has been one of the major cares of the new african states.

## Diversity of method

As early as 1960, the European Community was considering devoting part of its programme to the training of young administrative and equivalent staff, by the award of bursaries for education and training to candidates from the A.A.S.M. and the other Associated countries and territories overseas. It took the view that cooperation in regard to study and training was the line of action which best brought out the human reality of the Association. The programme began with a few dozen bursaries, but the number had risen within four years to over a thousand and doubled again by 1968. Today there are some 2 800 bursaries and courses, academic and vocational, in the three priority sectors—agriculture, technology and economics.

The programme based on bursaries has been rounded off with other programmes of an educational character. These include a programme of vocational and practical courses; bursaries for correspondence courses; refresher courses for civil servants from the oversea countries; discussion meetings designed for their citizens; the development of “Association News” as an instrument of information and documentation on the Association and eurafrican relations; and most of all, by specific schemes of vocational training. The latter are specially worked out to deal with actual developments in Associated countries in some particular field, or to provide ad hoc training, in most cases on the spot, to complete some economic or rural investment. They make take the form of the training or further training of personnel, the provision of supervisory instructors for the development of a specific crop (such as rice), the training of intermediate staff in various economic sectors, schemes of activities for the female population, the training of staff for cooperatives and kindred schemes. Instructors are also sent out to work in technical training establishments, some constructed with E.D.F. finance, and for other specific training schemes.

The schemes are a complement to the big investments made by successive european development funds in providing buildings to reinforce the capacity of the school infrastructure and channel its work into the social-economic necessities of the A.A.S.M.

## Continuous development

Because of the progress the Associated countries have made, the Community is diversifying its aid to their social development.

In the first period of Association (Treaty of Rome of 1957 and the annexed Convention), the first E.D.F. put the main accent on developing the basic economic and social infrastructure. The training schemes began with a programme limited to 70 bursaries for study purposes, available to nationals of the Associated countries and territories and aimed at giving them specialised training for such work as was most necessary for the economic and social progress of their countries. At the request of the Associated countries, too, a programme of training courses was organised for young workers at staff levels to give them an insight into european problems and the work of the Commission.

Under the first Yaoundé Convention (1964-69) there was a considerable increase in the intervention of the second E.D.F. in projects of a directly productive character, especially in agriculture. There was an increase in the award of bursaries to be held either in Africa or in Europe, training courses, short-term training schemes and discussion meetings on the life of the Association. In June 1966 the European Parliament emphasised the importance of technical and cultural cooperation in a resolution which called for “an increase in the vocational training schemes for the staff grades” in the Associated countries. The Commission duly put this into practice, strengthening it and diversifying its action under the training headings. The previous year had seen the beginnings of a bursary scheme for correspondence courses, and next came specific training programmes for staff and personnel needed for the operation of various industrial investments.

The second Yaoundé Convention (1969 to January 1975) was a period of further intervention by the third E.D.F. in economic infrastructure schemes and directly productive sectors. It also gave prominence to the work which had to be done to promote industrialisation and the marketing of products, and also to tourist development. It thus broadened the scope of financial and technical cooperation to cover all sectors of social and economic development. As a result, the training schemes were developed and made more precise. The number of student bursaries and training courses rose from 2 269 in 1969-70 to about 2 800 in 1973-74. There were increases, too, in correspondence course bursaries and discussion meetings. In addition, training aid was given in relation to specific projects. This took many forms, ranging from correspondence courses (Ivory Coast) and activities for the womenfolk in Niger, to horticultural training and diet education in Dahomey and the vocational training centre for public works at Bangui. More often than hitherto training schemes of this kind are now included in projects relating to all the sectors, especially agricultural development, road building, drainage and sanitation schemes, hydraulic works, education and the tourist trade.

\* Head of the Training Courses and Conferences Division of the EEC Commission, Brussels.



## The teaching system and the social side

The training aid given to holders of bursaries is not limited to the mere administration of the financial side. The various departments of the E.D.F. are also developing continuous programmes on the educational and social side, so that the period of study in Europe shall be cultural as well as technical. In doing this they are seeking to mitigate the culture shock which is often inevitable, and to enable the holders of bursaries to gain a knowledge of eurafrican relationships. These schemes are worked out jointly with the management agencies which cooperate with the Commission in the E.D.F. programmes of bursaries and training courses in Europe. For bursaries held in France the agency is the Centre International des Etudiants et Stagiaires (C.I.E.S.), in the Netherlands the Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Tropen (K.I.T.), for Germany the Carl Duisberg-Gesellschaft (C.D.G.), for Italy Centro Italiano Viaggi Istruzione Studenti (C.I.V.I.S.) and for Belgium the Association Européenne pour la Coopération (A.E.C.). Provision on the same lines is made for the increasingly large number of bursary holders who complete their training studies in Africa where, of course, the expatriation problem is not such a big difficulty. It is worth noting that about a third of the holders of E.D.F. bursaries working in Africa pursue their studies in some country other than their own. The universities and training institutes receiving the greatest numbers of african bursars from other countries are those in Cameroon, the Ivory Coast and Senegal.

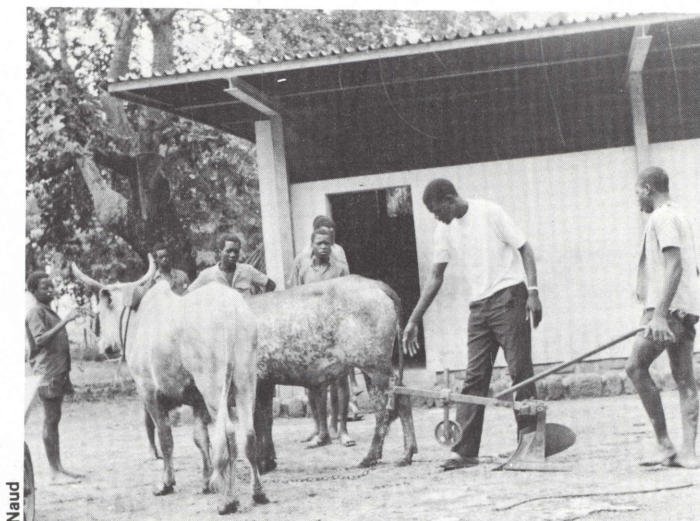
## 2. EDUCATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS

One of the objectives of the E.D.F. has been to build schools, secondary schools and universities to deal with the growing demand for education in Associated countries since they became independent. In anything so fundamental as the school infrastructure, action which merely deals with the demand is not enough. It is necessary also to anticipate the social and economic impact of each establishment built, and estimate how far the buildings conform to local requirements and habits and what part they will play in the education system of the Associated country concerned.

The support given by the E.D.F., though its aim has been to strengthen and complete the capacity of the school buildings, has also been slanted towards the need for adapting education to the social and economic requirements of the A.A.S.M.

The investment in school buildings and infrastructure has been considerable, amounting to over u.a. 115 m from the first E.D.F. and almost u.a. 71 m from the second. Among the improvements thus made possible have been buildings for 3 275 primary classes, housing for 1 836 teachers, 40 secondary schools for 18 500 pupils (including 5 230 boarders), 37 supplementary courses, 13 teachers' training colleges, six high schools, the extension of various university faculties, the setting up of some 50 vocational and technical training schools and about 200 supervisory-instruction centres to deal with the need for agricultural training, which is the most urgent of all requirements.

Behind these figures is the fact that the E.D.F. aid has been aimed to support the school building and vocational training



*Rural school financed by the E.D.F. at Toumoussiné, Upper Volta.*

work done by individual governments as the requirements have come to light. In Cameroon, for example, the E.D.F. has built and equipped 177 schools in 46 communes, and between 1963 and 1967 it financed buildings for 767 classes, 480 housing units and 14 washhouse blocks. It would be shirking the issue to construct school buildings without taking the trouble to enquire how far the educational conception was sound, whether it was adapted to local requirements and whether the school could fulfil its purpose and become a living force. Evaluation missions from the E.D.F. have been able to check up with the governments concerned on the value of each construction project, on the quantitative and qualitative improvement in education, the reaction of local populations, the school attendance rate, the qualifications required of teaching personnel and their conditions of employment.

In most cases the targets have been reached. In some, however, experience has shown the architectural design to be unduly advanced for the village background, or that there were maintenance problems either through lack of funds or, more often, because there was insufficient personnel available locally for the normal maintenance tasks.

The third E.D.F. has already approved expenditure of about four million u.a. in the various sectors of educational infrastructure. In primary education an outstanding instance has been the building of a school at Bonaire in the Netherlands Antilles. In secondary education the projects have included the extension of the Vogt de Nivolye College in Cameroon; a general education college at Nossi-Bé in Madagascar for 320 pupils; four general education colleges in Mauritania; accommodation for 48 primary education classes at Nouakchott; the technical school for 250 pupils at Aruba in the Netherlands Antilles; and the vocational training centre for Public Works at Bangui in the Central African Republic. For higher education a whole series of building projects have been carried out. They include the teachers' training school for 200 pupils in Burundi; the architectural High School for 350 pupils at Kinshasa; and at Paramaribo (Surinam) the semi-university Technical Institute for 1 845 students which plans separate faculties for medicine, law, social and economic science, general science and the

# CASTAFRICA

## "Science and technology in the service of african development"

The "Castafrica" conference, organised on UNESCO initiative, was concerned with the use of science and technology in african development.

It was attended by 200 leading personalities, including 38 ministers of african governments and representatives of a number of international organisations, such as the O.A.U. and the E.A.C. It met at Dakar on January 21-30 1974, under the chairmanship of Mr. Djibril Sène, General Scientific Delegate of Senegal. The conference was the occasion for the african countries to summarise what had been done during the 10 previous years, and for determining objectives which would result in science and technology being applied in the service of african development.

Three subjects were discussed :

1. Trends in scientific and technological policy in african countries.
2. Potential for application and development of new technologies in Africa.
3. Scientific and technological cooperation in Africa.

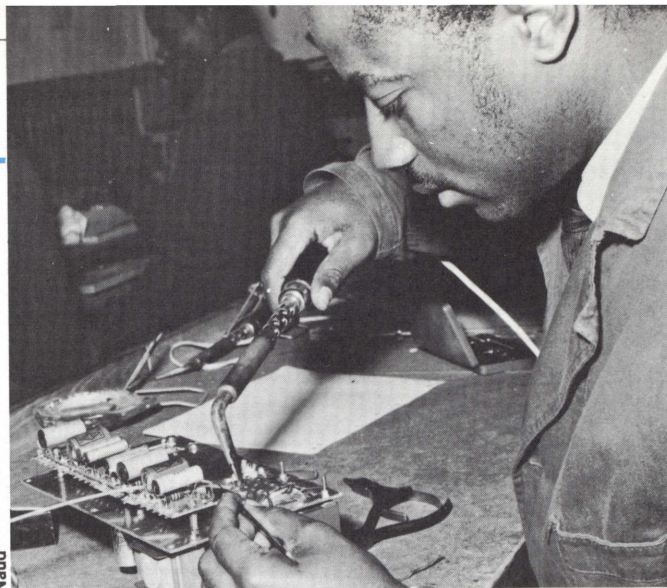
The background to the discussions was the problem of education and training. The research workers of tomorrow are still in the primary and secondary schools of today, said the senegalese Education Minister, Mr. Doudou N'Gom. He underlined the importance of research institutions, giving active consideration to the help they could bring towards **scientific education at the elementary and secondary levels**, both in regard to changes in the syllabus and in the training of teachers.

The President, Mr. Sène, gave priority to a deliberate policy for training research workers. In french-speaking Africa there are 400 research workers, of whom 20% work in Senegal, and two-thirds of them are French. The training policy should lead to an increase in Africa's own potential in this field. He emphasised, however, the dangers inherent in the transfers of technology, which are not based on reciprocity. In conclusion he noted that one per cent of the G.N.P. of Senegal is at present used for research (F-CFA 2 000 m.), but France is paying 60% of the research costs and asks that the financial contribution should be raised accordingly.

The UNESCO Director General, Mr. R. Maheu, emphasised that recent figures show the expenditure by countries in the region on **research and development activities amounts to F-CFA 62 000 m. (\$270 m.)** per annum. This is only 0.5% of the total world expenditure under this heading, but the important thing is, that science and technology should take their due place in intellectual life.

The main concern throughout the conference was the very poor supply of scientists and engineers in most of the african countries. Every way of improving this was regarded as having a high priority, whether in primary, secondary or university education, or in the training and employment of scientists in research and development. A basic change in the education system is needed, so that young people should be more actively interested, from the primary school onwards, in scientific problems as opposed to literary or legal pursuits, which come more naturally to most Africans. With this in view a special campaign has been started in Zambia, where school science classes are proving extremely popular among primary schools and are counted to develop the taste for natural science and the exact sciences from the youngest age-groups.

There was unanimous recognition for the essential part in national research programmes played by universities and other institutions at university level. All delegations supported the view that university



Neud

studies would have to be re-organised in the sense of better adaptation to local african problems, which would mean integrating university research into the other national programmes. It will also be necessary to find means of securing practical application for the results of research. The conference accordingly regarded it as indispensable that there be set up a **permanent system of two-way communication** between the supply and the demand for scientific knowledge and improved technology.

Though it is necessary to import up-to-date technologies, this should be done with discernment because of the need in most cases for adaptation to local requirements. Africa should, however, extend its own competence in the development of new or local technologies. An example often quoted is the development of medicinal plants in the Ivory Coast, in which the accent was put on the use and improvement of local or traditional technologies. Priority must be given to everything connected with the development of rural districts. The aspects most frequently mentioned are :

- water supplies;
- solar energy;
- medicinal plants;
- small independent power generators;
- many special aspects of agronomy and animal technology.

There are a number of well known obstacles to the transfer, or development, of technologies. Among those discussed were the lack of manpower; lack of training facilities; lack of inter-laboratory communication; insufficient scale of scientific departments; total dependence on the outside world for scientific equipment; insufficient information on the scientific side regarding Community policy in development cooperation.

External intervention should be different in character from ordinary bilateral aid. Various lines of action were laid down as a basis for discussion in working out more complete proposals. Education and training must be put in the foreground, and it must be a long-term policy to give the closest study and maximum application to all methods of stimulating the scientific spirit at every level.

The conference adopted a number of recommendations on various aspects of scientific and technical policy between now and 1980. The indispensable points were:

1. All african countries should earmark 1% of their G.N.P. to research and development;
2. There must be a target of at least **1-2 000** scientists and engineers for every million inhabitants, and of these, 10% should be directly assigned to research and development work;
3. **A special UNESCO fund** should be set up with a specific sub-regional scientific sub-heading for West Africa, providing for a series of consultations, studies and specific measures to reinforce research and development activities in Africa.

The general feeling of the conference was that the **key to the problem of the shortage of technicians on all levels lies in the primary and secondary education system**. As has already been emphasised, therefore, the important thing is to reorganise the education system so as to give priority to the scientific disciplines.

The general expansion in education was described several times as one of the chief phenomena of change in african society. The enemy is ignorance of the advantage accruing from science and technology. Large-scale campaigns against illiteracy must be associated with campaigns to make people science-conscious, so as to promote the scientific attitude in every-day life. ■

## THE OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (LONDON) CRITICISES THE YAOUNDÉ CONVENTION

**Jacques Ferrandi, Assistant Director General in charge of E.D.F., replies**

"This Association is now an aim for some and a goal for others. I think this is a two-fold proof that it is a success".

The above is part of the reply given by Mr. Jacques Ferrandi, in a talk with Association News, to criticisms of the E.D.F. made by British author David Jones in an interesting study titled "Europe's Chosen Few", recently published by the Overseas Development Institute, London. Mr. Jones writes during the current negotiations between the E.E.C. on the one side, and 43 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Indian and Pacific Oceans on the other. His main criticism is that the present Yaoundé Convention applies only to a limited geographical area, and in particular he criticises the manner of granting and the operation of financial and technical co-operation.

► *You have often said you regretted that the present Association was not better known among the English-speaking countries, even though there has lately been progress. This makes David Jones' book useful. He states at the end that "for the Associated countries, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages", but he nevertheless makes rather severe criticisms of the Association and the E.D.F. Could you begin by saying why, over a 15-year period, the Association has not extended over a bigger area?*

The Association is a child of the Treaty of Rome of 1957. At that time the 18 independent States now grouped in the Association were territories or colonies of France, Italy or Belgium. To them must be added the dependent countries and territories which include the French overseas departments or

territories, Surinam and the Dutch West Indies. This is the reply to your question.

In the first instance the Association was an accident. Initially nothing on these lines was planned for the Treaty and the question was almost forgotten. The accident became an adventure in 1960, when these territories or colonies had become independent and had to decide for themselves whether they would continue or abandon the Association. All of them except Guinea decided to continue. This was the moment when the adventure really became an association, deliberately entered into, desired alike by Europe and the African countries. The accident has now become a policy and a policy must be judged by its fruits. Now that I see the Association being used as an aim by some and regarded as a goal by others, I think we have a two-fold proof that it is a success. I am simple enough to think the fruit of the policy is not so bad.

► *One of David Jones' main criticisms is about what he calls "bureaucratic perfectionism". In his view this leads to long delays, excessive centralisation and over-strict rules. For example, why do even the small projects have to pass scrutiny by the E.D.F. Committee, and why do African firms get so limited a share?*

Bureaucratic perfectionism—I would rather call it technical perfectionism—is one of the ills of our time. It is very difficult to combat, because it so often wears the guise of professional conscience. It takes the form of wanting every file to be well drawn up, complete and convincing, and it wants every project to be carried out in the best possible conditions without difficulty or unpleasant surprises. This is normal enough and the mark of a well-balanced mind. What is equally natural, but much less healthy, is finicking, the pathological pursuit of detail, the systematic demand for additional information which makes it possible to delay the decision or *choice* indefinitely. This has a way of coming just at the moment when what is needed is the courage to take a decision, even though the particulars do not include absolutely every one of the items required. The other side of the coin is, of course, in the criticisms you mention. They are generally justified, but it is wrong to exaggerate. It often

happens that more time is lost through haste and improvisation than by preliminary delays considered unduly long.

You ask why african firms get so small a share. In the first instance this is because there are still very few firms which are really african, and this is a pity. Whenever we have been able to do so, we have encouraged these firms to participate and given them a chance to do so. Some have been successful, others less so. It is a typical vicious circle. These firms have scanty financial resources, so that they cannot equip themselves as they should with technicians and up-to-date material. Because of this, they are not able to compete for many works contracts, so that they cannot accumulate the resources for staffing and equipment and there are more hesitations about awarding them contracts. This goes on ad infinitum.

We are not being passive about this, however. We contemplate various measures in the new Convention which should make it materially easier for these firms to participate in contracts financed by the E.D.F.

► *The book makes out that financial aid ought to be granted by reference to needs and requirements, and not to the capacity of the Associates to put forward viable projects. What do you think?*

It is quite true. Who could think otherwise? We must agree on one point, nevertheless. A need which cannot be analysed, formulated, measured and translated into a decision, so that it can be satisfied, is no more than a pious hope. For practical purposes it does not exist. The implied reproach of David Jones is that some countries, which are better provided with technical personnel and the instruments of execution, have in practice done better than others because they can put forward their application more promptly and find it easier to carry out the operations which the E.D.F. finances. This is true enough. This is another natural inequality we are aiming to correct by providing the less well-to-do countries with the means for quicker study and working out of their applications, and so bringing them to the point for a finance decision.



Jacques Ferrandi.

► *There is an old problem which is also brought up. This is the allegedly excessive participation of french firms in the E.D.F. projects.*

The problem is as old as it is difficult. An association which benefits only one of the parties cannot be viable, and sooner or later it will be brought to an end. The Community which unduly favours one of the member countries against the others is necessarily vulnerable. It cannot continue indefinitely, and sooner or later something will break. Nevertheless, facts are facts, and in this case they are of two kinds:

1. French firms have been in the countries concerned for many years, and all manner of investments there were originally financed from France. These firms know the ground and know the people, and this gives them an advantage which nobody could deny over other european firms. In such conditions, when these firms are in a fighting mood and out to prevent their competitors from getting a footing, they have formidable weapons at their disposal. I scarcely need to remind you that the principle of all our financing is that the contracts are to be awarded by open tender on level terms to all firms in member countries and Associated countries.

2. It must also be admitted that european firms which are not french do not bother so much about Africa, though they are often victorious competitors in eastern countries and South America. This is another reason for the smallness of their participation. You cannot win a lottery unless you buy a ticket. You cannot expect to carry off a contract unless you put in a tender. When these firms put in tenders, they must understand how to face risks and not think it necessary to cover themselves against dangers which are often imaginary or much exaggerated. Nowadays european firms are fully aware that they can count on the objectivity, the competence and understanding of the E.D.F.

► *The sharing of responsibility between the E.I.B. and the E.D.F. is not considered satisfactory. Does this indeed lead to procedural delays which ultimately result in insufficient financing for industrial projects?*

It must be understood that the E.D.F., which does 90% of its work through subsidies for many purposes, is not a specific instrument for industrialisation. Its work is rather to prepare the ground for industrialisation, and from time to time to induce it or act in parallel with it. It is quite evident that the European Investment Bank is much better fitted, by its constitution and its lending capacity, to intervene in the industrial sector.

► *The economic evaluation of projects is said to be insufficient, and it is suggested the cause may be that the Directorate General has not an economic section. Do you agree with this allegation and the suggested explanation?*

The criticism seems so false that I prefer not to comment.

David Jones is a bright fellow and certainly has a bright future. Nevertheless, one should not attach undue weight to some of his judgements. As you know, youth is a malady and every day that passes brings part of the cure.

► *Mr. Jones suggests the technical assistance is badly organised and inefficient, that the Directorate General*

*for Development and Cooperation ought to have a full-time team of experts, that the E.D.F. should always finance the recurrent charges and the preparation of documents for the invitations to tender. Do these comments seem to you to be justified?*

This is a criticism which deserves close attention. It raises the whole problem of technical assistance to developing countries. It would be sheer euphemism to say the solutions which have been tried have been ridiculous and unsatisfying. We should talk purely and simply of failure. This does not apply exclusively to us, but in my view it applies to all forms of technical assistance, whether bilateral or from international organisations. The question is too complex to be dealt with in a few summary phrases. I shall tackle it on some other occasion and in some other place. At present it is not "experts" who are lacking, but experts with experience who know what they are talking about. The more the demand goes beyond the supply, these "experts" make me think of the ironic african comment: "Experts are just people like you and me. The difference is, they come from a long way off".

These "recurrent charges" about which the experts talk so much are simply the day-to-day expenditure of a country which lives and develops. Must an external aid organisation really take these charges over? When the question is put baldly, the obvious answer is no, for a country must be able to live without external aid. On the other hand, it has to be given time to take over the whole of its functional expenses. This is looked after by the E.D.F., which agrees to finance some of the building and starting-up costs, in just the same way as a cyclist is pushed off on the track, so that he can get up speed. Once he is off he has to ride on his own.

► *Apart from these particular points, some of David Jones' general remarks have already had a partial answer during the negotiations themselves. Though*

*the commercial problems seem so far to have had more attention on both sides, financial and technical cooperation has not been neglected. On several occasions since the negotiations started, the A.C.P. (African, Caribbean and Pacific group) have said they would like in future to be more closely associated with the administration of the aid in general and specifically with the decision procedures. Where do you stand on this question at present?*

I have always said an Association based only on financial and technical cooperation was a lame Association. To last, it is most important that it be based also on economic and commercial cooperation. It has to be admitted that in this field we are passing through a period of disarray. In fact we are living in a time when so many things have been turned upside down that it bears all the marks of a revolution. Even if it involves no bloodshed, even though it may pass unnoticed by most of our contemporaries, it is nevertheless a revolution. Things which had for generations been taken for granted have now become intolerable, and things which had always seemed impossible are now not only possible, but inevitable. The strength relationships between the industrial and the underequipped countries have irreversibly changed. For example, take the great liberal law of demand and supply, an invention of the Europeans who passed it on to the Americans, who sharpened it afresh. It is a law which for centuries past has governed relations between the countries which produce and the countries which import raw materials—a curious and comfortable law, by which it was always the buyer who made the offer and fixed the price, and to which the seller could but bow. Today this law is condemned and there is no reprieve. It has gone the way of the oil lamp and other conveniences of our forebears. One fine day the countries which produce raw materials, in the wake of the oil producers, awoke to the fact that when the industrial countries—in the west or elsewhere—cried "laissez faire, laissez passer", what they really meant was simply, "let me act,

let me pass". They will never agree to play to such a rule. The new rules must be drawn up with them and not, as in the past, against them. Otherwise there would be anarchy in the form of mounting prices leading inevitably to chaos. Two wrongs do not make a right. **The countries which produce all the raw materials and the countries which import them** must establish a system of balanced relationships of equal benefit to both parties. This seems to me so obvious, and I have thought so for more than 20 years, that I hesitate to repeat it. What is needed to work out such a system is simply a little imagination—which human beings do not lack—but also and above all, a measure of intelligence among the so-called wealthy countries. I am less certain about this last point. You will remember the disillusioned comment of a politician for whom things had turned sour: "Once again history is to be made by idiots". There is no need to search far in the history of Europe, or of the world, for cases in which she has tipped the balance on the wrong side—by which I mean, the stupid side.

The Commission is putting forward proposals which some people may regard as unrealistic, utopian and even revolutionary. In doing so, it hopes that the member countries of the Community in the first instance, and the United States in the second, will let themselves be convinced that it is in these proposals, and only in these, that their interest lies if it is rightly understood. Realism can be intelligent, but egoism never can. It is not true to say it is the real interest of an industrial country to **buy always in the cheapest possible market** the raw materials it requires. It is not true that the real interest of employers is to pay their workers as little as possible. Nevertheless, these are the two foundation stones on which the western world has stood for more than a century, but a day comes when the stones crack and splinter. The workers have already won the right to decency, and now it is the turn of the poorer countries. We are starting a new chapter in the history of peoples. ■

To neutralise the high prices of essential products for 25 developing countries

## THE E.E.C. APPEALS TO THE WORLD

### Three thousand million dollar fund proposed

If the international community does not succeed in neutralising the rise in prices for oil and foodstuffs in the countries most affected, it may shake the whole economic order of the world. Mr. Claude Cheysson, the E.E.C. Commission member responsible for development and cooperation, has suggested the Commission set up a special aid fund for the 25 countries suffering most from the higher prices for raw materials.

The E.E.C. Commission proposes to set up a world emergency aid fund of F-CFA 833 000 m. for the developing countries most adversely affected by the rise in prices for oil and other raw materials. Announcing this to the international press, Mr. Cheysson said: "The Commission has decided to take a step which I personally consider extremely important. It is proof, too, that the institutions of Europe are not in such a bad way as some people say.

"Some countries, of course, derive benefits from the rise in prices for raw materials, because their exports are earning them more. There are others which are direly affected, either because their exports have not risen in price or because they export very little. These countries are having to pay the higher prices for their imports. Even if we think only in terms of the vital products without they cannot keep alive, the effect is dramatic. Some of the figures are already well known. Developing countries, as a whole, will be paying \$10 000 m. more than hitherto for their 1974 oil supplies and some \$5 000 m. more for the food and fertilizers which they must obtain.

#### Disastrous deterioration

Some 25 countries throughout the world have suffered a disastrous deterioration in their terms of payment. It will cost them around \$3 000 m., or \$3 500 m., which means that they will be paying that amount more than hitherto even

after allowing for anything extra they may earn. The case most often mentioned is of course that of India. This country by itself will suffer a loss of \$1 500 m. in its terms of payment. This amounts to saying they can no longer have an economic system, no longer any chance of survival.

This is how things are, and there are 20 or 25 countries in like case. The most affected are the highly populous countries of Asia—India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh—and also 10 or more countries in Africa and others in Latin America. To us the position looks so grave that we foresee a crisis in these countries if somebody does not manage to neutralise the effects of this catastrophe which, so far as they are concerned, fell out of a clear sky. We think, too, that the effects will go beyond these countries themselves. As you know, the state of the world's food supplies is strained to the utmost. These countries are having to cut down their imports of fertilizers, and this may well lead to a fall in the world's agricultural production. If this should happen, prices will go I know not where—there will be famine, there will be everything dreadful you could imagine, the whole economic order of the world will be disrupted.

This is a state of emergency, and beside it the rest of our aid programmes look risible. It is nonsense to offer India a thousand million dollars when she has got to find fifteen hundred million simply to buy the same things as she bought last year. What I can say of India I could also say of Kenya, Senegal and other countries in Africa and Asia. For these countries, and there are about 25 of them, what has happened has got to be neutralised. This is not an alternative to our existing policies. It is an addition, without which the others are meaningless.

I should like to refer to the comment made by a number of oil-producing countries. They have recognised that something has to be done for the developing countries which are most

seriously affected. Last week the organisation of arab petroleum exporting countries issued a very carefully worded communiqué, in which they envisaged the setting up of a special fund. It was stated that the decision must be reached by March 29, or at latest by April 10, the date fixed for the beginning of the United Nations Assembly.

To me it would seem utterly wrong that we, who also benefit from the rise in the prices of essential supplies to developing countries, should refrain from expressing our readiness to play our part in this world effort. It is a matter of neutralising the effects of the higher prices of essential supplies to people who are undergoing the disaster without any counterpart advantage. We think, therefore, that this system of world aid, whatever it may be, should be earmarked for the poorest countries, and among them for those whose balances of payments have seriously deteriorated and for those of them which lack the foreign exchange reserves, or the borrowing capacity, which would enable them to face the situation.

It remains to estimate what our contribution should be. In our estimate, for the 25 countries, the gap which must be filled to restore the previous position amounts to about **833 000 m. CFA francs**. To such a fund we think Europe should be prepared to contribute around **138 000 m. CFA francs**.

I am convinced that if these 833 000 m. CFA francs are not duly found, the resulting chaos in 20 or 25 different countries will have consequences on the human, the political and the economic side, which will affect us all, and can be put at figures far in excess of our 138 000 m. or the world's 833 000 m. CFA francs.

I should be proud indeed if the European Community, at a time when people say it is incapable of looking ahead, should be able to take the initiative in putting such a plan to the extraordinary meeting of the United Nations Assembly." ■

# Memorandum on E.E.C. food aid policy

put forward by M. Claude Cheysson,

member of the E.E.C. Commission responsible for development and cooperation

The food crisis, "a Community responsibility to developing countries", was the subject of a memorandum handed to the press in Brussels by Mr. Cheysson. This text, summarised below, was concerned with E.E.C. food aid policy, and had been adopted by the Commission.

The food crisis has been built up from a series of negative factors, and some small accidental occurrence could now turn it into a catastrophe. Drought, floods and disastrous crop conditions generally have been followed by a series of currency upheavals, strong inflationary pressures and big speculative movements all of which have accentuated the shortage of foodstuffs. The energy crisis and its consequences cannot fail to exercise another negative influence on payments balances.

The prospects for an increase in the resources of developing countries are also giving anxiety. The "green revolution" has not yet produced the expected results. The growth in population has been faster than expected and the drift of people into the towns has also set up increased import requirements.

Europe's potential for dealing with this situation is far from negligible. Her contribution, however, is far from being an equitable proportion of the world effort. From example, she supplies 1.3 m. tons of cereals, or 1% of Community production, out of the 16 m. supplied by the world as a whole. It therefore appears to the Commission that the Community can and should

make a bigger contribution. The principles underlying these proposals are as follows:

## 1. Continuity

The commitment entered into by the Community must be for a certain length of time. The Commission proposes a 3-year programme.

## 2. Diversification

The aid given should not be limited to cereals, but extend to produce of greater nutritive value, such as butter oil, powdered milk and sugar.

## 3. Sales in the free market

To avoid disturbance of normal commercial channels, the produce should, in principle, be put at the disposal of the governments concerned free of charge, and it should be for them to re-sell it in the national market. The product of these sales could be used to finance development programmes.

## 4. Continuation of direct supplies

The main part of the aid will be supplied directly, but part may also be supplied through multi-lateral organisations, such as the Red Cross and the World Food Programme.

## 5. Procedural improvements

The Commission should be given powers of decision in the administration of the aid.

## 6. Form of aid

The Commission does not wish to insist that the food aid should be entirely under the Community auspices. For coherence of administration, however, it thinks it desirable that the aid in cereals should be exclusively as a product of Community action.

## 7. Community three-year target programmes

(maximum and minimum annual commitments).

	Minimum commitment	Maximum commitment	Metric tons Programme 1973-74
Cereals	1 700 000	2 500 000	1 287 000
Powdered skim milk	80 000	120 000	80 000
Butter oil	45 000	65 000	45 000
Sugar	10 000	40 000	6 000

The Commission, Mr. Cheysson states in his conclusion, calls for a material increase in the Community contribution. "We should be committing an error, if not a crime, if we should fail to face

the risk of the position growing worse", he said. The Commission considers it important that the governments be confronted with their responsibilities.

## Mr. Erhard EPPLER reports to the development and cooperation committee

Mr. Erhard Eppler, German Minister for Economic Cooperation and President for the time being of the E.E.C. Council of Ministers, reported to the **Standing Committee on Development and Cooperation** on the proceedings of the working party set up by Council to consider a general policy of development cooperation. The European Parliament has formed a working party of its own to consider these questions. Its chairman is Mr. Lucien Harmegnies (soc. Belgium) and the reporting member is Mr. Maurice Dewulf (chr. dem. Belgium).

After a long exchange of views between Mr. Eppler and the members of the committee, the chairman Mr. Ernst Achenbach (lib. Germany) summarised the discussion. There was genuine satisfaction, he said, at the opening of this type of dialogue between the Council and Parliament, and he hoped it would continue. On the other hand there was disappointment at the unduly small results so far secured by the Council working party. It was hoped the situation could soon be eased, for it reflects conflict between the Nine member countries at the very moment when it is so necessary for the Community to speak with a single voice on account of its world responsibilities.

It was in this keen debating atmosphere that Commissioner Claude Cheysson made his statement. He told the committee the contents of the Communication which had just been made to the Council by the Commission. Its chief suggestion is that the Community should react in positive fashion if action is to be undertaken on a world scale on behalf of developing countries most severely affected by recent events. Identification of these countries could be by three concomitant criteria—G.N.P. below \$700 per head per annum; troubles genuinely due to the current crisis; and lack of borrowing capacity.

From investigations already made, it appears that some 25 countries would be eligible under this definition, and the total deficit in their payments balances would amount to nearly \$3 000 m.

In the event of a world aid fund for these countries being effectively set

up, the Commission proposes a Community contribution of \$500 m. It goes without saying, Mr. Cheysson added, that such action would not be a substitute for the current E.E.C. aid policy operating through Association, generalised preferences, food aid and otherwise. It would be additional and complementary, as an indispensable act to avoid the early development of world chaos.

### External economic affairs committee

In the standing committee on external economic affairs, Mr. Cheysson gave an account of **Community policy covering the whole mediterranean area**. He emphasised the importance of Community food aid, especially to Palestinian refugees, and the recent decision regarding the holding of a euro-arab conference. In reply to questions, Mr. Cheysson stated that the decision of the ministers for foreign affairs had been confirmed by the Council, so that all the member countries of the Community were committed. Mr. Cheysson added that the proposed discussions between the Community and the Arab world as a whole would go beyond the energy problem and discuss the growth of cooperation in industry, technology, agriculture and other fields.

### Association Parliamentary Conference

Following the E.E.C.-A.A.S.M. Parliamentary Conference, held in Rome from January 30 to February 1 last, the annual constitutive session of the European Parliament passed a resolution to reaffirm "its faith in the value of the Association". It also expressed anxiety about the "extremely grave situation" of developing countries which lack the resources needed to offset the rise in prices of raw materials. It hoped that aid machinery would be set up outside the European framework, with participation by the oil-producing countries which have substantial revenues available.

In reply to other speakers, Mr. Cheysson told Parliament the conclusions to

which the Commission has come since the Rome meeting. The question, he said, was what could be done in respect of the different types of economic situation resulting from the rise in raw material prices. These fall into three classes:

- first there are countries for which the terms of trade have improved—producers of oil, phosphates, timber. With these countries the discussions which must be opened relate to industrial cooperation;
- secondly there are countries for which the balance of payments has improved, but only on a precarious basis, since their exports are of products which could quickly be produced in larger quantities. Examples are cocoa, coffee and a number of minerals;
- thirdly, there is the group of countries for which the position is really tragic. These are the countries for which the value of exports has not increased, either because they export very little or because the goods they export have not risen in value, as is the case with tea.

For the two latter categories the only valid response must be at the world level, for it must embody an effort by all those who have had the benefit of the rise in raw material prices. "We of course are included; but so too are the other producers of essential supplies, and I am thinking of the oil producers".

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### Emergency measures for Niger

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On account of the dramatic position in a number of regions in Niger, resulting largely from the inadequate supplies of dairy produce, the President of the Niger Republic, Mr. Diiori Hamani, sent the Community an urgent appeal for the organisation of emergency aid.

In response to this appeal, the Commission has asked the member countries of the Community to dispatch an urgent airborne supply of 305 tons of powdered milk, which will be part of the 3 200 tons earmarked for Niger under the 1974 food aid programme. Several of the member countries have already complied with this request. The dispatches began on March 8 and completion was scheduled for March 28. ■



## The European Development Fund

Following the assent given by the E.D.F. Committee at its 88th meeting, the Commission has made further financing decisions amounting to 17 088 u.a. (\*) from the 3rd E.D.F., and 846 000 u.a. from the residue of the 2nd E.D.F.

The decisions relate to:

— 6 projects for which non-repayable grants are provided, amounting to u.a. 8 774 m., including u.a. 547 738 by way of interest rate rebate, and a total of u.a. 846 000 from the 2nd E.D.F.;

— 4 projects to be financed by loans on special terms amounting to u.a. 9 160 m. one of which also includes an interest rebate of u.a. 2 204 m., and another a subsidy of u.a. 2 188 m.

**Republic of Dahomey** — *Improvement of the Bohicon-Porga road* — F-CFA 235 m. (about u.a. 846 000) (from the 2nd E.D.F.).

With a view to allowing all-season traffic on the whole of the 530 km of the Bohicon-Porga road, it is proposed to replace two bridges over the Klou and Agbado rivers, to arrange for access to the Tanguieta locality and put in hand a technical study for surfacing the Bohicon-Savalou section.

**Member Countries of the Council of Entente** : *Extension of the Centre Régional de Formation pour l'Entretien Routier (CERFER) : regional centre for road maintenance training* — F-CFA 244 m. (about u.a. 879 000).

The project covers the building of quarters at Lomé, the Togo capital, for 160 CERFER trainees. The training projected covers refresher and additional courses for working personnel and the training of new personnel. The centre has been in operation since 1963, and is open to the nationals of the countries of the Entente, and also to those of other french and english-speaking countries.

**Wallis and Futuna** : *Track construction from Vele to Poi* — F-CFA 37 m. (about u.a. 366 000).

This is intended for laying out new sections of the circular track which

links the Vele localities with Poi on Futuna island. The island lies in the Pacific, is 20 km long by 5 km wide and has a population of 2 700. The track will facilitate the offtake for export of agricultural produce, including copra.

**Malagasy Republic** : *Additional aid for slaughterhouse at Tananarive* — FMG 160 m. (about u.a. 576 000).

The project relates to additional improvements in the new slaughterhouse, which is nearing completion. It covers the supply of 4 cattle-trucks and 10 refrigerator trucks for meat transport. This investment, which was financed in 1969 with Community aid of u.a. 3.31 m., will be completed by the provision of three storage dépôts in the town and four in the suburbs.

**Malagasy Republic** : *Provision of first stock of supplies for the Ampefiloha hospital (Tananarive)* — FMG 324 m. (about u.a. 1.67 m).

The Ampefiloha hospital was built with credits of u.a. 6.6 m. from the 2nd E.D.F., and has been finished since April 1972. The present financing will provide it with chemical, pharmaceutical and medical supplies and radio-diagnostic material, and thus enable it to come into operation. This is one of the "starting-up" aid transactions for investments financed with Community aid.

**Republic of the Ivory Coast** : *Village cocoa plantation of 9 600 ha in the south-west* — F-CFA 664 m. (about u.a. 2 391 m.) (loan on special terms).

The aim is to lay out 9 600 ha of village cocoa plantations in the south-western region in 1974-75. It is hoped to provide bigger incomes for the 3 200 peasant population concerned, to establish up-to-date cocoa production facilities in a region which has not done very well out of the economic development plan, and to consolidate the position of the Ivory Coast as an important cocoa producer.

**Republic of the Ivory Coast** : *Modernisation of the R.A.N. permanent line (\*) between Dimbokro and Bouaké* — u.a. 5 041 m. (about F-CFA 1 400 m.) (loan on special terms).

This loan on special terms is part of the finance for reconstructing a 130 km

section of the line between Dimbokro and Bouaké on the railway which links Abidjan (Ivory Coast) with Ouagadougou (Upper Volta). The project involves a new section of track with different characteristics. Part of the finance is also for the purchase of material for maintenance of the permanent line.

**Congo Peoples' Republic** : *Additional quay at Pointe-Noire (superstructure)* — u.a. 1 008 m. (about F-CFA 280 m.) (loan on special terms).

This finance is intended to provide sheds, handling space and equipment and other superstructure for quay G in the Port of Pointe Noire, so that it can be used for general cargo. The project also includes dredging operations and a loading facility for manganese ore, which are being financed by A.T.C. (\*) and Comilog (\*\*).

**Guadeloupe** : *Port improvements at Pointe à Pitre* — u.a. 2 188 m. (about FF. 12.52 m.) by way of subsidy and u.a. 720 000 (about FF. 3 999 m.) by way of loan on special terms.

The finance is for the structural and functional betterment of the port, the capacity of which has reached saturation. The work includes putting up a quay for goods traffic and handling space in the port extension at Pointe Javray. The improvements will increase the handling capacity and make it possible to deal with the expected increase in traffic.

**Republic of the Ivory Coast** : *Interest rebate on loan for building a spinning and weaving mill at Agboville* — u.a. 547 738.

This is an interest rebate at the fixed rate of 2% p.a. until the end of the 5th repayment year, in respect of a loan to be made by the European Investment Bank from its own resources to the company COTIVO ("La Cotonnière ivoirienne") to build a spinning and weaving mill at Agboville. The project was given the assent of the E.D.F. Committee on March 17, 1974.

Following the finance decisions which have now been made the total commitments from the 3rd E.D.F. amount to u.a. 685 107 000, covering 254 financing decisions since this fund began operations on January 1, 1971. ■

(\*) u.a. 1 = about 1.20 U.S. dollars (new parity).

(\*) R.A.N. = Régie du Chemin de fer Abidjan-Niger (railway).

(\*) Agence Transcongolaise de Communication.

(\*\*) Compagnie Minière de l'Ogooué.

## FAIRS AND EXHIBITIONS: The A.A.S.M. in Utrecht and Berlin

The international Food Fair at Utrecht is organised in alternate years by the "ROKA" foundation, which cooperates closely with the Royal Dutch Fair. It ranks as the most important specialist exhibition in the dutch food trade. It is open to manufacturers and importing wholesalers, who use it to contact retailers and the imported produce trades in the Netherlands. It enables members of the trade in the Netherlands to secure information on new possibilities and market trends in the world food and drink industries.

"ROKA" also lends itself extremely well to the promotion of out-of-season fruit and vegetables, which are much sought after by dutch consumers.

This year the Fair covered an area of 20 600 sq m., and there were 1 160 exhibitors, of whom 392 were directly showing their own wares. The total number of visitors was estimated at between 30 000 and 33 000.

A group of A.A.S.M. were participating under the Community programme for the third time in succession. **Burundi, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Mali, Niger and Senegal** had a net exhibition space of about 500 sq. m.

The varied range of the exhibit secured it a genuine success. It included items such as fresh and preserved tropical fruits, fresh and preserved out-of-season vegetables, habitual produce such as coffee, cocoa and cocoa products, tea, deep-freeze crustaceans and fish preserves and also oleaginous material, especially cattle cake, for which the Netherlands is an important market. Some of the countries, especially the Ivory Coast and Mali, were showing new products and others insufficiently known in the dutch market. These also attracted much interest. They included tropical fruit juices and essences, processed juice concentrates (from Ivory Coast) and tamarind juice and syrup (Mali).

As a result of the exhibit about 100 new trade contacts were made, and a number of orders were booked, while there were many requests for detailed offers.

An undoubted contribution to these good results was the presence on some of the stands of Associated countries of representatives both of the production and the marketing of the goods.

Mention must also be made of the success scored in the tastings offered by Burundi (tea and coffee), the Ivory Coast (coffee, fresh pineapple, paw-paw and avocado), Upper Volta (mango), Mali (juices and syrups) and Senegal (deep-freeze shrimps, sardines, tunney and pilchards, and also various fruit and vegetables).



*M. Fritz Logemann, State Secretary at the West German Ministry of Agriculture, visits the A.A.S.M. stands at the "Roka 1974" International Food Salon at Utrecht, Netherlands.*

It should be added that the trade contacts made by some of the Associated countries at "ROKA 72" two years ago have produced genuine results. Of the six exhibiting countries, four are already represented in the Netherlands, especially for out-of-season fruit and vegetables.

Those in A.A.S.M. countries desiring trade connections and access to the dutch market for food products are recommended to take part in the "ROKA" exhibition.

This year, during the first 10 days of March, the European Communities took part in the Berlin Tourist Exchange with seven of their Associated countries—Niger, Togo, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Cameroon, Rwanda and Senegal.

All specialists in the tourist business and other connected trades recognise the very big tourist potential of the african countries associated with the E.E.C. Africa has more to offer the visitor than any other continent, and trips to "thousand years old Africa" are becoming *à la mode*.

The development of the tourist trade in these countries depends largely on propoganda and information. This means information to possible investors on openings in the Associated countries and establishment conditions, information and propoganda to travel agencies,

transport undertakings and the public on hotel and kindred facilities existing or in nearby prospect, on roads and on the organisation of group travel and individual journeys.

It was the need for putting out the necessary information for developing the african tourist trade which led the E.E.C. to take part in the 8th Berlin Tourist Exchange.

The presence of the European Communities at this important event in the tourist trade was the occasion for a reception given by the Chairman of the Coordination Committee of african countries associated with the E.E.C. This was held on Sunday March 3, and was attended by government representatives and personalities in the transport and tourist administration and trade, travel agencies, airline companies, press, radio, cinema and television.

The reception was part of the information campaign organised by the European Communities for the Associated african countries in connection with big international fairs. It is a valuable way of consolidating contact with people who have already shown their interest in the attraction and prospect of tourist development in Africa, and already have some experience in this field. ■

(Press and Information Office - E.E.C. Berlin)

## Education in Africa by communications satellite?

Africa south of the Sahara is faced with serious education problems. The reason is economic, resulting from the crushing impact of education expenditure on the national budgets. If traditional teaching methods are maintained, UNESCO experts think it will be impossible for the continent to cover the requirements for primary and medium education from normal receipts before the year 2000. The development of adult education is already handicapped and a large part of the population accordingly retained at a lower level of economic efficiency by the financial and technical measures which are being taken to secure a rapid growth of the schooling system.



It is suggested that a first satellite might be launched in 1978, and this would provide for a five-year pilot programme. Next would come an intermediate stage, in which one satellite would cover the whole of Africa. In a third stage there would be an integrated regional system with two satellites, six TV channels, ground equipment for Community reception and connected installations. The estimated cost appears to be very high.

Apart from the economic and technical problems, there might be others of a political and psychological kind. Would it be possible to organise regional cooperation between african countries? Are these countries prepared to accept an educational system depending on a learned technique

There is not enough agricultural education. In the 35 african countries south of the Sahara, 75 or 80% of the people live in a rural background. They are almost wholly illiterate, for in these regions of scattered population it has not been worthwhile to set up schools. Moreover, there is a shortage of qualified teachers, and teaching methods and school syllabuses are unsuitable for the requirements set up by the economic development of the african countries.

Among the possible solutions for these problems, one commands attention. This is the introduction of a regional education system by satellite. The project has been studied by UNESCO and a seminar was held on it at Addis Ababa in October 1973.

The UNESCO study is "not a recommendation for an african satellite system, but an evaluation of the potential of this new technology in the african context". It puts forward a possible procedure and some of the variations.

imported from the "wealthy" countries?

In so far as the political, functional and psychological obstacles can be overcome, a regional system of education by satellite can be regarded as one solution for the education problem in Africa south of the Sahara. But is it the best solution?

A rather complex scheme for the hardware and the methods and techniques has been worked out, but there does not seem to have been any progress regarding the "software". This is the content of the education, which would have to be adapted to the requirements of the countries. In Niger, and still more in the Ivory Coast, considerable experiments have been carried out with school television, but there has as yet been no large-scale attempt to tackle the problem of out-of-school education. It is necessary to develop not only school but adult education, especially in rural districts and village communities.

physical sciences. Another instance is the extension of the University on the island of Mauritius, the 19th country to join the Association with effect from June 1973. There have been a number of other projects for technical and vocational education and agricultural training, and other projects are still under investigation pending formal decision on their financing.

There are now more higher education projects than hitherto, which will reduce the number of younger nationals from the A.A.S.M. proceeding to Europe for their studies. An example of this is the desire expressed by the Surinam government, that from 1974-75 onwards, all the E.D.F. student bursaries

for surinam nationals should be tenable at the Paramaribo Technical Institute built by the E.D.F.

In the same way the government of Somalia asked the E.D.F. that in 1973-74 all the new bursaries should be awarded for studies in the agronomic, veterinary, economics and engineering faculties in the University of Mogadiscio. These faculties are already functioning in a number of buildings, pending the construction of new buildings by the E.D.F. Ultimately the National University of Somalia at Mogadiscio is to have a campus for 2 000 students.

The E.D.F. has consistently sought to adjust its building projects to the education and social-economic conditions in

the country concerned and design them accordingly. This applies just as much to the primary and secondary schools as it does to the artisan centre at Ouagadougou, the Child Welfare Centre at Dakar, the Niger National School of Administration at Niamey or the University of Mauritius.

It has been justly remarked that education is not an end in itself, any more than is architecture, and that the two must work together towards a common end. In dealing with the problems of education and training, the educationist and the architect have to work closely together in designing buildings which shall be functional and suitable for the social and economic requirements of the society for which they are to be a focal point. It is in the economic and social life of their own country that these peoples must be prepared to take an active part. This can hardly be done by snatching them brusquely from the rural background of the village and putting them down in a complacent building of European design, which is foreign to everything around it.

The nature and content of their education teaches young people to think and prepare for their adult responsibilities, but it is through the school establishment as a whole that it will reach their minds. The site and surroundings, the buildings, the choice of technical solutions and the management of the school are very strong influences on school life and should on no account be neglected. Careful attention must be paid, for example, to the boarding quarters, to the masters' housing, to the way the school benches are arranged, and the school must be open to inspection by local society so that it may be seen that the educator and the architect are working together. These are among the social-economic aspects of education, to which the E.D.F. has always sought to attach the importance they deserve.

### 3. THE NEW TRAINING ANGLE IN COOPERATION POLICY

More and more often it is now thought desirable for major investment projects to be associated with training schemes. This applies alike to **infrastructure development** (e.g. communications, ports, airports, roads, railways); **rural development schemes** (basic investment, supply of equipment, popularisation campaigns, promotion of productivity and diversification in crops and livestock farming); and to **social development** (water supplies, health and sanitation, education and school buildings, housing and other aspects).

These programmes should be still further adapted to the priority requirements of Associated countries and thus help to ensure that the product of the investments is more widely used and its effectiveness raised to a maximum. When these big projects are carried out, even closer links are accordingly required between the investment itself and the training programmes.

The Council of Association has several times asked that special attention be paid to training schemes. At its meeting in October 1972, it mentioned both the training of workers for the operation and maintenance of establishments set up with E.D.F. finance, and also the training of staff with qualifications enabling them gradually to replace the technical aid. It was with this in view that the department of the Commission

responsible for training schemes, courses and discussion meetings was transferred in March 1973 to the Programmes and Projects division of the E.D.F. This was not a mere administrative measure but an indication of the desire to create closer links between economic and social development on the one side and training schemes on the other. The **Associated countries themselves, of course, are the sole arbiters of their educational system**, of the priority they wish to give to vocational training and of their educational and cultural targets. For this reason the E.D.F. training programmes are designed to reinforce the action by the Associated governments themselves in the continuous adaptation of their education to local conditions and development requirements.

The Community training policy is governed by three main lines of approach:

#### a) Bursaries to be adapted to requirements

Some of the Associated countries are now engaged in school reform programmes, aimed to make them more adequate for the economic, social and cultural development of their countries. Others have already stated what aid they will require for this purpose. It is with this in view that the Commission departments concerned intend to attempt a better evaluation of the training programmes desired in the various economic and social sectors, so as to reach agreement with the Associated governments on a better definition of their needs and their foreseeable development which will enable them to budget ahead in a pluriannual programme of bursaries and training courses.

#### b) Use of new methods

The need for more technical and vocational training suggests that consideration be given to reducing the training schemes of academic type, which were so necessary during the sixties because of the great shortage of Africans for staff and supervisory grades. This would allow higher priority to be given to training schemes at the medium technical level, which would be more appropriate to requirements which are becoming increasingly apparent in most of the A.A.S.M., and which are determining factors in the success of some of the E.D.F. investments.

#### c) Training in Africa

Encouragement should be given to the tendency for promoting training schemes in Africa itself. More and more facilities for training up to a satisfactory level are now becoming available in African universities and other higher education establishments and rural technical institutes on the medium level. Increased training facilities in Africa are also suggested by the training programmes linked with specific investments. Training in Europe should be kept for cases which need special technical specialisation at the university or post-university level, and even this should gradually disappear. By agreement with the Associated governments these tendencies have been followed through in the bursary programme. **Two-thirds of the 2 800 bursaries granted in 1973 were tenable for studies in Africa**, which is twice the proportion recorded three years earlier. In the specific programmes the whole of the training is carried out in Africa. All the Community schemes are aimed at dealing with the training requirements in the A.A.S.M. for

staff at different levels, and are so phased as to fit in with the various and variable needs of the Associated countries, which are themselves responsible for deciding in what field the Community aid should be applied. In the development of the Associated countries the education and training must allow for the needs arising through projects actually being carried out, and for the state of education in the specific country. These concerns were borne in mind by the E.D.F. in making its major investments in school buildings and youth training programmes.

It should be emphasised that the E.D.F. departments are not concerned with educational reforms, which are wholly within the competence of the Associated countries. They nevertheless make a general study of education problems and the acquisition of knowledge in rural communities and by way of vocational training; and they determine their intervention in specific fields of training wherever the need seems most urgent.

#### d) Agricultural education and training

It is impossible to give a detailed account of all the training schemes, but it is important to emphasise the special attention given by the E.D.F. to projects concerned with **agricultural education and training**. In the Associated countries more people are engaged in agriculture than in any other sector, and its development is therefore a matter of concern for most of the population. The E.D.F. intervention may take the form of construction of technical schools or training schemes for staff at various grades and levels. On lines which have been laid down by the Council of Association, the agricultural development projects are often rounded off by technical assistance which is apt to consist of providing supervisory instructors and training african agents capable of keeping the system functional. There is no universal panacea for this, and the projects are carried out in several ways, depending on the intensity and duration of the supervisory system and its progressive diminution, and on the training of medium-grade and subordinate staff. Training schemes linked with the supervisory system are also considered, as is the most appropriate method for increasing agricultural productivity by giving the cultivators guaranteed prices in the initial phase, and thus securing their more direct interest in the development project and the marketing of the produce.

#### e) The marketing side

On the more general question of marketing and promotion, a number of measures have been taken on the lines laid down in protocol No. 6 Article 4 annexed to the Yaoundé Convention. The Commission has compiled and issued a "guide to the E.E.C. - A.A.S.M. exhibitor" intended to help exhibitors, public or private, from the A.A.S.M. to get the best advantage of their participation in international fairs and exhibitions. This 255-page brochure has been greatly appreciated by the trading community in the A.A.S.M. It is currently being brought up-to-date and a new edition is to be published with an english translation.

In November 1971, the Commission organised a refresher course for stand managers, whose job is to manage the A.A.S.M. participation in the big fairs and specialised exhibitions listed in the Community programme for A.A.S.M. exhibits on these occasions. Thirty-eight trainees took part in the course and the A.A.S.M. governments considered the results highly

satisfactory. A second course of the same kind is in course of preparation and will be held in Brussels in October-November 1974.

At the request of the Associated countries, the Commission is considering organisation of other commercial training and refresher courses. The aim is to provide a better knowledge in african business circles of the customs and operational methods of the european traders who are engaged in the daily task of marketing A.A.S.M. goods.

## 4. NEARLY 15 YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE— THE NEW AFRICA AND EDUCATION PROBLEMS

With the coming of independence there were increased and increasing educational requirements in the Associated countries (see interview with Mr. M'Bow). When the new african states set to work on the development of their education systems they were fully aware that, in this field more than in any other, long-term consideration is a necessity and indecision may be a mortgage on the future as definite as any formal decision.

Any initiative in the cultural and educational field is concerned at least as much with men as with methods and instrumentation. It therefore requires time for consideration, an apparent inertia which is much more important than what is needed for technical matters. A general reform of an educational system affects pupils a whole generation ahead. At least 10 years are needed for the construction of new buildings, the training of a new type of teacher and the training of teachers in adequate numbers.

For the independent countries of Africa, the task was to define a strategy for the future and to speed up the satisfaction of

*These young Mauritanian nomads have no need of a luxury classroom.*



Naud

the enormous educational and training requirements for which their development called. In practice the experience of the colonial period had tended to idealise education as an instrument of growth, without drawing any distinction between education as an investment and education as an article of mass consumption. It is worth noting, too, that compulsory schooling in the European countries came after the industrial revolution, whereas in Africa the trend towards schools for everybody came ahead of industrial development and has not made adequate allowance for the fact that most of the countries are agricultural.

At the Addis Ababa Conference in 1961, the education ministers of 35 African countries set themselves three targets under a 20-year plan (1961-80):

- all children to have **free and compulsory** schooling for six years;
- entry into **secondary schooling for 30%** of the children;
- access to **higher education for 20%** of those who complete the secondary course.

More moderate targets were of course set for the initial period (1961-66), but in either case the financial commitment is enormous, and the African governments noted it would represent between four and six per cent of their G.N.P. It must in any case necessitate external aid of several million dollars annually.

One of the most cherished ways for a nation to express its independence is in the definition of the objectives and instruments of its educational system. The difficulties facing the

## The Panafrican Development Institute at Duala:

### Meeting the need for intermediate staff

The need for intermediate staff was felt by all the African countries as soon as they became independent. A number of organisations were set up, and in 1963 a first international team, with many branches, was formed under the title "International Association for the Training of African Staff", known from its French initials as A.I.F.C.A. This convinced the African governments that they would have to go further, and in 1964 the Panafrican Development Institute (I.P.D.) was formed at Duala in Cameroon. Its object is to provide Africa with new training facilities for intermediate staff. In the following year an offshoot of the I.P.D., the Duala Staff School, was formed to help towards the development of the African countries. The organisation has thus had 10 years of experience.

The feature of I.P.D. is that among the African objectives, rural development is regarded as the most important. The chief method for this purpose consists of the direct training of development agents. A second method used is participation in study group on African development.

The direct training is given in a two-year course. The first year consists of a basic non-specialised training, which leads at the end of the year to a pre-professional course of 10 weeks, which takes place in the general conditions in which the student will ultimately be working. In the second year the student can specialise in:

1. Regional development (plans and projects);
2. Management of firms and cooperatives;
3. Adult education and "animation".

Candidates are recruited by annual selection. The candidates sought are either men with development experience, or others who are keen to secure it. The qualification required is either three years practical experience, or a baccalauréat or equivalent educational qualification. For listing as candidates, they are required to be nominated by the departments concerned in their own government, or by quasi public or private organisations. The age limit is 20 to 35 and the candidate is required to have a student bursary tenable at I.P.D., and the necessary guarantee of job on a completion of his studies.

The E.D.F. awards a considerable number of bursaries tenable at I.P.D., and thus contributes to the training of staff-level workers for 13 associated African countries.

The methods of work are aimed to provide integrated training. They consist of:

- functional team work, consisting of groups representing a number of subjects for one specific task, or study groups concerned with several problems;
- alternation between practical and theoretical work, which is the central feature of the whole course;
- specific courses (48% of the training time and 25% in the field) divided into three types:

- courses for learners,
- pre-professional courses,
- application courses;

— instruction courses, covering 52% of the training time. These are based on active teaching methods and include

lecture-discussions, tutorial classes and group work;

— continuous evaluation, designed to maintain contact with the objectives.

There is a **permanent body of teachers**. They are recruited by reference to their professional qualifications and their African experience.

On the successful completion of the course, the student is awarded a diploma, and the title of "development technique staff worker".

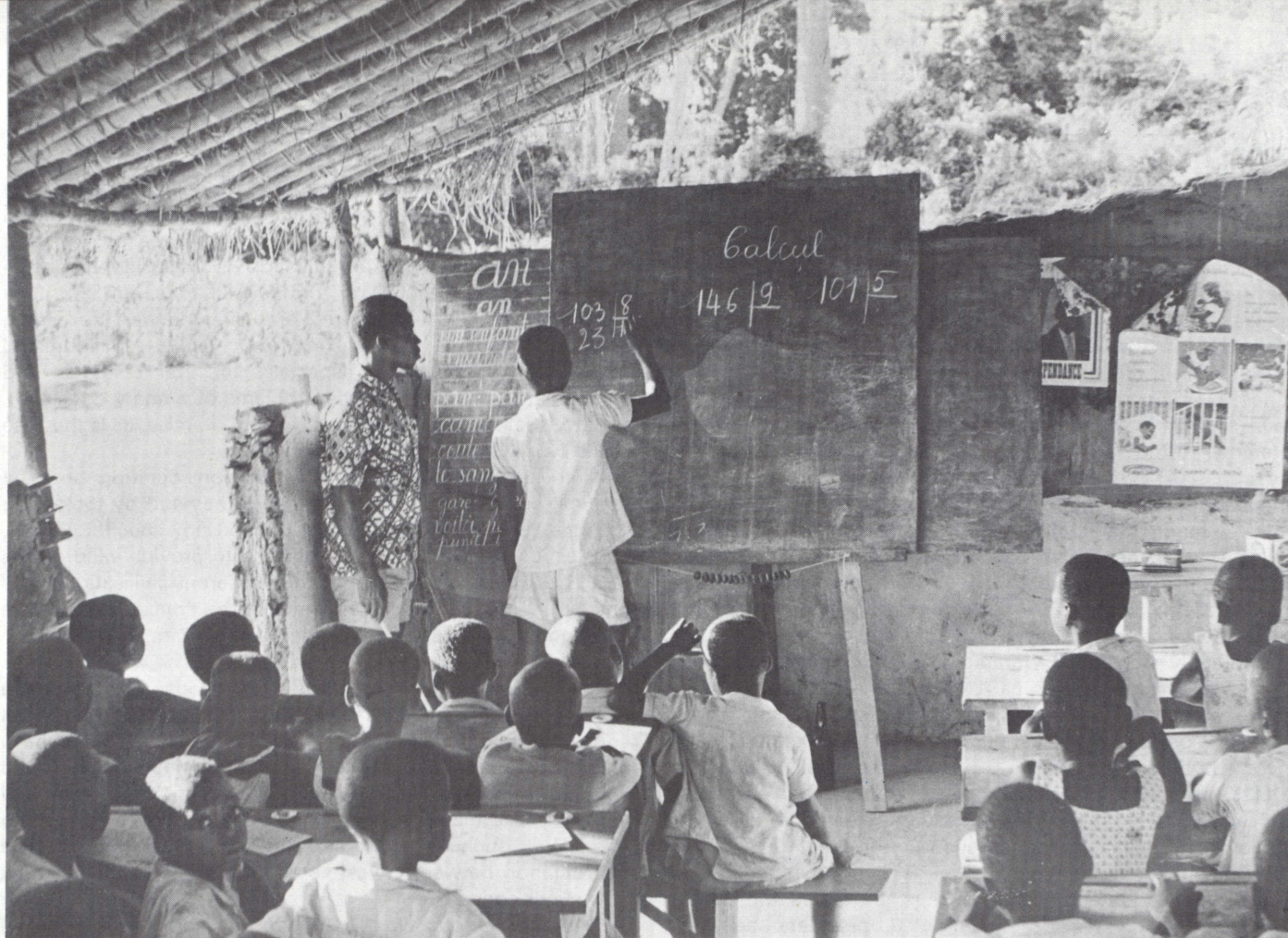
The **work of the students** after graduation is followed through by:

1. correspondence;
2. a quarterly bulletin for former students, designed to keep them in touch with one another and to contain technical notes which will serve them as additional working tools, and information about research at I.P.D.;
3. refresher courses and national seminars.

**I.P.D. contemplates** future reforms which will bring it closer to the realities of Africa, including its Africanisation in depth. This comes under three main headings:

1. Priority for the practical approach in the field and abandonment of former scientific patterns which have proved unsuitable;
2. Definition of suitable teaching methods, starting from actual conditions in rural districts;
3. Joint work with African organisations for Africanisation purposes.

The whole of this programme calls for open discussion with those responsible for development policy, to facilitate improvements in the training policy for development staff.



Naud

*A maths lesson in a rural primary school, Ivory Coast.*

african education systems, after 14 years of development and experience, have been analysed in large measure by Mr. M'Bow. In the present context it seems desirable to summarise the following points:

a) the education crisis in Africa is, with sundry variations, world-wide. It is part of a crisis in human societies, set up by the continuous and rapid process of change. It is a crisis which affects the developed countries of the East and of the West as well as the developing countries;

b) the problem for a number of african States is no longer confined to quantitative educational development, but concerns also, the internal yield from and the external effectiveness of, their schooling systems. This is what is commonly called "adapting the school to the real life and needs of society". It is concerned with avoiding drop outs and relegations, unsuitable programmes, methods, working conditions and scholastic material. It is noted, for example, that there is insufficient technical and agricultural education in countries which have a 75 or 80 % rural population.

The "ruralisation of education" is one of the objectives to be sought. Its aspects are twofold—first a general education to produce individuals able to take an active part in the development of their countries with the instruments available to them, secondly, a suitable technical education. The system must prepare the population for the changes implied in development, without cutting them off from their territory, their culture and their traditional production. It is at this point that

a closer link is needed between education and territorial development and, in the wider view, between economic planning and educational planning.

c) There has been much talk about **educational expenditure in Africa**. In this connection a special feature is the growing cost in a number of countries, especially those which are least wealthy, such as Mali, Chad, Niger, Upper Volta and others, where it is practically impossible at present to cope with the growing demand for education because of the cost involved. At present the cost of education represents about 30 % of the budget in Senegal and Mali and over 40 % in the Ivory Coast, and this provides school places for only between 20 and 40 % of the children of primary school age. A main ingredient in the cost of education is the salary of the school masters and more generally of the civil servants involved, whose salaries are on a high scale compared with the average income of the population. The high cost of the teaching personnel is the main conditioning factor in the quantitative development of education.

d) **The labour market** is another difficulty in finding satisfactory outlets for the intake of candidates who have been through their primary, secondary and higher education. In the colonial tradition, the school is still primarily a path into the public service and the salaried jobs which are the dream of most young people. In practice, the vast majority of the population consists of farmers and stockraisers and comparatively small numbers of artisans and traders. There is a big

structural gap between the salaries and incomes of civil servants (who are between 30 and 60 % of the salary earners) and the incomes of the rest of the population. Moreover the lack of vocational and agricultural education outside the big urban centres makes the school a factor of separation between the pupil and his family background, so that he cannot find his way back into the society he has left;

e) **The cultural aspect** is a further handicap in the education system in african countries. In most of the countries the school is an institution imported from Europe, and it has long been a channel for the transmission of civilisation with little reference to the social, cultural and vocational background of the pupils. At present there are many reform schemes aimed at making the schooling system more national and more in line with the requirements of the country. "Nationalising and rationalising" was the description given by the Burundi Minister for Education and Culture as an illustration of the main features of educational reform. "Our task", he said, "is not only, or as a priority matter, to produce intellectuals and men of learning, but primarily to produce workers. It is only when our national education system enables us to train the technicians, administrators and specialists we need, that we shall have made our education profitable and justified the enormous expenditure (1) involved." The efforts made by one of the smallest and least wealthy countries in Africa provides us with a valuable example, and we shall find a similar concern in other countries where the level of incomes is higher, such as the Ivory Coast. There is in fact an incompatibility between generalised education and the job market potential. To this must be added the cultural up-rooting which stems from using a european language, such as french or english, instead of the local tongue.

\* \*

All the education programmes are concerned with the problems of language, the cost of teachers, the vocational training and others. Considerable changes will be necessary not only in the teaching language but also in the content of the education and the resulting values.

Other articles in this dossier discuss the possibility of developing education by satellite, using 10 or more african languages to provide an education suitable for the rural population. Other matters discussed include scientific research into the system of african education, and the development of ad hoc information in relation to agriculture and to intermediate technology.

There is no denying the fact that since independence the african countries have been engaged in a rapid expansion in their education, without any material change in its structure and objectives. The results have been impressive. In primary education the number of pupils has doubled or trebled and at the higher levels the advance has been even greater. National programmes, reinforced by external aid, including that of the E.D.F., have greatly increased the number of primary schools, secondary schools and universities. The campaign came in response to the great popular thirst for knowledge and education which is still far from satisfied, and was designed to train the people for their tasks in economic development. There are, nevertheless, many questionmarks regarding the

future of education and the possibility of quantitative expansion. People are beginning to think of education departments as "budget eaters", as a barrel which is never properly filled. It is noted that more general education does not in itself produce development. The question is asked whether the traditional modes of village and family education in Africa have not been unduly ignored or pushed under the carpet. Attempts are being made to reconsider adult education and out-of-school education, especially in rural districts. And meantime, to overcome of the problems of primary education, audio-visual methods are being put into practise, as is the case in the Ivory Coast and Niger.

All these questions call for serious consideration both by political authorities in the african countries and by the aiding countries who may be willing to support any specific project. In questions of education it is difficult to provide valid advice to all countries, irrespective of their different civilisations. It is not by chance that the worries about the education crisis are as rampant in industrial countries as they are in developing countries.

Education in Africa is at the cross-roads. The European Community and the E.D.F., in their technical and financial cooperation with their Associated countries in Africa, have made it their constant care to respect the independence of the country concerned, its orientation in educational matters and the choices it makes in the sectors of more direct concern to the E.D.F., such as economic and social infrastructure. The coordination between investments and training schemes rank as a major concern.

There are various ways in which this coordination can be secured, but it is important in every case that the human factor be assessed at the right time. Only thus can many of the investment projects be made economically and socially valuable, and a well balanced contribution made to the development of the country.

"Development must come from the countries themselves", said Mr. Claude Cheysson in a lecture during the African Fortnight in Brussels in the autumn of 1973. "It must stem from their culture, it must be founded on their society and become part of their sociological structure. It must have its roots in the will of the country, in all aspects of its personality, as it has emerged from centuries of history, from the characteristics of its region, from the spirit of the people and their social organisation. It is not in New York, in Brussels or in Rome that the development of these countries is made. It comes from the countries themselves and is grounded in the human facts of their reality".

Just as the people of a country are the starting-point for its development, so must it be the human side of eurafrican cooperation to which most attention must be given now that the relationships between Europe and Africa are being re-thought, reconsidered and re-negotiated. Eurafrican relationships may be of interest not only to Black Africa but to the seabord countries of the Mediterranean. There are some who believe Europe and Africa might be united beneath a new Southern Cross, with its head over Brussels, its foot stretching towards southern Africa, its crosspiece from Nouakchott to Kuwait. This, it is suggested, would be the symbol of a new entente between Europe and Africa—first and foremost an entente between the peoples. ■

G. LIVI

(1) About 25 % of the national budget.



# Community training schemes

## 1. STUDENT BURSARIES

The clauses of the second Yaoundé Convention which deal with general technical cooperation provide (Article 19) for the granting of student bursaries to the nationals of Associated countries and the organisation of courses and correspondence courses. The importance of cooperation by way of training schemes had been recognised from the beginning of the Community's relations with the newly independent African countries which were to be associated with it in the first Yaoundé Convention (July 20, 1963), in the form of a programme of student bursaries for training administrative staff, who were badly needed in the African countries and the O.C.T. The first contingent of a few dozen bursary students arrived in Europe during the academic year 1960-61. Within 3 years their number had risen tenfold, and for the academic year 1973-74 the total is 2 800. Between 1961 and 1964 the Community has granted more than 20 000 bursary-years to nationals of the A.A.S.M. and the O.C.T.

The programme was originally financed in its entirety by the E.E.C. Commission. In a second stage, after 1964, the cost was only partly charged to the Commission budget and the remainder financed by the E.D.F. In 1969 it was decided that the E.D.F. should in future bear the whole cost, so that the training programme could be more effectively linked with the economic and social requirements set up by the priorities assigned in connection with the E.D.F. investment projects.

### Number and distribution of bursaries

Between the academic years 1960-61 and 1964-65 the number of bursaries was steadily increasing. In the latter year, with the coming into force of the first Yaoundé Convention, there was a further considerable increase in the number, and this has since continued. In 1969-70 there were 2 155 bursaries. In 1970-71 there was a slight decline due to delays in the ratification of the Convention. Since then, with the increased resources of the second E.D.F., and with the A.A.S.M. governments showing a keen interest, there has been a very definite increase. Between 1960 and 1973 the number of bursaries awarded to nationals of the associated states was over 20 000 (see table No. 1). A tendency to be noted is the progressive awarding of bursaries tenable for training in universities and institutes in Africa. In 1965-66 only about one bursary student in five took his training in Africa and the rest in Europe. In 1972-73 60% of the bursaries were tenable in Africa and 40% in Europe.

As was to be expected, there have been considerable disparities between the different countries in the number of bursaries awarded. The policy of the Commission and the E.D.F. has, up to the present, been to accede to the requests of the associated countries which are adjusted to their own requirements, taking account of various criteria, such as the

quantity and quality of training for candidates in fields of study ranking on the priority list drawn up by agreement between the Community and the governments concerned. Among the countries which have had most benefit from this programme are Zaïre (2 707 bursary-years), Somalia, the Ivory Coast, Burundi and Cameroon. It should be noted that the scale of the bursaries also varies in accordance with the cost of the training, which differs from country to country, and also the type of training and its duration. Courses at academic level in Africa cost about half as much as similar courses in Europe. Moreover, for studies to be carried out in one of the E.E.C. countries, it is sometimes necessary to provide for six or eight months needed for learning the language.

Since 1970 the practice of an overall programme on an annual basis has been replaced by pluriannual planning for each associated country. This eliminates various difficulties which had arisen in phasing a necessary pluriannual training programme, with training periods of different lengths, into annual budgets. This brought an element of certainty to the A.A.S.M. in planning the appropriation of the E.D.F. funds earmarked for their training needs and thus to draw up the programmes they needed.

The new programmes provide that:

- finance for the training shall continue till its completion, even if this goes beyond January 1975, when the second Yaoundé Convention expires;
- the budget covering the three last years of commitment by the third E.D.F. should enable governments to plan their training requirements and link them with prospects in sectors of economic activity which are growing or likely to grow.

It is also possible for the A.A.S.M. governments to make a better adjustment in the assignment of their bursary students to Europe or Africa, in accordance with their requirements and the training cost per student.

### Award of bursaries in different training sectors

Bursaries are awarded by the Commission and the E.D.F. in the following fields:

- economic and commercial: economic science and technique, finance, development statistics and planning, secretariat;
- technical: engineering, physics, mathematics, medicine etc;
- agricultural: agricultural science and technique, stock-raising, water and forestry, fisheries, veterinary medicine;
- womens' activities: medical and social services.

The sector distribution shows the considerable part played from the outset by the technical sector and, to a less extent, by the economic sector. A comparatively small proportion of the bursaries were awarded in the agricultural sector, and the womens' activities were only a small part of the total.



*The E.D.F. financed this school, one of the most modern in Africa, for 1 200 pupils at Bamako, Mali. Three-quarters of the pupils are boarders.*

The technical branch still leads, but its proportion of the total has somewhat declined recently, amounting to 34.6% in 1972-73 against 46.3% in 1961-62. There has also been a decline in the proportion awarded in the economic sector (25.1% in 1972-73 against 33.2% in 1961-62).

On the other hand, there has been an increase in the number of bursaries awarded for agriculture, which rose in the same period from 20% to 30% of the total. In the earlier years the agricultural sector in some of the countries was badly situated, for competent people were needed but training facilities were undeveloped (see table No. 2).

### Bursaries at different levels

There are three levels at which bursaries are awarded:

- upper level: university and post-university;
- medium: engineers and technicians;
- vocational: skilled workers, specialists, foremen.

The largest proportion of awards is made for training at the upper level, and this has increased in recent years. In 1972-73 it accounted for 63.4% of the total.

At the medium level the proportion of awards has remained comparatively steady. It is currently rather less than a third of the total, but with the growing need for medium level technicians in the Associated countries, it is expected this type of training will be expanded. The proportion of vocational training has fluctuated considerably through the years (see table No. 3).

The figures bring out the importance assigned to upper-level training by comparison with the medium-grade and vocational, though the requirements of the associated countries under the two latter headings are nevertheless on a large scale. From 1972 onwards, with the closer links between training programmes and specific requirements and the growing tendency for training to be taken in Africa, it is expected that there will be an increase in requests for training programmes at the medium levels.

### Where the training is given

In recent years an increasing number of the bursary students take their training in the A.A.S.M. The proportion of these was 21% in 1965-66 and had risen to 60% by 1972-73. In the year 1973-74 four bursaries in every five awarded were for studies in Africa. This is a change for the better in two ways. First, a bursary tenable in Africa costs much less than one tenable in Europe. Secondly, training in Africa keeps the student in contact with the economic, political and social realities of Africa, and enables him to follow a training more closely adapted to local development conditions. It is facilitated, too, by the growing number of universities and training institutes operating in Africa.

## 2. DISCUSSION MEETINGS—GETTING PEOPLE TOGETHER

For 15 years the Commission has been organising information discussion meetings and refresher seminars for nationals of Associated countries and territories, and latterly for those of associable countries in Africa and the Caribbean. The aim has been to keep students and staff-level workers informed about eur-african relations, the life of the Association and what has been done by the E.D.F., rounding off the training of the Community bursary students. Since 1959 nearly 20 000 students, civil servants and trade unionists have taken part in these discussion meetings in Europe and in Africa.

These discussion meetings have not always followed the same pattern. Four years and more ago, they were held in a number of European cities but now the participants—among whom priority is given to holders of E.D.F. bursaries—are usually brought to Brussels. Nowadays the discussion meetings held in Europe have a threefold objective:

1. general information on relations between the European Community and the A.A.S.M., with special reference to prospects opened in the negotiations with the Associated and associable countries;

**Table 1**  
Bursaries per country in each academic year

Country	Year 60/61	Year 61/62	Year 62/63	Year 63/64	Year 64/65	Year 65/66	Year 66/67	Year 67/68	Year 68/69	Year 69/70	Year 70/71	Year 71/72	Year 72/73	Year 73/74 (estimations)
Burundi		9	19	32	68	103	103	153	154	154	175	190	132	125
Cameroon	1	9	41	51	139	206	206	179	182	202	172	196	197	262
Central Africa	4	2	2	15	28	44	34	24	39	77	57	80	104	106
Congo	9	19	23	26	130	118	42	40	37	29	25	26	39	44
Zaire	4	57	69	81	169	317	333	369	361	333	331	111	171	172
Ivory Coast	12	23	44	60	75	111	119	111	181	196	166	154	162	174
Dahomey	6	12	20	27	65	82	86	89	97	120	130	174	188	187
Gaboon	1	33	36	35	42	18	21	22	38	41	40	35	29	21
Upper Volta	1	3	16	37	60	63	87	128	156	173	123	145	155	175
Madagascar	3	47	39	42	84	110	66	69	94	109	81	79	77	82
Mali	2	—	24	32	44	28	48	56	51	58	74	134	214	187
Mauritania	1	4	11	15	25	31	48	52	65	9	6	33	33	37
Niger	5	15	21	32	42	45	50	52	91	69	102	130	138	193
Rwanda	7	8	10	31	65	70	114	127	143	152	174	147	134	124
Senegal	4	13	19	35	34	29	35	67	95	101	117	129	205	203
Somalia	—	30	35	48	96	90	128	152	169	182	193	204	139	349
Chad	—	5	30	29	32	62	54	44	87	60	47	47	103	94
Togo	4	11	7	32	71	77	89	103	115	166	159	184	180	193
Total	66	305	466	663	1 269	1 604	1 663	1 857	2 155	2 231	2 172	2 225	2 400	2 727
Netherlands Antilles and Surinam	1	1	1	41	55	97	92	97	99	99	102	92	63	78
O.C.T.	3	5	9	30	45	39	22	16	15	11	8	5	3	1
Total	4	6	10	71	100	136	114	113	114	110	110	97	66	79

**Table 2**  
Sector distribution of training schemes in  
A.A.S.M. and O.C.T. per academic year (Percent)

	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Economic	33,2%	37,5%	29,7%	24,1%	23,7%	27,9%	24,4%	24,6%	27,3%	23,3%	26,3%	25,1%
Agriculture	20,5%	14,3%	17,1%	15,7%	22,9%	24,4%	24,7%	24,0%	24,4%	28,4%	29,8%	30,4%
Technical	46,3%	36,2%	39,2%	45,7%	42,7%	36,1%	39,3%	37,0%	35,4%	39,1%	36,1%	36,4%
Womens' activities	—	13 %	14 %	14,5%	10,7%	11,6%	11,6%	14,4%	12,9%	9,2%	7,8%	—
											Health	9,2%
											Misc.	0,7%

**Table 3**  
Distribution by training level in A.A.S.M. and O.C.T.  
in each academic year (percent)  
(excluding womens' activities)

	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Professional	32,9%	16,9%	30,4%	26%	21,0%	13,4%	6,3%	5,6%	2,5%	5,8%	4,9%	3,1%
Medium	31,2%	38,5%	27,8%	40%	36,7%	35,8%	36,2%	35,1%	34,5%	30,9%	28,8%	33,5%
Upper	36 %	44,6%	41,8%	34%	42,3%	50,8%	57,5%	59,3%	63,0%	64,1%	66,3%	63,4%

2. to enable those responsible for training programmes to assess the training bursary students have received and the interest they take in eur-african relations;

3. to make the people of Europe conscious of the problems of cooperation and development.

In the organisation of these events, the Commission cooperates with various bodies responsible for the management of student bursaries, the training of students on courses and the cultural activities organised for african and caribbean nationals taking their training in Europe.

Special attention is paid to assessing the training E.E.C. bursary students have received in the different training centres and institutes. A day during the meeting is set aside for these problems, and Commission officials dealing with training programmes are thus able to learn about the instructional, economic and human problems which bursary students have to face in the countries where they are based.

It is proposed to pay special attention to the programme of discussion meetings in Africa. These are an opportunity for making public opinion in Africa conscious of the prospects of eur-african cooperation. Past experience has shown that events of this kind enable present and future administrators and staff workers in the A.A.S.M. to gain a better understanding of the function and position of the Association. On all occasions they have secured press and radio attention locally in the form of popularisation items. They are organised with the cooperation of the E.D.F. controller delegates on the spot.

The impression after 15 years of these discussion meetings is that, quite apart from the subject matter, they have helped in the making of personal contacts between Africans and Europeans. The Association is not only between States, but also between peoples, and this aspect is created afresh on each occasion.

### 3. REFRESHER COURSES, TRAINING COURSES AND CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Each year a contingent of about 10 civil servants from the A.A.S.M. and the O.C.T. take refresher courses in the Commission departments. These are kept for civil servants in responsible positions in fields connected with the relations between the A.A.S.M. and the Community.

On these occasions the A.A.S.M. nationals have the chance of seeing for themselves the methods of work in the Directorate General for Development and Cooperation, especially in relation to the working out and submitting of projects for the E.D.F. Contacts of this kind are a help in speeding up the administrative procedures. In addition, and this is extremely important, they establish personal contacts between the A.A.S.M. public servants and the Commission officials whose job it is to study the dossiers they submit.

Initially these courses lasted about a year. The governments of Associated countries, however, found it difficult to spare responsible public servants for such long periods, and the courses have accordingly been reduced to two and a half months. They fall into three phases, the first of which is designed to give them general information on the work of the Commission; the second deals with the specific problems handled in the Directorate General for Development and Cooperation; and the third is a study trip visiting two or three of the E.E.C. countries.

Since this programme started, several dozen high officials from the A.A.S.M. have spent a period in the Commission

departments. Most of them have jobs of the first importance in their national administrations.

Besides this, to meet a desire expressed by the A.A.S.M. and the O.C.T., there is a possibility for students, at the end of their european training, to take a training course in the Commission departments before they go back to their own countries to take up jobs in the public service.

These students are thus able to gain practical experience in the work of a great international administration, with which their future jobs will put them into a working relationship. These courses are also open to students who, at the end of their academic studies, are preparing a thesis or memorandum on problems connected with the relationships between Europe and the Third World.

Each year 20 places in the Commission are reserved for students taking these courses. The duration may vary between two and 12 months, depending on the nature and importance of the subjects being studied. Several dozen A.A.S.M. and O.C.T. nationals have had the benefit of this programme.

In addition the Commission has acceded to a wish of the associated countries for a more flexible element in its contribution to training programmes. In 1965 it accordingly initiated a programme of **student bursaries for correspondence courses**. The cost is comparatively small and the system is adaptable to specific situations, such as re-training or preparation for examinations and competitions. In the past this has made for a considerable expansion in correspondence course bursaries, and by 1968 the number of beneficiaries had already reached about 2 000. In the last few years the number of these bursaries has been reduced, and they have been awarded mainly for additional training connected with specific projects, or for preparing for examinations with government recognition.

### 4. SPECIFIC TRAINING PROJECTS

Intervention by the E.D.F. is not concerned solely with general education and training, but also with specific training projects connected with special economic or social requirements in the development of individual countries.

Projects of this kind come forward when the governments of associated countries ask for help in meeting vocational training requirements. The latter can arise in a variety of forms and may necessitate ad hoc schemes designed not only by reference to technical and instructional requirements, but also for adaptation to the material, financial and other capacities of the associated country concerned. The E.D.F. intervention may accordingly fall under a number of headings.

Among them is the infrastructure, consisting of the construction and equipment of a vocational training centre; the provision of technical assistance, including sending experts to prepare, carry out or perhaps appraise the intervention; the supply of teaching and office equipment, tools, vehicles and other items; and in exceptional cases, and on a decreasing scale, finance for the cost of operation. It is recognised in the second Yaoundé

Convention that aid may be needed in securing the right combination of men and material for dealing locally with a non-scholastic problem of vocational training of specific capacity in quality and quantity. The form of intervention is defined in protocol 6, article 3 (b).

Since the E.D.F. intervention is always additional to what is done by the government of the associated country, arrangements are made for handing over the operation to the national government as soon as possible and under the best possible arrangements.

This type of intervention can be better understood from the specific case of one particular project among the many in course of execution:

## THE TRAINING CENTRE FOR HORTICULTURE AND NUTRITION AT OUANDO (DAHOMEY)

### The problem

One of the main dietary defects for a large part of the African population is the lack of proteins and vitamins. In cases of insufficient supplies of meat, milk, eggs and fish, the resulting shortage of proteins and vitamins may be mitigated by the introduction of grain, vegetables and fruit.

In Dahomey the government was particularly disturbed by the nutritional conditions of the population, mostly rural, in the south-eastern part of Ouémé. It therefore launched a campaign for balancing the local diet by raising the leguminous intake with leaf vegetables and others, fruit and other suitable market garden produce. This made it necessary not only to increase the horticultural production but also to popularise the consumption of this type of produce, which was hardly known among the population affected.

### The solution proposed

The aim of the promoters was to increase production by suitable regional assistance to market gardeners (commercial production for urban needs) and by the systematic encouragement of family gardens (self-consumption for rural populations). In parallel with the increase in production, there was to be a popularisation campaign on diet and nutrition.

### Organising the operation

It was necessary to have an adequate infrastructure to deal with the large-scale popularisation programmes and to see that the production schedules were properly fulfilled. Since a large number of personnel would be concerned in the operation, it was necessary to rely on the multiplier effect by training the trainers, and this infrastructure was brought into existence as a training centre which would have the following principal tasks:

- experimental growing of local and imported vegetables, trees and fruit-trees;
- training and re-training of supervisory instructors and male and female volunteers for stimulation programmes;
- coordinated organisation of production, marketing and the popularisation of nutritional knowledge;
- logistic aid to horticulturalists by provision of small tools, seeds and otherwise.

The centre now covers an area of 32 ha, with buildings, living accommodation and store sheds. It has a national school to train women for animation work, a school of nutrition and a dispensary. It has a number of other facilities, including experimental plantations, vegetable production and seed production.

### E.D.F. contribution

The Dahomey government set up the centre in 1964, with help from the Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.) and NADERF (the Dutch foundation for the layout and operation of family gardens). In 1970 these two organisations were asked to proceed with operations on the same lines as elsewhere, and the E.E.C. Commission fell in with the Dahomey government's request to provide technical aid over a period of four years. The work included:

- sending out five experts, comprising two horticultural specialists, a specialist in nutritional education, another in domestic economy and another in administrative and marketing questions;
- extension of the Centre by the construction and adaptation of buildings;
- purchase of vehicles, small tools, teaching material and other supplies;
- taking over part of the operational cost.

The agreements specify that during the period of E.D.F. intervention, appropriate measures shall be taken to ensure that the centre can continue subsequently with support exclusively from Dahomey resources and without further E.D.F. aid. Special importance therefore attaches to the systematic training of local replacements for the expatriate experts.

### Prospects

A review after the first two years of E.D.F. intervention has shown very encouraging results. The effect of the work of the centre has begun to show in a material improvement in the nutritional condition of the population concerned. Work is carried on in a well-organised system. Local personnel are already in charge of the direct management of the centre, and the foreign experts are acting as technical advisers. The skill and performance of the local personnel hold out the hope that the centre can continue in operation after 1976 without having to call for further external aid. Plans are being worked out for bringing the work of the centre into line with the wider requirements of the country once the initial task has been accomplished. ■

## **Generalised preferences: the E.E.C. plan for 1974**

by Van-Thinh TRẦN

In the consultations on the E.E.C. proposals for generalised tariff preferences in 1974, the associated african and malagasy countries reacted with "keen interest". They expressed their surprise at the "extent to which the system had been improved", and wondered whether "this improvement resulted solely from the application of the system by the new adherents". They also enquired whether the Community must necessarily undertake an operation on such a scale, when other industrial countries had made no change in their offer and some of them had not even put their own generalised preference scheme into operation. They went on to state that they were "fully aware of the E.E.C. responsibilities and commitments to the Third World as a whole", but, they hoped "a new Community policy would conform to the promises which had been made to them, and would not imply any calling in question of advantages already secured".

The considerations thus forcefully put forward by the associated countries summarise the factors conditioning the development of Community cooperation policy with the Third World as a whole. The secret of such a development lies in moderation and balance. This is well illustrated by the case of generalised preferences, where the Community succeeded in working out its plan for 1974 in accordance with the governing principles of the Summit Conference in Paris in October 1972. In this it was laid down that "the Community should, without prejudice to the advantages accorded to countries with which it has

special relationships, respond more fully than in the past to the expectations of developing countries as a whole."

### **Importance of the 1974 plan**

The Community decisions this year are of special importance.

The international monetary and economic crises could not fail to have very bad effects in many of the poorer countries. For such countries the generalised preferences act as a life-line.

The Community is fully aware that the position is serious. This is shown in its desire to improve the generalised preferences plan as an indication of its intention to assume greater responsibilities to developing countries, despite the serious uncertainties currently affecting the Community's own economic expansion.

The plan as operated up to the end of 1973 by the new members of the Community (Denmark, Great Britain and Ireland) had differed in various respects from the Community plan. One of the improvements introduced by the Community as from January 1, 1974, is that it facilitates the adoption of the Community plan by the new member countries. In addition it helps to promote the growth—or at any rate the maintenance—of the trade into the Community of all developing countries, and more especially those which previously enjoyed special advantages in the markets

of the new members of the Community, among which are several countries particularly affected by the current energy crisis. The improvement from which these countries are to benefit has been so designed as not to prejudice the contractual obligations of the Community towards a number of countries which are associated with it.

The generalised preferences operation for 1974 is characterised by a well-balanced improvement.

### **The improvement**

For **processed agricultural products**, the 1974 plan enlarges the previous margins of preference and includes additional products. The plan covers 198 products against 147 in 1973. The most important are: fish flour; various types of shrimps, coconut oil for industrial use; dehydrated coconut; cocoa butter; soluble coffee; certain forms of preserved pineapple; tobacco leaf of the Virginia flue-cured type. On the basis of the 1971 figures, the concession will cover imports into the Nine E.E.C. countries valued at u.a. 350 m., compared with u.a. 45 m. of imports into the Six countries in 1971.

For **industrial semi-finished and manufactured goods** the points of improvement consist principally of:

- a substantial raising of the ceilings for preferential imports;
- a shortening of the list of products subject to a Community tariff quota;

— tariff reductions for manufactured goods of jute and cocoa;

— implementation of an appropriate procedure to secure fuller utilisation by beneficiary countries of the preferential advantages made available.

In the first place, the raising of the ceilings increases the potential preferential imports by a total of about u.a. 2000 m in industrial goods other than textiles, and in textiles by about 73 000 tons of products to an estimated value of u.a. 500 m. These figures are about 40% above what would have resulted if the 1973 scheme operated by the Six had in fact been operated by the Nine.

Secondly, the list of products subject to the tariff quota system has been shortened as far as possible. In 1973 it comprised 61 industrial products other than textiles and 32 textile headings, making a total of 93 items. In 1974 the list is reduced to 51 non-textile and 33 textile items, making a total of 84, or 4.5% of the industrial products covered by the plan.

Thirdly, the arrangements for facilitating better utilisation of the advantages available are particularly important. In the first instance, consideration will be given in 1974 to all possibilities of introducing a reserved portion into the Community tariff quotas. It has also been decided to improve the statistical information regarding preferential imports, in order to improve their administration and secure easier adjustment of the advantages made available. Improvements are also to be encouraged and promoted in the information arrangements in beneficiary countries, both at official and unofficial levels, for which purpose seminars will be held in the countries themselves. Special attention will be paid to regional groups, such as those of South East Asia and the Andine countries (Latin America), and to those countries which are **least advanced**.

Additional information facilities will also be needed inside the Community for the benefit of industrial countries,

trade unions and public opinion generally.

## Limits of the improvement

The Community considers the sum total of the 1974 improvements as representing a particularly substantial concession. They may be gradually extended in the light of operational results, but it must be emphasised that there are limits to subsequent improvements.

In the first instance it must be remembered that international economic relationships are in a state of much uncertainty. This is characteristic of the present period, and the energy crisis has made it worse. It is difficult at present to arrive at a quantitative estimate of the world impact of the energy crisis, but the effects can reasonably be expected to be adverse, at any rate in a number of sectors such as chemicals and plastics, textiles, cement and glass, ceramics, rubber and automobiles. This crisis has been followed by quick rises in the prices of a number of raw materials, which raise questions and problems to which the answers and solutions cannot as yet be foreseen. In any case there is the risk that this crisis may curb the economic expansion of the Community and make its anti-inflation campaign the more difficult, to the detriment of the creative and processing aspects of its economy, which rank as the best stimulant to the growth of the external trade of developing countries. The Nine-nation Community imports about u.a. 25 000 m per annum from developing countries, and the risk is that this import capacity may be reduced, which will weigh the more heavily on the economies of those countries most affected by the energy crisis.

It should be noted, too, that up to the present it is the Community which is bearing the main weight of the concessions to developing countries under the generalised preference system. The other important economic powers have not yet made a comparable effort, and

some have not yet brought a generalised preference scheme into operation. The Community therefore expects to see the setting up of a system of generalised preferences by other industrial countries, more especially the United States, and that it will be made available to developing countries **as a whole** and comparable at least in its effects to the Community system. So long as this sharing of the responsibility has not been carried out equitably, the Community will have difficulty in committing itself further to improvements in its scheme.

Moreover, one of the possibilities of improvement lies in the reduction, or even the elimination, of the list of products subject to tariff quotas. The existence and continuation of this list is necessary at present in order to avoid disturbance of sensitive industrial structures in the Community by various beneficiary countries which are in a privileged position. A solution will also have to be found for this extremely difficult question.

\* \*

In any case it must be emphasised that the generalised preferences are a valuable instrument of development co-operation, **especially for cooperation with countries which do not have special relationships with the Community**. It is clear, nevertheless, that the preferences made available will only secure their ultimate objective by the continuation and indeed the intensification of efforts in other fields. It must be recognised that many developing countries will only be able to stimulate their industrialisation and their export trade through the concomitant division of increased technical and financial aid from the developed countries. For the Community it would be desirable to round off its action under the generalised preferences scheme by other more considered measures of aid to trade promotion, encouragement to economic diversification and inducements for private investment in the Third World, especially in the less advanced countries. ■

V. T. TRẦN

# E.E.C. support for industrialisation in associated countries

by André HUYBRECHTS

Under the Association which nineteen african and malagasy countries have entered into with the European Community <sup>(1)</sup>, one of the questions arising is the launching of their industrialisation.

This brief examination begins with various general considerations on the industrialisation of underdeveloped countries in general and the associated countries in particular. This will be followed by an analysis of the "industrial content" of the three Association Conventions since 1957 and more especially those in the Yaoundé II Convention, which is now operative, and we shall then pass on to a summary of industrial progress over the 17 years of the Association. In conclusion, since we are on the eve of further agreements to renew and enlarge the Association <sup>(2)</sup> we shall indicate the need for fuller measures of industrial cooperation and attempt to sketch the most desirable lines of approach.

## I. INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE THIRD WORLD

Nowadays there is hardly any underdeveloped country which does not consider industrialisation one of the instruments of its development policy, and one of its most important objectives, if not the most important of all. Industrialisation is seen as one of the main motive forces in the social and economic changes desired. It is expected to make

a big contribution to expanding production and the increase in income per head. It is the main component in the necessary diversification of economic structure, especially as an escape from the predominance of a single crop or a single line of mineral production carried on exclusively for export, and exposing the country to the familiar risks associated with conditions in world markets for raw materials. It is an instrument for the development of a modern economy based on cash trading and setting up connections between different economic sectors, securing a diffusion of progress and external economies or reducing the extent of domination by industrial countries. Industries are expected to create the jobs needed to set up money incomes, absorb the unemployed manpower accumulating in the shanty towns, swollen by the growing exodus from the rural areas where there is so much disguised under-employment. And industrial life is an important contribution to the moulding of peoples and the modification of behaviour patterns.

It is no part of our plan to attempt a thorough critical analysis of the industrial objective. For present purposes all that need be said is that the problem of development, though it arises differently in every underdeveloped country, is never a question of a simple choice between modernised agriculture and industrial growth. Its forms are much more subtle, calling for careful adjustment and strict adaptation to individual situations, of investments and their accompanying measures. It relates everywhere to various sectors which are complementary, in relation alike to the economic and social infrastructure, to agriculture and to particular types of industry. In the industrial sector itself there are differences as to which specific orientation will be the most satisfactory.

At the outset, underdeveloped countries seeking industrialisation have tended to concentrate their effort on industries which would replace imports of manufactured goods and, to some extent, have a surplus for export. In practice, this process of "imports substitution" is far from having yielded the expected results, and there is much to be learned from the experience of countries which have practised it intensively for a number of years.

### *Insufficiency of "import substitution"*<sup>(3)</sup>

For the most part the policy of industrialising by substituting national manufactures for imports has been carried out in economies which were too small and did not allow the economies of scale required, so the external economies secured were not appreciable. It thus came to be supported by a policy of quantitative restriction and high customs duties—the only way of ensuring profitability for firms—and administrative controls which resulted in delays and inefficiency. In many cases the capacities created were only partly used.

As a result, the value added by the substitution industry, as calculated on the basis of artificially inflated prices, is no longer the true measure of the contribution of these industries to the national economy, and at times we find cases where the value added was in reality negative <sup>(4)</sup>. The investments in import-substitution industries have comparatively slight impact on the local

(1) The african and malagasy States associated with the European Community by the Convention of Yaoundé II (29.7.69) are Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gaboon, Upper Volta, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Chad, Togo and Zaïre. The eighteen States initially associated were subsequently joined by Mauritius.

(2) The enlarged European Community is currently negotiating a new Association Agreement with the countries already associated with it since 1957, and the « associable » countries of the British Commonwealth.

(3) Editor's sub-titles.

(4) No emphasis can be too great in calling attention to the mistakes, which have been much more marked than in Europe, resulting from ill-considered recourse to national accountancy figures of a more than doubtful kind.



economy. In an economic environment at an early stage of development, where recourse to local supplies is necessarily limited and external transfers are manifold, its effect in setting up an economic flux is slight, and it creates few new jobs. It has scarcely any cumulative effect, creates few local incomes and soon comes up against a brick wall in a market which, after a certain time, virtually ceases to expand.

More particularly, it has been found that setting up local import-substitution industries does not ease the pressure on the balance of payments to the expected extent. There is a change in the structure of the import trade, but total imports have not been found to diminish, and sometimes they even increase.

Still more important have been the negative effects of mere import substitution. Existing inequalities in the distribution of incomes are made worse by a deterioration in the internal terms of trade between agricultural produce, especially foodstuffs, and manufactured goods, and this operates to the detriment of the rural communities. The policy of giving priority to industrialisation has led to the neglect of agriculture. This leads to a reduction in agricultural production, both for the domestic market (causing shortages, rises in prices and inflation) and for export (leading to smaller currency receipts). The protection given to the national industries encourages high prices for their produce, which ultimately affects the competitiveness of other industries or of agriculture, to which these new industries supply intermediate products such as building materials, cement, vehicles and fertilizers. As a result the exporting capacity of the country is weakened. <sup>(1)</sup>

### *Increasing interest in exports*

The second phase in the industrialisation policies of underdeveloped countries has been a growing interest in the export trade. This outlet is considered not as an

alternative to the domestic market which has yielded inadequate results, but rather as an addition to it. Export industries mainly aimed at the markets of industrial countries do not have any limit to their potential outlet, since it is far in excess of the capacity of potential producers in the Third World. These producers, however, are confronted with the absolute necessity for being competitive, in markets which are forever changing, always exacting and keenly competitive. They have to conform to the strict norms of international markets and adopt up-to-date production and management techniques, which have the effect of stimulating efficiency in industry as a whole. A prospective producer must therefore be able to count on one or more of several comparative advantages, such as abundant and cheap raw materials, energy or manpower of good quality, or a specially good geographical location. He cannot otherwise face the competition of the countries which are already industrial and have abundant capital, advanced technology and external economies resulting from a well-equipped and diversified environment. Industrialisation for export, though it is not a panacea, does not at first sight embody any of the inconveniences associated with industrialisation for import substitution. It holds out prospects of a beneficial effect on the balance of payments, of the economies of scale to which the new firms can aspire because of the scale of their markets, and to the possibility of increasing employment.

### *A complex problem*

The industrialisation of underdeveloped countries is thus a complex problem which has to be taken as part of an overall development programme. It must, in particular, be kept in close association with the development of agriculture, and it is beginning to be recognised that the approaches to it must be more flexible. The accent initially put on import substitution for the domestic markets has now been replaced in favour of exports to the markets of industrial countries. There can be no doubt that in due time other aspects will come to the fore, and with them other potentialities and other difficulties.

The governments of industrialising countries are naturally the chief artificers of the desired changes. They, and they alone, are able to create an atmosphere propitious to national or foreign industrial investment. Only they can deal with most of the obstacles to industrialisation and operate specific industrial policies carefully adapted to the resources and requirements of each individual country. External aid can contribute to the industrial development of underdeveloped countries, by encouraging the transfer of capital and knowhow and by enlarging the outlets which our markets offer, with greater or less generosity, to their industries.

## II. INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE A.A.S.M.

While Africa is the least wealthy and the least industrialised continent of the Third World <sup>(2)</sup>, the countries associated with the European Community are among the least developed and the least industrialised in Africa itself. Despite the undoubted, though unequally spread, progress which has been made since independence, industry in these countries is still on a modest scale. Apart from a few exceptions it is made up of simple industries, such as the first processing of agricultural produce for export and the making of elementary consumption goods and articles of current use for the local market. The technologies applied are also simple and often not far beyond the artisan stage.

The associated countries are now at an important turning point in the slow process of their industrialisation. One after another they are recognising that they have reached the practical limits of import substitution on a strictly national footing. The best example is that of the Ivory Coast, which is the most advanced in this field. On the regional scale it must be admitted that though there have been many statements of principle, african economic integra-

(1) Special measures for the encouragement of new industries would have been preferable to protection, because they would not have had the same prejudicial effects.

(2) Sixteen african countries are included in the U.N.O. list of the 25 least developed countries. Over the period 1960-70 the rate of growth in industrial production in Africa, and the contribution of industry to the growth in the G.N.P., were materially lower than the corresponding figures for Asia and Latin America.

tion has got practically nowhere. For lack of regional groupings, in which countries would operate joint policies of industrial cooperation, sharing some of the industrial ventures and instituting free trade in some of the sectors (regional import substitution), an increasing number of countries are thinking in terms of industrialisation which will rely on exports to wider markets.

The conditions are adverse. It is against this background that we must survey what the role of aid from the European Community has been, and

might be, in the industrialisation of its african Associates.

## THE ASSOCIATION CONVENTIONS AND THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES

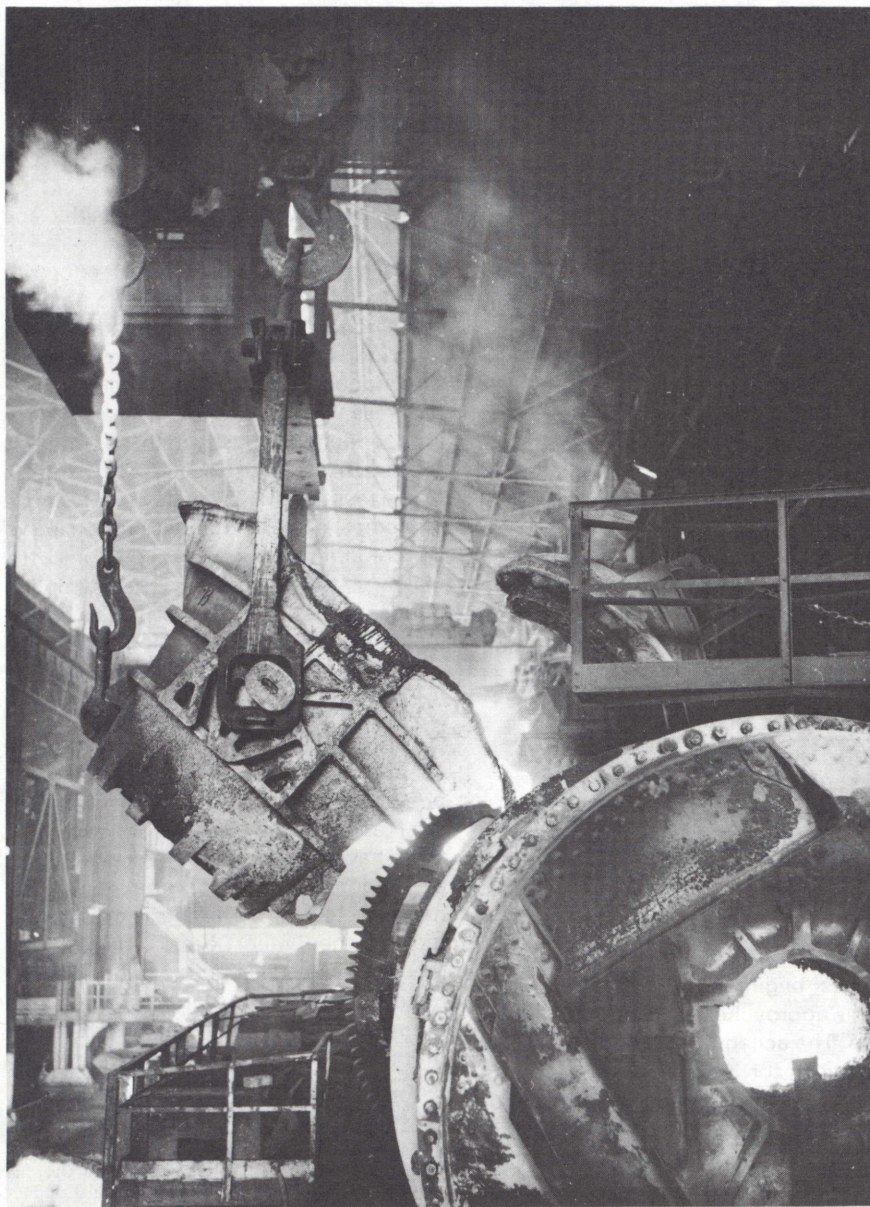
### 1. The convention texts

Since 1957 there has been a continuous development in the express objectives laid down for the Association,

and in the resources made available for their fulfilment in each of the three successive conventions.

The first Association was one by which the six founder members of the European Economic Community agreed to associate the overseas territories of four of them with the Common Market they were on the point of creating. It aimed simply at the "economic and social development of the countries and territories" and set out to strengthen the "close economic relationships between them and the Community". The second Association Convention (Yaoundé I, 1963) was between the Community and 18 states which were now independent, and it evinced a desire "to facilitate the economic diversification and industrialisation of the Associated countries". The third Convention (Yaoundé II, 1969) confirms this objective and includes a still more definite statement of the desire to "promote the industrialisation of the associated countries". The industrialisation objective has thus been progressively accentuated, and it has finally become one of the declared aims of the Association and a matter of priority. This was encouraged by pressure from the associated countries whose industrial problems have already been mentioned. Their concern found an echo among some of their european partners, as will be seen in the discussions and resolutions of the Parliamentary Conference of the Association and of the Council of Association. More recently it is to be found in the Commission memoranda on Community policy in development cooperation and in regard to the enlargement of the Association.

Each successive convention accordingly provides additional methods of intervention better adapted for industrial purposes. At the outset there was provision only for non-repayable aid, necessarily to be used for economic or social infrastructure purposes, and in practice not applicable to industry. The two following conventions provided a greater variety in the forms of intervention, making them more flexible and better adapted to industrialisation requirements. This can be seen in a closer scrutiny of the instruments brought into the service of the industrial objective by the Yaoundé II Convention which is now in force.



*Copper foundry in Zaïre: all the heat and power of industrialisation.*

## 2. The instruments of industrial cooperation

The present Convention is a well-filled bag of commercial, financial and technical cooperation instruments, capable of dealing with most of the problems connected with industrialisation, either by improving the general underlying conditions or by contributions to carrying out specific investments. No international aid organisation has so complete a range of intervention techniques as has Community aid through the European Development Fund (E.D.F.) and the European Investment Bank (E.I.B.).

It is not necessary here to analyse the whole of these aid provisions. It is relevant, however, to set out the action in industrial matters open to the E.D.F. and the E.I.B.

**On the commercial side**, the greatest potential contribution to the industrial development of the associated countries is their completely free access to the Community markets with total freedom from customs duties and quantitative restrictions, apart from a few processed agricultural products coming under the Community agriculture policy. This privileged access to our markets is considerably in excess of the concessions made by the Community to other developing countries, for the generalised preferences are only a necessarily limited set of exceptions to a comparatively general protection against exports of manufactured goods to our markets. Conversely, the associated countries have the option of protecting their own young industries against external competition, even if this comes from European producers. This option, which is obviously necessary when industrialisation is in its early stages, has been confirmed and extended under the successive Association systems.

There are two other points to be noted. One is the trading provision designed specially to encourage African regional cooperation, which is a pre-condition for African industrialisation. This is applicable both to groups of associated countries and also between them and neighbour countries which are not associated. The other is the provision for trade promotion which could be

another stimulus to industrial development.

**On the finance side** the instruments of Community aid are grants (non-repayable aid) from the E.D.F., "soft" loans on special terms from the E.D.F. and normal loans from the E.I.B. Aid in the form of grants may be used for such purposes as agricultural investment, infrastructure (power, transport, industrial estates), general and vocational education, technical assistance and survey studies more or less directly linked with the setting up of industries. The loans are by their nature more directly intended for financing productive investment in mining, power and industry. Depending on the specific case, these may be loans by the E.I.B., which are banking operations the terms of which depend on the state of the finance market, or loans by the E.D.F. on special and much less exacting terms. The two formulae are not mutually exclusive, but provide a flexible way of dealing with the great diversity of projects. They can

be used together by the E.D.F. granting interest rate rebates in respect of loans made by the E.I.B. The loans can also be made through the intermediary of a national government or a finance organisation, such as a development bank. The Community is also empowered to contribute risk-bearing capital to individual firms by taking up a minority shareholding <sup>(1)</sup>. A special provision regarding the finance aid is aimed to support industries in the beneficiary countries themselves. This provides a preference of up to 15% which may be granted to supplies coming from national undertakings.

**As regards technical cooperation**, the E.D.F. has the same very wide powers in the industrial field covering surveys and technical assistance, either in general terms or connected with particular investments.

(1) The first such operations were investments in a textile company in the Ivory Coast in 1972 and in a survey company for the setting up of a big ship-building undertaking in Senegal in 1973.

## INDUSTRIAL SURVEY AFTER SEVENTEEN YEARS ASSOCIATION

We are now practically at the end of the third five-year period of Association and are negotiating the renewal and enlargement of this form of cooperation between Europe and a number of underdeveloped countries, mostly African. It is an opportune moment for a survey of what has been done through Community aid in the industrial field.

### Industrial investments

A large number of investments, such as infrastructure projects and those in agriculture and stockbreeding or in general education or technical training, rank as contributions to the industrial environment and therefore as instruments of industrial promotion. The contribution under this head is indirect and its industrial value difficult to assess. The share of industry proper in the Community financing was only 1.1% of the first E.D.F. In the second period of Association, the proportion rose to 6.5%, and remained around the same level (6.9%) in the third period. The E.I.B. which at first made almost the whole of its

loans available for industry (95.2%) later intervened on a larger scale in various infrastructure projects and in the hotel business, and industry proper took only 60.6% of its funds <sup>(1)</sup>. Total Community interventions in the industrialisation of associated countries were certainly not on a larger scale during the present Association period, amounting up to the present to 10.8%, which compares with 12.7% under Yaoundé I.

The Associated countries could only have limited recourse to the comparatively strict financing terms of accommodation from the E.I.B., even when interest rebates were granted by the E.D.F. Though the Yaoundé I Convention authorised loans to associated countries up to u.a. 64 m during the second Association period, the actual loan

(1) These percentages relate to the industrial sector in its fullest sense, including mining, quarries and the energy infrastructure (electricity). If the figures are limited to manufacturing industry, the percentages in the 2nd and 3rd Association periods come down to 2.7 and 4.9% for the E.D.F. and 46.3 and 18.4% for the E.I.B.

commitments undertaken were only u.a. 49.1 m.

The very limited industrial financing by the E.D.F. is less easy to explain. It is clear that the associated governments put forward very few industrial projects for financing, but this can only be a partial explanation. The underlying reason may have been that the fund was less interested at the time in this type of intervention, that its resources were insufficient, or that the potential beneficiaries had not realised what opportunities were open to them.

#### Other action taken

The E.E.C. Commission, acting on the express wish of the Community to support industrialisation in the associated countries, has compiled a number of studies on the possibility of setting up various types of industry. It has also initiated various general information campaigns aimed to promote industrialisation. This action is intended partly for the information of potential investors and partly to provide the associated countries with information and a basis for consideration and eventual action.

An important first set of studies was completed in 1966. It was limited to an analysis of the possibilities for various regional import substitution industries. It identified about a hundred projects for the setting up of new undertakings <sup>(1)</sup>. A second set of studies is now nearing completion. It is concerned with a dozen lines of production or sets of connected products, the markets for which would be wholly or mainly in industrial countries and particularly those of the Community. A separate study which is already available has been made of the possibilities for exporting textile industries in the associated countries.

(1) An outline survey at the end of 1970 showed that about a third of the projects had been, or were on the point of being, carried out mainly in a few countries where conditions were favourable. This result, satisfactory though it appeared, was the fruit of a number of actions taken on the national scale, which did not fall in with the proposals of the experts who had drawn up their projects on a regional basis. In practice regional integration reconditions the viability of import substitution industries in Africa and this was an instance of the obstruction arising from lack of it.

The Commission has extended this industrial promotion campaign by the issue of various information documents, including a collection of the investment codes enacted in the Associated countries, and a list of industrial

surveys. It has also compiled and issued a set of 18 pamphlets describing the conditions governing industrial establishment in each of the Associated countries.

#### Loans by E.D.F. and E.I.B. to A.A.S.M. up to 31.12.73 (u.a. 000)

	E.D.F.	E.I.B.	E.D.F. + E.I.B.
<b>1st Association period (1957-62)</b>			
(1) Total commitments	474,739	—	474,739
(2) Industrial projects	4 883	—	4 883
(2) as % of (1)	1.0	—	1.0
<b>2nd Association period (1963-68)</b>			
(1) Total commitments	652 471	49,082	701 553
(2) Industrial projects	42 108	46,752	88 860
(2) as % of (1)	6.5	95.2	12.7
<b>3rd Association period (1969-73)</b>			
(1) Total commitments	100 621	46 280	646 901
(2) Industrial projects	41 650	28 050	69 700
(2) as % of (1)	6.9	60.6	10.8
<b>1st three periods (1957-73)</b>			
% of industrial projects	5.1	78.4	9.0

#### EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN INDUSTRIALISATION

In future, european cooperation in the development of the associated countries must be more specifically aimed at their industrialisation. This is a new angle in Community policy.

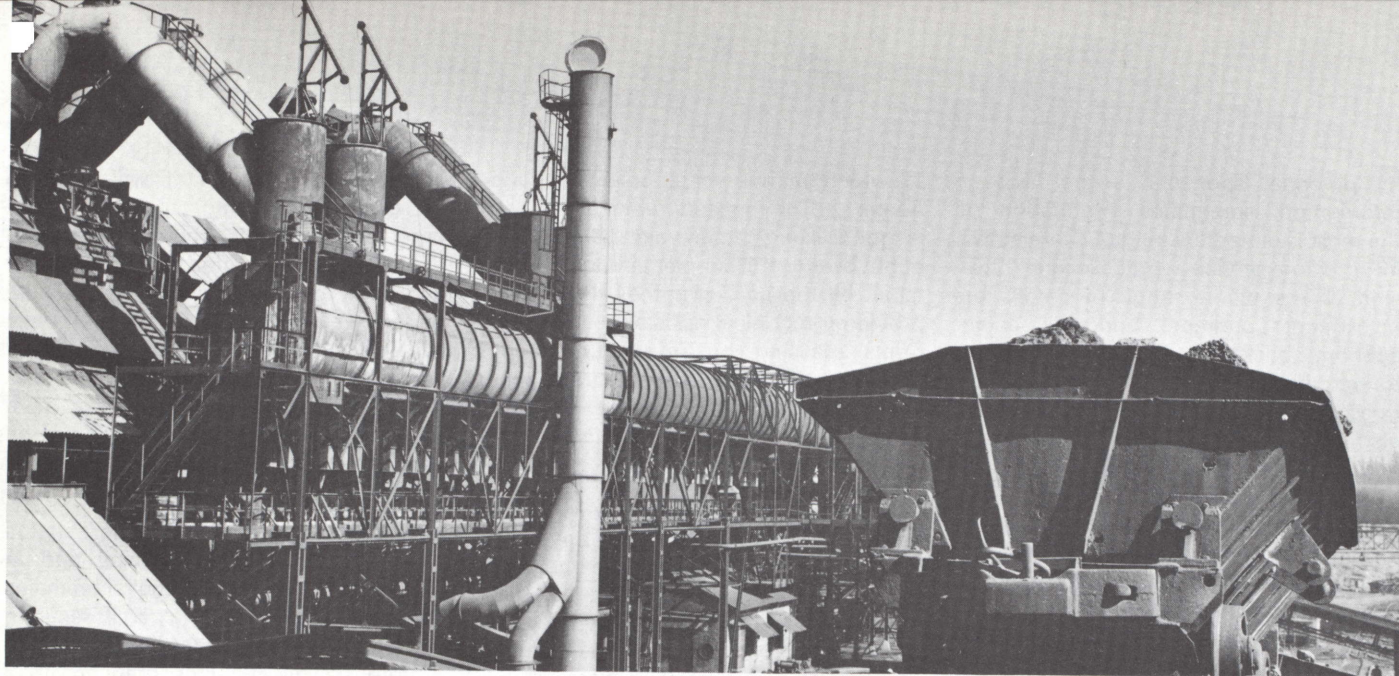
#### Necessity for industrial cooperation

There are three evident reasons for giving a larger industrial content to the forthcoming Association agreements, and providing for the dynamic use of a wider range of instruments for the purpose.

The first reason is one of logical evolution. Over the years, as we have noted, both the aims and the instruments of Association have evolved, and this has put the accent on industrialisation. This is likely to continue. As the associated countries grow accustomed to their independence, consolidate their infrastructures and set up a reasonably diversified nucleus of industry, their thoughts must turn increasingly towards

industrialisation. The rather meagre industrial results of three successive periods of Association will tend to accentuate this. The requirements put forward by the associated and associable countries will be the greater for the fact that among them there are countries such as Nigeria and Zaïre capable of quick and considerable industrialisation, which have got their industry to the first embryonic stage and are anxious to secure quicker progress in the same direction.

The second reason stems from recent business conditions, with the spectacular rise in oil prices and the much firmer world markets for many raw materials. Some of the associated and associable countries will benefit from this because they produce oil or some other essential basic product, and their financial resources will now be considerably greater. Some of them, such as Nigeria, might even find that they can do without external aid altogether. The problem arising will be to agree upon a new



*The Lubumbashi foundry, Zaïre.*

content for their cooperation with the Community in other fields than the mere transfer of public funds. **Industrial cooperation is in line with the requirements of countries in this situation, and more recently, with their bigger financial resources.** It would also be a convenient counterpart to the concern of the Community about regular supplies of raw materials.

The third reason is a long-term economic one. Industrialisation is undoubtedly one of the paths the african countries will have to take in the interest of their development. Undoubtedly, too, there are definite industrial possibilities in Africa, whether it be for supplying the african market, if possible on a regional basis, or for exporting to Europe and elsewhere. The possibilities under this head are insufficiently known and must now be analysed and brought into use. It is very much in Europe's interest to carry out a number of **industrial transfers**, and to do this now and on the best available terms rather than to take a conservative attitude and wait for these transfers to be made later, to her detriment rather than to her advantage. Such transfers would be a contribution to a more balanced international distribution of production, based on the rational use of the comparative advantages of each party and leading to a much larger trade potential. The excessive concentration of industry in Europe is already raising serious social and environmental problems, and

a policy on these lines would circumvent them.

#### **Instruments of wider industrial co-operation**

It is impossible at this stage to foresee the industrial results of the next Association period, but the confirmation of such an objective would make it important for the Association to possess the best instruments for the purpose and for the partners to be ready to make dynamic use of them. In most of the countries there is a risk that effective industrial growth will be neither quick nor spectacular. Europe must not, by holding back at this point, take the risk of being saddled with the responsibility for disappointments which may arise later.

The first step is to **extend and make full use in the industrial sector of established methods of intervention** in the form of financial and technical aid:

- infrastructure investments, linked with industry; agricultural and mining investments carried through into industrial processing;
- technical and vocational training, specific to the undertakings being established;
- wider utilisation of the various forms of finance suitable for industrial projects;
- more extensive compilation of surveys and studies to the point of feasibility studies for specific projects, including the pre-financing of such studies;

— technical assistance more directly concerned with industrialisation problems: management; planning full utilisation of existing capacity; analysis of projects of foreign sponsors; help to governments in negotiations with sponsors.

New forms of intervention should be worked out, combining technical assistance with special financing methods such as leasing industrial equipment and long-term monitoring contracts.

Two aspects of E.E.C. external economic policy might be complementary to this direct cooperation programme. The first comes under the **commercial policy** heading, covering various tariff obstacles still subsisting in trade with the associated countries and the elimination of a number of technical obstacles to trade. The second aspect would be the revival of the Commission proposals for setting up a **Community guarantee system for european private investments** in underdeveloped countries.

There should be much more **industrial promotion**. This covers all types of action aimed at facilitating or intensifying direct contact between people and institutions in underdeveloped countries and those in industrial countries, to encourage projects for effective transfer of capital and industrial technology. At the outset this promotion would depend on a substantial publicity campaign, for it is a fact that a major obstacle to action

by potential sponsors is the lack of information, sometimes information of the most rudimentary kind. A more active information service would secure diffusion of the whole range of details on investment conditions and the social-economic background which every investor requires to have before he actually goes to the country concerned. It would also cover the various sources of finance, the existing surveys and industrial projects and the work which has already been done. Conversely, there would be the question of providing the associated governments with a maximum of information to facilitate their contacts with the industrial and financial world and with the possessors of industrial technology. Further factors to guide the hand of governments and investors would be industrial studies at different levels covering general programming, sector programming and specific project studies.

Publicity and surveys, however dynamic the former and however thorough the latter, need to be backed up by real promotion, making direct contact between potential industrial partners. Such action can often only be taken by the potential host country itself. Community aid could contribute substantially, by turning its existing trade promotion increasingly towards products manufactured in the associated countries and organising meetings of potential partners and visits by industrialists to Africa. Complementary to intervention on these lines would be technical and financial assistance to the existing or future industrial promotion bodies in the associated countries.

**Sub-contracting** is a form of cooperation between industrial firms which is widespread in Europe and already has several bridgeheads into the Third World. It might be a good method of industrialisation for individual developing countries

in which manpower supplies are adequate and/or the geographical position is good. Here, again, aid from Europe might be a useful supplement to the steps taken by the host countries themselves, providing technical assistance in various forms, passing on information about European offers of sub-contract work and giving its good offices in establishing contacts with the firms concerned.

There is another field with which neither Community aid nor any other aid has yet been much concerned, but which might play a far from negligible part in the industrialisation of new countries. This relates to the development of **small and medium-size firms (S.M.F.)**. In this connection it will be necessary to sort out the various forms of financial and technical assistance, such as management services, training and credit, best adapted to help the formation and growth of S.M.F. They would also have to be forms suitable for provision by external aid, especially in cooperation with national development banks and specific management specialists and institutions dealing with credit to S.M.F. which already exist in a number of countries.

Increased attention must also be given to the problem of **transfers of industrial technologies** and the **adaptation of technologies** to the requirements and potentialities of the aided countries. This may call for help and support for research in overseas countries, or a general and concerted consideration of these problems inside the Community.

When it comes to methods of operation, a point to be emphasised is that public administrations, whether they be national or European, are ill-adapted to carrying out publicity or promotion campaigns and most of the other forms of intervention suggested above. If this type of activity is to be

developed, consideration will have to be given to forming an independent organisation which would specialise in this extremely operational type of activity and bring to it a high degree of flexibility and a well-developed sense of public relations. Such an "industrial promotion centre for the associated countries" might be set up and supervised on a joint basis by the Community and the associated countries.

\* \*

Whatever one's ideas on the part the State should play in industry and in economic life in general, the fact remains that it has got to play a big part in securing the industrialisation of the less well-to-do countries. This includes drawing up a general plan for economic and social development, providing the background and channels for industrial investment, creating an atmosphere propitious to private ventures and encouraging private investment, whether of national or foreign sponsorship. External aid is an addition to and a support for this national effort. It must conform to the basic framework the associated country will have fixed for itself in such matters as the part played by the State, the regional and sector priorities and the choice of technology. It must have the instruments and resources needed for its task.

The E.E.C. policy of development cooperation is now at a turning point in its history, for it is presently renewing and enlarging the Association and doubtless giving it a new content. One of the problems arising is to channel our aid more actively and more definitely into the rapid industrialisation of the associated countries. We shall learn, in the course of 1974, the textual content of agreement between African and Europeans to resolve it, but only the future will show how effective these arrangements will have been in furthering the growth of African industry. ■

A. HUYBRECHTS

# The Commonwealth Caribbean

by Graham NORTON (\*)

## THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL AREA (1)

The Caribbean is that area bounded by the Greater and Lesser Antilles: a string of islands—mainly of volcanic origin, though some of them are coral or have coral components—curving east and south from just south of Florida to the coast of Venezuela in South America. The biggest islands are Cuba, the most westerly, Hispaniola, (now divided between Haiti in the west and the Dominican Republic in the east), Jamaica and Puerto Rico, all in the Greater Antilles. All of these large islands excepts Puerto Rico are independent, Puerto Rico enjoying a special "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" status with the United States. The lesser Antilles begin west of Puerto Rico with the U.S. Virgin Islands and the British Virgin Islands, then come the British Leeward Islands, with which are intermingled the French island of St. Barthelemy and the Dutch islands of Saba and St. Eustatius. The island of St. Martin, though very small is divided between Holland and France. South of the British colony of Montserrat lies Guadeloupe, an overseas department of France, Dominica, a British Associated State and then Martinique, also an overseas department of France. South of Martinique lie St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada, all Windward Islands and states in association with Britain. Grenada became an independent member of the Commonwealth on February 7th 1974. Due east of St. Vincent lies Barbados, which has been an independent member of the Commonwealth since 1966.

The unitary state of Trinidad & Tobago lies just off the coast of South America—the shores of Venezuela can clearly be seen from Trinidad. On the South American mainland itself, about a hundred miles south-east of Trinidad, is the largest of the Commonwealth countries in the area, Guyana.

Strictly speaking Guyana is not a Caribbean country; but it has now so identified itself with the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, rather than seeking a "continental destiny" in South America, that it should be considered with them. East of Guyana lies Surinam, part of the Tripartite Kingdom of the Netherlands, as Holland with its overseas associates is officially known, and the department of French Guiana.

Caribbean islands off the South American coast include the Dutch islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. There is still one remaining British colony on the central American mainland, Belize, until recently known as British Honduras, which shares a disputed land border with Guatemala. Britain has two further groups of island colonies in the area: the Caymans, south of Cuba, and the Turks and Caicos to the north-east of Cuba, which, like the Bahamas, are not strictly in the Caribbean.

The Bahamas, which became independent on July 10th last year, are economically very dependent on the United States; nevertheless they are participating to an increasing degree in the affairs of the Caribbean to the south.

Unity for the Caribbean is now a much discussed question. In the colonial past there were a number of attempts to join together the British territories, culminating in the ill fated Federation of the West Indies, which only lasted from

1958-62. This broke apart due to an unworkable constitution and the fact that many of the leading territorial politicians prudently refused to "go federal" and settled instead with their island power base. Guyana, at that time led by Dr. Jagan, a dentist of East Indian origins, did not participate in the mostly negro Federation. The immediate cause of the collapse of the Federation was the withdrawal of Jamaica after a referendum. That island, the biggest component unit, then became independent, to be followed in less than a month by Trinidad and Tobago. Attempts were made to form the small remaining islands into a new federation, but this proved impossible. Barbados became independent, and the smaller islands either chose to remain British colonies or took up Associated Status with Great Britain, becoming completely self-governing, but agreeing to defence and foreign affairs remaining in British hands. In actual fact, as far as Caribbean matters are concerned the Associated States have acted independently, without reference to the British Government.

## FROM CARIFTA TO THE CARIBBEAN COMMON MARKET

The economic predicament of all the Caribbean territories being very apparent to those in charge of their governments, it was agreed to set up a free trade area between Antigua, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana. Jamaica and the smaller islands followed, and in 1968 CARIFTA, the Caribbean Free Trade Area, came into existence, with the headquarters of its secretariat in Georgetown, Guyana. For the larger islands CARIFTA worked most successfully. Jamaica in particular, which has

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(1) Editor's sub-titles.

a thrusting business community, increased its exports to CARIFTA countries. Trinidad, and to a lesser extent Guyana and Barbados also profited. The smaller islands generally, however, with little to export, did not do as well. They contain elements who feel that they are a dumping ground for CARIFTA manufacturers, to whom they must offer preferential access, and that they would do better by buying on the world market at the cheapest rates. The escalating cost of living in the Leewards and especially in the Windwards (where bananas have been doing very badly) is often attributed by the man in the street to CARIFTA.

The uncertain world economic position did however demonstrate the value to the big four countries of coming together in an economic bloc, as it did to the United Kingdom in its efforts to join the E.E.C. Once this last had also been accomplished, the independent Caribbean countries in particular saw the utility of standing even closer together.

CARIFTA countries could, in theory, have been split between two categories: the independent countries, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and the "dependent territories", the British colonies and Associated States, which would have had privileged access for their products to the European Common Market under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome, just as Martinique, Guadeloupe and the Netherlands Antilles have as overseas departments or associated states.

Opinion both in the exporting industries and in the CARIFTA secretariat was that the whole area should negotiate as one in Brussels. This, too, was the wish of the European Commission—it would make their own task simpler and cleaner.

It thus came about in April 1973 that all the hopes of the CARIFTA Secretary-General, William Demas, a Trinidadian who has been for long the apostle of economic integration throughout the region, were fulfilled: it was agreed to establish a Caribbean Common Market, with a common external tariff, and also to establish, with the same secretariat, the Caribbean Community, to bring

together under one co-ordinating body all the regional specialist organs. **The Treaty was signed on July 4th 1973** by the representatives of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, and was effective from August 1st.

Under the aegis of the Caribbean Common Market it is hoped that a common and co-ordinated development strategy, as Mr. Manley, the Prime Minister of Jamaica has publicly called for, will be worked out.

As with the Council, which was the supreme body of CARIFTA, the Council of the Common Market will be made up of the Ministers of Trade and Industry of the component members. Above them will be the "Conference", a meeting of Heads of Government, which will be the principal organ of the Community. The Conference will determine the policy of the Community, instructing the Council and the Institutions of the Community and their subsidiary agencies.

The main aims, the Treaty says, are: the economic integration of the member states by the establishment of a common market regime, with the aims of the strengthening, co-ordination and regulation of economic and trade regulations among member states in order to ensure accelerated harmonious and balanced development: the sustained expansion and integration of economic activities, the benefits of which shall be equitably shared, taking into account the need to provide special opportunities for the less developed countries; and the achievement of a greater measure of economic independence and effectiveness in dealing with states, groups of states and economic entities of whatever description.

The less developed countries, the LDC's in CARIFTA jargon, are principally the Leeward and Windward Islands, though Belize also qualifies. They have not yet signed the treaty, and have been given until **May 1974** to do so. Many concessions have been written into the treaty to accommodate them. There will



be a Caribbean Investment Corporation to encourage industrial development in the smaller islands. They will be able to offer foreign investors better tax incentives, and will be given much longer to adjust to the Common External Tariff of the Caribbean Common Market.

## The sugar problem

The volcanic soil found throughout most of the islands is exceptionally fertile, and provides for excellent crops of sugar cane. Though the Caribbean is still very dependent on sugar, it is not, as far as the world is concerned, a very competitive producer. Its producing costs are higher than cane sugar produced in Queensland (Australia), where mechanised harvesting is possible. But the major threat to Caribbean sugar on the world markets comes not from cane, but from sugar beet. The European Common Market when it was composed of only six countries produced a net surplus of beet sugar, and it would easily be possible for the Europe of the nine soon to become entirely self sufficient as far as sugar is concerned. Before Britain and Ireland and Denmark joined the community, surpluses in the Six over the next few years were estimated as being over 1 000 000 tons per annum.

The U.K. however imports over 2 100 000 tons a year, of which in 1969 1 680 000 tons came via the **Commonwealth Sugar Agreement**. The C.S.A. covers the Caribbean—about half of the sugar imported into Britain comes from the West Indies—and Mauritius, Australia, India, Fiji, and African producers. The Commonwealth Sugar Agreement guarantees the producers a price





*Luxury yachts at anchor in Grenada. Tourism is far from being the answer to West Indian economic problems.*

and a quota in the British Market. Until 1969, when negotiations then proceeding indicated that this time Britain's application to join the Common Market would be successful, the agreement was a «rolling» one, negotiated eight years ahead. In 1969, with changed circumstances, it was limited in effect to committing the U.K. only until December 1974, although Britain recognised its continuing obligations to the sugar producers.

The world price of sugar is now several times the price guaranteed to the producers in the British market. There is a world wide shortage of sugar—and in the West Indies output in 1973 was lower than it had been for twenty years. The balance of payments situation in the West Indies is now acute, particularly because of the effect of the increase in world oil prices, and the British Government, faced with Guyana and Jamaica diverting sugar away from Britain to get a higher price, has offered a higher guaranteed price.

The whole of the negotiations on the possibility of the Caribbean Common Market countries associating with the European Common Market, either on terms close to the present existing

Yaoundé Convention, or some on other basis, turns on the eventual **offer that the Community will make regarding the entry and price for Caribbean sugar.**

The special position of sugar in the West Indies should be borne in mind. Although the crop, with its folk-memories of slavery and physical and spiritual degradation, is not popular with black people, it is at the moment an essential element in the economies of many of the islands, Guyana and Belize. It provides work for many people, from those who clear the cane fields and plant the «ratoons» to the cutters, those who help in the harvesting, and the men who work in the sugar factories, boiling the sugar to its first state. No refineries for white sugar exist in the West Indies at present: the sugar is reduced to large brownish crystals, in which form most locals consume it. White sugar is produced from these crystals in Britain. One of the points made by the European Commission in its opening negotiations with the Caribbean countries is that the European Development Fund could be used to build a refinery in the Caribbean. Even when sugar is no longer grown on a large commercial scale, as in St. Vincent and St. Lucia, it often provides off-shore employment,

men from those islands travelling say to Barbados to cut the crop.

### Other tropical products

Apart from sugar, bananas are an important export crop to the United Kingdom from Jamaica and the Windward Islands (Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada); it is hoped in the future this will also go for Belize. Other tropical products exported are citrus, including the ortanique peculiar to Jamaica, and limes from Dominica. Guyana is known as a producer of timber, particularly greenheart. Other tropical agricultural products exported from the islands include cocoa, coconuts and spices. From Martinique there is an interesting luxury trade in pineapples and tropical flowers, particularly anthuriums, which are air-freighted to Paris. Because of the relatively small scale production of all of these crops, except for sugar in Guyana and to some extent in Trinidad (even in Jamaica the greater part of sugar cane produced comes from individual farmers now rather than from larger plantations), the Caribbean is not in a good competitive position in world tropical produce markets. More and more expert opinion inclines to the belief that the area should concentrate more on the exotic luxury class of article, for instance, avocado pears.

## Economic diversification

Great efforts have been made in recent years to diversify the economy, particularly in the face of a population explosion. Jamaica and Guyana are fortunate in having bauxite deposits, a metallic earth from which aluminium is made: both of them now refine it to the intermediate stage of alumina, in which form it is exported for final smelting. The exploitation of these deposits provides the biggest export earner for Jamaica and Guyana.

Guyana nationalised the bauxite industry two years ago: Jamaica has given an assurance that such a move is not contemplated in Jamaica. Guyana, with its great rivers, has the potential to smelt its own alumina into aluminium using hydro-electric power. There are plans, still in the preliminary stage, to do this eventually, though a great deal of outside capital, presumably from international lending agencies, would be required.

Trinidad was the first of the West Indian territories to achieve a significant break out from total dependence on agricultural produce. Even before the beginning of the present century, the presence of the Pitch Lake and the export of natural asphalt, which is found nowhere else in the world, was an indicator of her petroleum resources. Oil wells followed. There are refineries in Trinidad and exploration of the shallow waters of the continental shelf which joins Trinidad to Venezuela indicate

that there are further resources of oil available.

Oil and the number of subsidiary industries clustered round it have raised the Trinidadian per capita income to a level higher than any other Commonwealth Caribbean State. Jamaica, in spite of many other problems including an officially admitted unemployment rate of 20%, nevertheless has an economy growing at a good rate, the largest and strongest in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

The most fragile economies are those of the smaller islands. Less developed, they have lagged behind the larger islands, and have more leeway to make up. Apparently high growth rates are therefore a little illusory, particularly because, in the case of Grenada and St. Lucia, the growth is nearly all in one sector of the economy: tourism.

It has been accepted by most of the governments of the smaller islands in the Eastern Caribbean, and also is the consensus of opinion of most outside observers, that only tourism offers any hope to the smaller islands of economic progress. The Tripartite Economic Survey, which was the result of a mission to the Eastern Caribbean financed jointly by the British, United States and Canadian Governments, concluded that as the islands needed industries that required little land where large-scale employers of local labour, could attract capital from abroad and earn foreign exchange, only tourism fitted the bill.

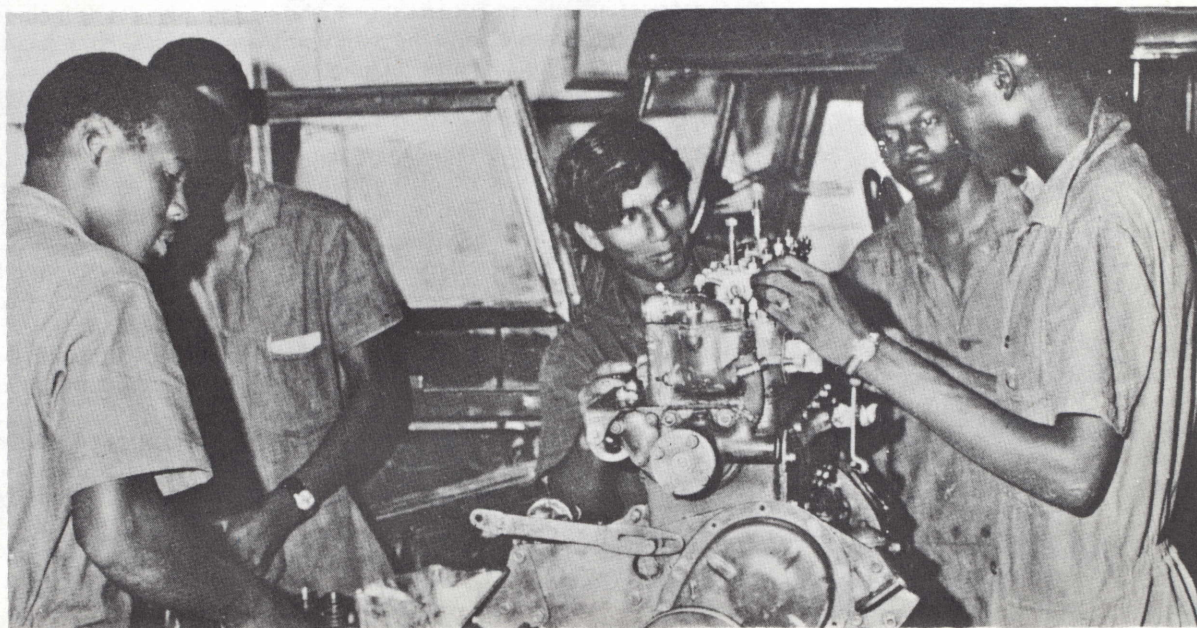
Secondary industry to supply tourism is also a possibility. At present, manufacturing industry is largely confined to the independent Commonwealth Caribbean countries where it contributes between 9.5% and 18.9% to the gross domestic product. In Jamaica, cement, chemicals, pharmaceutical and petroleum products, electrical equipment, plastic glass, clothing, cigarettes and cigars and food processing, make up a significant industrial sector. The pattern in Trinidad and Tobago is similar.

## WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

The increase in the price of oil, plus the uncertain state of the American and British economies, is hitting the Caribbean countries particularly hard, as their economies are especially vulnerable. Providing they can obtain terms from the European Community which are satisfactory, then a firm economic link with Europe ought to be most advantageous. There would be access to the European Development Fund, possibly channelled through the Caribbean Development Bank and the Caribbean Investment Corporation (both institutions of the Caribbean Common Market). This would assist in further developing infrastructure. Future guarantees for a sure market and a sure income would enable Caribbean primary produce which, due to the small scale of production on many islands, is very vulnerable on the world market, to play its proper part in the overall, balanced development of the region. ■

G. NORTON

*Trinidad and Tobago: apprentices assemble car engines. The country's petrochemical industry could fuel autonomous Caribbean development.*



# Technical and financial cooperation between the E.E.C. and the Ivory Coast in 1973 and early 1974

Both in the actual payments made by the E.D.F. and in the increase in finance commitment by the E.E.C. Commission and the European Investment Bank, 1973 was a very active year in the Ivory Coast.

## *Quicker payments by the E.D.F.*

The total amount of commitments settled by way of subsidy was F-CFA 1 607 705 355 and the drawings of funds from loans made by E.D.F. on special terms were F-CFA 392 408 245. The total money passing was thus a little over F-CFA 2 000 m. It should be noted, however, that there was a delay in submitting accounts for reimbursement relating to the rubber-growing project in the south-west and for the SODERIZ expenditure on the rice-growing development project, so that an estimated expenditure of F-CFA 300 m. incurred in 1973 was carried forward into 1974. To this must be added a further 100 m. francs, the reimbursement of which will be requested by the Caisse Autonome d'Amortissement, in virtue of the E.D.F. loan for the development of cotton growing.

By way of comparison, the 1972 total of payments in respect of subsidies and drawings from E.D.F. loans was F-CFA 1 735 770 449.

## *Increased commitments by the 3rd E.D.F.*

During the year under review the E.E.C. Commission took seven financing decisions to be met from the funds of the 3rd E.D.F. following the assent of the E.D.F. Committee. The total amount was F-CFA 4 983 m., of which loans on special terms accounted for F-CFA 3 824 m. and subsidies for F-CFA 1 159 m.

In addition it proved possible to provide F-CFA 310 m. from the unex-

pected resources of the 2nd E.D.F. The Commission authorised the use of this to finance the village hydraulic project providing 200 wells in the northern part of the country.

The total commitment incurred by the Commission from the resources of the 3rd E.D.F. amounts to F-CFA 10 690 m. This puts the Ivory Coast in fifth place among the A.A.S.M. in the amount of aid from the E.D.F., coming after Cameroon, Senegal, Zaïre and Madagascar, while it is on the same footing as Niger and Mali. To this must be added the cost of the student bursaries which are not included as part of the aid commitments.

The commitments by way of repayable aid amount to F-CFA 4 098 m. or 38.33 % of the total. This confirms the tendency already noted in 1972 to reduce the proportion of non-repayable E.D.F. aid to the Ivory Coast, because of its comparatively good economic position by comparison with other Associated countries.

## *Reserve account in 1st and 2nd E.D.F.*

After deduction of the F-CFA 310 m. earmarked for the village hydraulic scheme, the Ivory Coast reserve account by way of residues in the first and second E.D.F. is reduced to F-CFA 560 m. of which, F-CFA 271 m. can be used in the form of loan finance on special terms and the remainder by way of subsidy.

## *European Investment Bank financing in 1973*

The E.I.B. granted a loan of F-CFA 2 200 m. as a co-financing operation with E.D.F. for the surfacing of the SAN PEDRO-ISSIA road. A further loan of F-CFA 1 500 m. was granted for

the COTIVO cotton complex at DIMBOKRO, but the financing contract for this still awaits signature.

At the end of 1973 the total Community aid to the Ivory Coast since 1961 had reached F-CFA 47 500 m. Of this, F-CFA 29 729 m. was in the form of non-repayable aid from the E.D.F.; F-CFA 7 544 m. was in E.D.F. loans on special terms; and F-CFA 10 250 m. was in normal loans from the E.I.B. in respect of which two had been subject to interest rebates from the E.D.F.

## *Projects awaiting E.D.F. finance at the beginning of 1974*

The following are among the projects which have now been fully investigated and for which financing decisions are expected during the first quarter of 1974:

— an E.D.F. loan on special terms of F-CFA 680 m. for setting up 9 600 ha of village cocoa plantations in the south-west;

— an E.D.F. loan on special terms of F-CFA 1 400 m. and an interest rebate of F-CFA 607 m. in respect of an E.I.B. loan of F-CFA 3 900 m. for modernisation of R.A.N. permanent way between DIMBOKRO and BOUAKE.

There are other projects which may be financed during 1974, the evaluation of which is still in progress.

**In conclusion** the E.D.F. is still the chief provider of non-repayable aid to the Ivory Coast, except in the case of technical assistance. Through the combination of interest rate rebates on E.I.B. loans, E.D.F. loans on special terms and ordinary E.I.B. loans, the technical and financial cooperation of the E.E.C. provides the Ivory Coast with substantial and advantageous opportunities of finding loan finance for its economic development projects.

# Arts and Letters

Professor KI-ZERBO:

**"We must adjust our vision of the past to the realities of today and to the hopes for tomorrow".**

Paris — Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo is a teacher of history and holds a degree of the Institut d'Études Politiques, Paris. Important among his activities is his membership of the National Assembly of Upper Volta. Association News asked him to tell readers of the part played by the study of history in the knowledge of the world and of Africa in particular, and by the education system in the development of the countries of the Third World.



► *There is one special question, Professor, which I should like to put to you. I myself am a one-time political science student and a little your senior, and I have often wondered whether your studies in Europe may not have been a little off-centre for an African. Did they in fact enable you, through your work as*

*a writer, to round off that intimate knowledge of Africa which you possess?*

I certainly think that the content of our studies, at the Sorbonne and other french establishments of our period, was ill-adapted to our needs. Except in the scientific disciplines, like mathematics,

physics or chemistry, I think many Africans felt as I did, a certain frustration at hearing so much discourse wholly relevant to countries other than Africa. I think, indeed, that this was felt most of all by the historians and the geographers, for it is the historical aspect of our collective existence which affects

us most. Many Africans were highly disappointed at this absence of Africa from our studies in the Sorbonne and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the active element we acquired was a knowledge of method, and it was this which enabled us to come back to the history of our own continent with the right tools for investigating it. I think that what one learns, or should learn, in higher education is method, and not a mass of indigestible facts. While I was at the Sorbonne, I came under several tutors who inured me to the discipline of history, and it was because of this that I was able, at a later stage, to stand on my own feet and put all the african which is in me into historic study. I am sorry, of course, that my first adventures were not into african history, for I think this would have given me better equipment. Nevertheless, things being as they are, I took what was given me, I think I secured the best and not the worst from it, and that I am the better for it. In this I am perhaps better off than others, because I was brought up in Africa over a long period, lived the life of Africa with my peasant parents and have thus been able to preserve many of my roots.

► *In the book reviews in Association News No. 22, we had a brief note on your last book "Histoire de l'Afrique d'hier à demain" (History of Africa, yesterday and tomorrow). This was certainly the work of an historian, voluminous, detailed but easy to read, and it seemed to me to satisfy a real need—both the need of everybody for knowledge and the need for self-knowledge of the Africans. Professor Fernand Braudel of the Collège de France, who wrote the preface to your book, said "if we hope to go forward, we must also know from whence we came". What do you think of this?*

It is very true. History is a characteristic of the human species and human society, and is one of the things which distinguishes us from animals, which have no real history because they are bound by automatism and the determinism of instinct. Any human society or collectivity needs to feel its own being, backwards as well as forwards. The virtue of history is that it gives an identity to human society,

so that it sees itself as a moral entity and its members have every reason to go on being what they were. After all, if you deprive an individual of his memory, he would be a mental defective. You would have taken from him the very sense of being alive, and his condition would amount to madness, since he would no longer be able to recognise even his own parents. He would lose the whole capital of his knowledge and would not recognise his own self, so that his condition would be one of derangement in the strongest sense of the word. History is the memory of the people, and I think it is necessary for all collective personalities to know about their past. The knowledge has a certain therapeutic, or I might say psycho-analytic value; for when you know the past you are no longer overwhelmed by it, but enjoy a certain freedom. In the same way, if you want to treat an illness, you must know something about its history, how it began and how it developed. In the same way, I think a knowledge of the history of Africa gives us a chance of understanding our difficulties, because we can trace them to their roots and are thus the better able to cope with them.

► *On May 27, 1973, you made an interesting appearance on french television in a discussion with Enrico Fulchignoni of UNESCO, a professor at the University of Rome. Would you now recall your general conception of the study of history and the role of the historian, for which you have just given us an outline?*

I thought we should begin with what I call the "barrage of mythology". My book contains a methodological section, aimed at correcting the approach which has too long been a bad habit with many research workers. The history of Africa has been tackled with a whole series of prejudices. It was necessary to record them, if only for the purpose of getting rid of them, and I think I did this quite objectively. There are prejudices, for example, contained in the very notion of history, in the concept that Africa has had no history. There are others connected with race problems. As you know, a great number of black or negroid races have been identified in

Africa, such as the peuls, the hamites and the nilohamites. There has thus been undue dispersion of the collective heritage of the black peoples, and all masterpieces and anything which was beautiful has been systematically ascribed to external influences. In short, there was a whole collection of prejudices which had to be cleared away before it was possible to pick up the threads of the history of Black Africa which, of course, had to be pieced together into a coherent whole. The virtue of this approach is that it gives a reasonably complete view of the progress of peoples at a single glance. Specialised histories, of course, go deeper into things, and put exact and valuable elements into the hands of the historian who built them up. I think, nevertheless, that it is necessary to make a provisional build-up from time to time. For my part I came to the conclusion that, despite the great barrier of the Sahara, the development of Black Africa from the beginning to the slave trading period was more or less in phase with the rest of humanity.

It was in Africa, as almost all scientists agree, that the human species first emerged. From then until the great empires of the Middle Ages there was a period of staggering progress. By this I mean what are conventionally called the Middle Ages, though here again our terminology is wrong. The period includes what has been dubbed the "egyptian miracle". In every field, indeed, achievements rose to tremendous heights, but I think there was a turning point in the 16th century. This was apparently because of various internal conflicts and clashes between peoples, such as Morocco and the Surhai Empire of Goa. Another, and more important cause, lay in attacks from outside, which included the slave and all the attacks, spoliation and loss of life which ensued. From this time onwards, the history of Black Africa has been out of gear. It made progress, nevertheless, by falling in with the new mercantile system, and the empires which made their appearance in the 18th century. These, however, were largely tribally based, and lacked the amplitude and the integrating force of the empires of Mali, Goa and the Central Africa of the "Middle Ages". During the 19th century, just before the

colonial period, Africa came astonishingly into bloom in the hands of a number of great Africans, who were attempting to bring the peoples together, as they had been before the days of slavery. Great names come to the surface, such as Tchaka and Ousman Dan Fodio and others. Unfortunately their efforts and projects were cut short and came to nothing, for the colonisers were already on the threshold. This was a new road on which Africa was forced to travel, and it was indeed the sequel to the chain of events which had begun with the slave traffic. This went on until the 1960's, when we came into the era of independence. This period is somewhat ambiguous and it is not yet over. We are still too close to the picture to take a considered view, and I have carefully avoided expressing any definite opinion.

► *You are surely right to speak of the difficulties and obstacles set up after a particular period by the Sahara barrier. I think, however, that this obstacle has not always existed, at any rate to the present extent. It seems to me, too, that the historian of Africa may have some difficulty in his raw materials, since there is not the same degree of documentary evidence as is available to the European scholar, and an important part is played by word-of-mouth tradition. It has been said that "Black Africa, the true Africa, gives history the slip". One reason for this may perhaps have been this shortage of documents, and another may have been the obstacle constituted in the later period by the Sahara. Is not your last book an answer, indeed an outright denial, of the assertion that Africa keeps outside history?*

I think you are partly right. It had to be proved in practice that Black Africa's past could in fact be reconstituted, very plausibly and by scientific methods, despite the special difficulties.

It is true that we have few documents. This may be an advantage all the same, for there are countries, especially in our own period, in which the documentary evidence is so prolific that it is apt to be beyond the scope of the individual historian and require a whole team to

tackle it seriously. Overabundance of material may make the task as difficult as a shortage. Though there is indeed a shortage of written documents in Africa, this is only really serious for certain specific periods and certain regions of Black Africa. There are texts of great interest to the historian in the form of hieroglyphic, and Egyptian documents dating back to the earliest times. There are also some very important Arabic texts, and Greek and Roman texts are being increasingly brought into use. There is useful information in all these, though it relates rather to the periphery of the black world extending as far as the forest. It is in the forest regions that the documentary shortage is greatest, but this is the less serious for the fact that these have always been the least populous regions. The expansion movement into Central Africa began from the highlands of the East and South and from the Sahara and north-eastern Africa. You doubtless know about the great dispersion of the Bantu peoples from the region which is now Cameroon, as far afield as South Africa.

There is a great storehouse of written documents which are only now coming to light in the libraries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt. There are others in the countries of the Near and Middle East and even in Asia, and these are coming increasingly into use. All these documents were more or less neglected in the past, because there was no real interest in using them. When I compare the material at our disposal with what is available for various periods of Greek history, I think it is we who are the better off. The archaeologists, too, are unearthing documents of a precision which cannot be ignored, though it is sometimes difficult to make use of them. Tradition by word of mouth is an additional resource, which is extremely important in some regions and is acknowledged by everybody to be valid material. There are already scientific treatises on its methodology and on the way it should be used in explaining various phases of history. One way or another the sources are innumerable for, as I said in my book, mankind has given an historic value to everything he has touched with his creative hand. I think this is particularly true in Africa.

► *Yet you are apt to frown on the "museum hound", and you are calling on Africa to stage a re-birth, for the nations to reassemble and unite and rediscover the "guiding stars of old". As an historian, how do you plan to lead Africa towards so high a long-term ideal?*

Yes, I think unity is a specially important starting point for enabling Africa to breathe once more the air of the great centuries in its past. If we look at the states of today, all sub-divided within the frontiers set by the Berlin Conference, and compare them with great empires, such as Mali and Goa, it is well nigh permissible to talk of retrogression. This is partly because the modern world has no place for mini-units, such as those which exist in Black Africa today. The Mali of old, for example, used to cover three or four or even more of the present-day countries, including Mali itself, part of Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Niger and perhaps Upper Volta. Oddly enough, this Mali of olden times would be much better adapted to the problems of today than are the states which now exist. As an historian it is no part of my function to give directives, but rather to show what has been possible in the past and, by explaining it, to generate ideas for our own period. I think this is extremely important, for there is a tendency to think of history as a sort of refuge, romantic or nostalgic, to commemorate the dust and ashes of what is long past. History, as I understand it, is a continuous process. The past puts upon our shoulders the full weight of its achievements, sometimes of its blemishes but also the sum total of the capabilities accumulated by our ancestors in generations gone by. Moreover, history may give us reasons for living and hoping. Sometimes, too, it may provide us with examples which we must not slavishly copy, for conditions are never quite the same as they were, but which may nevertheless guide us in the actions of today. In this way the historian can help in providing the tools—I am not calling them the weapons—for the progress and development of the peoples of Africa.

► *It seems to me, Professor, that the study of history and historical method should help to develop judgement*

*which, as ever, is based on comparisons. It is just such comparisons that history provides, so that it should be specially valuable as educational material. You, of course, regard education as a matter of special importance. Among your assignments is membership of the Board of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, and you are also Professor of African History in the Higher Education Centre at Ouagadougou. Could you give us a brief rundown of your views about this?*

Yes, I think education is a key question for developing countries, because it is many sided. In particular, it extends into the economic field, which is important for staff training, and also into the cultural field. In principle, education should produce producers, both of material goods and of cultural benefits. Unfortunately the education we have inherited from the colonial period is ill-adapted and is not pertinent to these production objectives. It is a heavy burden on the national budgets, nevertheless. In Upper Volta, for example, 18% of the budget is used for the schooling of 11% of the children, which means that the entire budget would be far less than enough to provide schooling for all the children. Quite apart from the budgetary aspect, there is the fact that we do not derive enough material for our development from the educational system. The teaching is still very much based on books and not on life. In these countries, in which the vast majority of the population is still rural, the education system does very little for rural production. It is an "elitist" system which is still aimed at choosing civil servants. As you know, the "tertiary" sector, business and administration, in these countries is already suffering from excess of manpower. Some of the employment forecasts for the african countries make it clear that the people on staff appointments are still in the younger age-groups,

the chances of promotion and replacement are slim. A time will come when it will be impossible to find jobs for potential staff workers emerging from the present educational system, so that there will be considerable losses of manpower and whole armies of unemployed intellectuals will be left by the wayside. These educational systems cut people off from their natural background, and pull up their roots. It is estimated that after three years in school the process is practically irreversible and the child never returns to rural work. It looks as though we were spending money for the sake of adding to our financial burdens, and this is a position which may become explosive before long.

It is vitally necessary that we should sit down and think out the problem afresh, bringing the school into the village and the village into the school. Do you know about the important project known as the "collective promotion school"? In my belief, there is no approach except along these lines. The effect would be that the young Africans, when they go to school, would not be cutting themselves off from their parents. At whatever level they might emerge from the educational system, they would have been prepared throughout for going into the production circuit for the goods the country needs. Today, you will see parents making all manner of sacrifices so that their children may rise as high as possible. As soon, however, as they can read, write and count they can no longer take a hand in the work at home and only too often they become a burden on their families. **I think there has got to be a drastic overhaul of the educational system in Africa.** Some countries are already at work on this. There is a great deal to be said about the possibilities in this field, but the funda-

mental idea is that the school must be given new roots, so that it makes the african intellectuals into genuine candidates for staff appointments and real motive forces in development.

► *You have a project for a more general history of Africa, including the mediterranean countries. How far you got with this?*

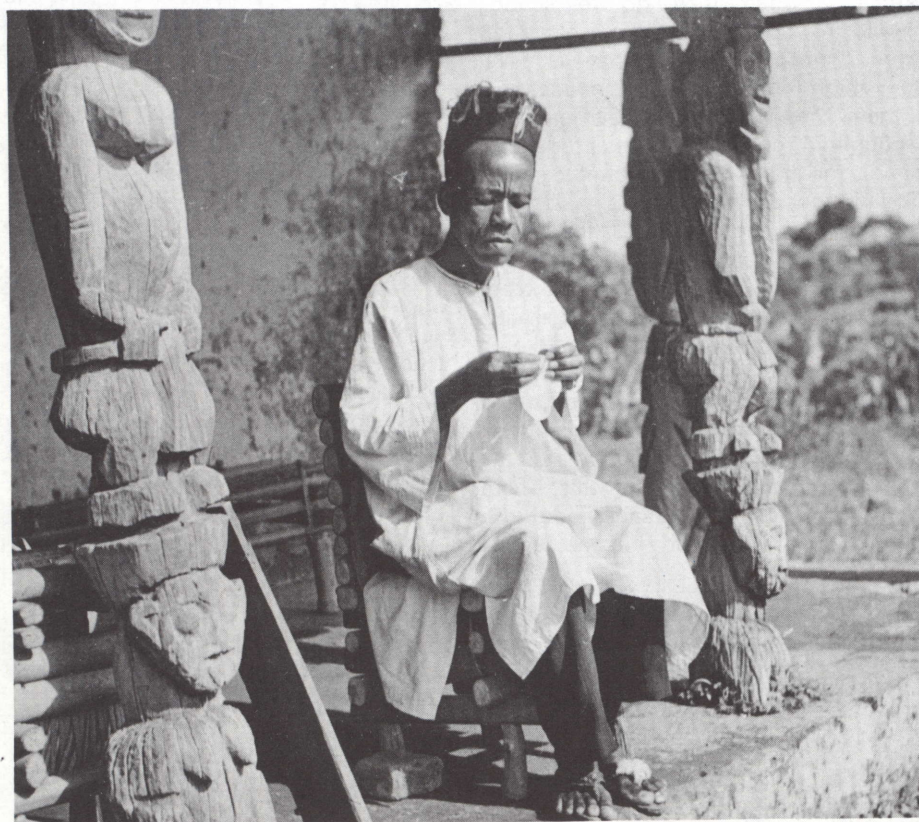
Research is not my only activity. We are fully taken up with the history of today, burningly vital as it often is. What I lack is time. Nevertheless, I think the northern part of Africa should be brought into the picture, too, and this would make the work the more significant because much which has happened south of the Sahara can be explained in terms of what has happened north of it and vice versa. Before publishing my book, I have begun collecting a number of documents, and I intend to go into the north african countries and do some work on the spot, as I have done in almost all the countries of Black Africa. I am not planning to write solely on the basis of archives and books and far away from the subject. On the archeological side, for example, there is much which one must see for oneself. There are discussions in which one must engage with other research workers in the North African universities. There are documents of which only very few copies exist and which are not to be seen unless one goes to see them. I hope, therefore, that I shall be able to have this book ready for publication in a few years time, say two or three years. I believe it will be more comprehensive, and even more important for Africa, because now, in the O.A.U. framework, Africa indeed exists. It is my belief that we must adjust our vision of the past to the realities of today and to the hopes of tomorrow.

**Interview by Alain LACROIX**

## Verbal tradition and the new african culture

by N'Sougan F. AGBLEMAGNON

Mr. N'Sougan F. Agblemagnon is a Sorbonne professor in the Ecole pratique des hautes études, has a research appointment at the C.N.R.S. in Paris and also holds the rank of ambassador and the appointment as permanent delegate of the Togo Republic to UNESCO. He kindly consented to our publishing extracts from the lecture he gave in Brussels last year during the African Fortnight.



Documentation Française

I am not going to try to play the part of a clever lecturer anxious to show off his own mastery of science. I want rather, to come before you as a witness. It has been my good fortune since my student days to be connected with the movement which has contributed some element of substance to the new african culture. Moreover, as a research worker and armed with a transistorised magneto- phone, I have made various field investigations in Africa for the purpose of picking up word-of-mouth traditions. It is therefore by virtue of a personal experience that I am going to try to talk to you about oral tradition and the new african culture.

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*African art remains a pure creation at the hands of an artist such as this Bamoon carver from Cameroon. But exposure to the modern world threatens to turn the artistic into the artificial.*

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*"If you don't know where you're going, at least find out from where you started"*

In discussing the choice of my subject, this was the version at which we finally arrived. It was because it seems to me that in Africa today there is nothing effective one can do if we bypass this oral tradition, however discreetly we may do so. There is an extremely simple reason for this. If we want to know who we are and whence we come, tradition by word of mouth is the only source which gives us fragments of a reply. It is now a question of ascertaining, in a wholly up-to-date context, how we are going to construct the new african culture. It is certain that, as an old african proverb has it, "if you don't know where you're going, find out at least from where you started", and we are obliged to take this oral tradition as the first mould for the casting of our very fragile subject. For this reason I thought this subject was at the very centre of the cultural preoccupations of Africa. At any rate, since the "negritude poems" the cultural claims of Africa have always, as you know, been in some measure claims for an african personality. Nowadays one talks of things as being "authentically african" and uses expressions like "african culture". All this leads along the same road. I do not regard the oral tradition as being simply a mass of material which I am studying for purposes of cultural anthropology. To me it is something which has gone to make up the African, and which has, through the centuries, been shaping the moulds determining the form of the african personality.

### *From isolation to universality*

It is of course possible to attempt a definition of this oral tradition. I included a case list in my little book "Sociologie des sociétés orale en Afrique Noire, les Evé du sud Togo". (1) In this I was able to show, in the first instance, that this oral tradition, consisting though it does of diverse and dissimilar elements, nevertheless produces, when you grow

used to it and study it closely, something resembling a language. For us Africans the important thing is to know whether we are still capable of returning to an intimate knowledge of this language or code. It is possible nowadays to be born in Africa without having the secret of its culture, and live only on the surface while you still think you are living in Africa. In the circumstances it is not really in Africa that you are living. That is why we Africans, and especially those of us who have been to school, feel a strong need for this culture to pull us together and imbue our spirit, so that when we are talking about anything, we can feel we come from somewhere. By this I mean that this word of mouth culture must be a method of taking us back to sources, because we are at the present time pulled in various directions. The cultural adventure of the african world of today stems from the fact that we are, for the first time, coming out of the cultural isolation which has prevailed through the basic culture being that of the local or ethnic languages. We are emerging into the world of contradiction which universality implies, and for us this contradiction is dramatic. The fact is that all the other cultures and foreign cultural patterns seem to come forward aggressively in all their abundance as though they said in the modern manner "accept me or die". Nowadays, in my own village, when the young people listen to Johnny Halliday or Sylvie Vartan, they are dreaming about becoming a Johnny Halliday or a Sylvie Vartan, despite the village background in which they live and listen. They are living by anticipation, and such a way of living is culturally possible today. The phenomenon has no precedent and it is encouraged by the coming of the transistor. Tomorrow it will be the lot of all of us, as a result of improvement in the systems of communication and cultural transmission when the satellite education programmes have been standardised and developed.

### *Yet oral tradition is amazingly enduring*

When you tell a child a story, you do not begin by saying "this tale was written in 1700 by a gentleman called

so and so". To the child it is an anonymous work, part of a general mass of information which makes up the collective property of his group. The first characteristic of oral tradition is that it is not a work which bears a signature. Its second characteristic is, that this work is transmitted by what I shall call the method of repetition. After all, if you go to the root, the work of teaching and cultural transmission consists in repeating the same thing again and again, occasionally dressing it up a little differently according to the skill of the teacher or broadcaster, but keeping it fundamentally almost unchanged. I have myself verified this when I have attempted comparison of tales in versions with intervals of a century between the tellings. For example, I compared versions of the same story recorded around the end of the 19th century with versions which I picked up myself around 1960. There is an astonishing permanence in the fundamental matter, and it is this which gives the strength to oral tradition.

### *The union of art and life*

We are here coming close to one of the big secrets, and one of the primary laws of old-time traditional expression. This is the union of art and life. As I said in "Afrique africaine", artistic expression in Black Africa is not to be found in high-flown facts or obsessions, but in reflecting the rhythm of everyday life, keeping a permanent balance between the real and cosmic, between the habitual and the exception. Ordinary household objects thus become one of the most pertinent and startling realities in artistic expression.

### *The african languages*

The languages of Africa are the vehicle, the connection, the envelope and the storehouse of the cultural pattern. When and if these languages disappear, it is as though we were wrapping up a treasure in a goatskin, and we are running the risk of having an Africa without cultural content.

(1) Maréchal Lyautey Prize, Académie des Sciences d'outremer, 1973.

*The two cultures*

This brings me to the distinction between two types of culture. The first is what I call the apparent culture, the surface culture, the borrowed culture, the culture of the fair which has been varnished over but not integrated. The other is the culture which has become internal with which we live, which is a vital force within us, like the blood from which we have our nourishment and which can be the source of new inspiration. This in itself can be a creative force. ■

**N. F. AGBLEMAGNON**

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*Work such as this majestic statue from Dahomey helped change the face of modern European art.*

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# BOOKS

Edgar FAURE. — **Learn to Be (Apprendre à être)**. — UNESCO: Editions Fayard, 1972.

The International Committee on Educational Development set out to survey the state of education in the world, to bring out the fundamental problems raised in its development and provide a broad outline of possible solutions. This was done in its report "Learn to Be", published in 1972. The committee consisted of people from as far afield as Chile, Syria, the Congo, U.S.S.R., Iran and the United States, and the chairman was M. Edgar Faure, former french Prime Minister and Education Minister. The committee proceeded to discuss education from the standpoint of the international community, always allowing for regional and national peculiarities; to believe that education should be "not only made widely available, but reconsidered as regards its objective and its approach" was the key to any real democracy; to lay down the postulate that "the object of development is the full self-realisation of the human being"; and to add that, in producing this type of human being, education must necessarily be all-embracing and continuous.

This provided an initial framework which was both ideological and methodological. The report is in three parts, headed "Background Facts", "The Future" and "Towards an Educative Background". The data presented and the opinions expressed

reflect the research and ideas which have been current for some years on educational problems. The final chapter, entitled "The paths of solidarity", lays down in definite terms the basic principles which should govern international cooperation in educational matters. At the same time it defines the general framework and the path of action for a radical and thorough overhaul of the aims, methods and content of education. The report ends with a proposal for setting up an international programme of educational innovation.

"Our period has been called that of the completed world, and it can be no other than that of the human being in his entirety. This means it is the period of everyman and of man entire".

ooo

Mario PEDINI. — **Une chance pour l'Europe - Problèmes d'une intégration. (A chance for Europe - Problems of an integration)**. — Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1974. — French version by Ouello Quelli (french translation of "Tempo d'Europa", published in 1972 by Edizioni Rai Radiotelevisione Italia).

In this important book the institutions of Europe are examined historically, structurally and functionally. From two connected standpoints it is particularly topical. In the first place it studies the development proper, represented by the Community in its relations with the outside world and, more especially, with the A.A.S.M. "In substance the pattern embodies a new concept of the international economy, adaptable to areas which are dissimilar in their interests and their co-responsibility in regard to Europe". Secondly, it puts forward an organic general programme, inside which can be found satisfactory replies to questions raised by the younger generation as to how Europe is being built up.

The E.E.C. contains within itself all the germs of the evolution which will make it possible to set up a new type of State and society. Europe is capable of becoming a community of more open-minded people, an expression of its peoples rather than of its ministers and its diplomats.

With this in prospect, the Association between the E.E.C. and the A.A.S.M. might be re-thought in the light of principles of direct interest to members of the younger generation, opening to them a new horizon, more especially regarding their careers. It is a matter of "solving the problem of poverty, mobilising science in the service of humanity, accepting a new concept of trade, adding a human function to technical assistance, in other words, of setting up a new order for the international economy".

ooo

DRAGOLJUB NAJMAN. — **L'Éducation en Afrique : que faire? (Education in Africa, what should be done about it?)**. — With preface by Amadou Mahtar M'Bow. Éditions Deux mille, Aubenas, France 1972.

The author, who is a high official in UNESCO, gives us a lucid analysis of educational problems in the world at large and especially in Africa. He describes the present state of education in Africa and the inefficiency of the system, but he thinks it is possible to develop the education effectively, despite difficulties of many kinds. For this purpose a new approach is needed. The ideal would be to consider a type of general education in which the teaching would be given to groups of children and parents together. Education would thus become an "integrated activity", and everybody in the village would enjoy basic teaching in the essential subjects. Educational systems have got to be thought out afresh, so as to form an integrated whole which will reach all the population through the schools, vocational training and adult education. There is a separate chapter on the training of teachers and on educative technologies currently in use, such as radio and television and the computers of the future, with an account of experiments in these methods which are being made in various countries. This is a book full of ideas and will be of interest to everybody whom education concerns.

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En 1958, de Gaulle revint au pouvoir en France, organisa une « référendum »: Les Guyanes opte pour l'indépendance immédiate, les autres pays entrèrent provisoirement dans la « communauté ».

Mardi, Le 17 Février 1971

### Arithmétique La mesure du temps

Il ya normalement 1 an, mais en calcul on tient compte de 3 sortes d'année:

- L'année astronomique = 365 jours et  $\frac{1}{4}$ . C'est pour cela que le mois de Février compte 29 jours tous les quatre ans.

- L'année civile = 365 jours.

L'année commerciale = 360 jours.

Dans un jour (j), il ya 24 heures (h). Dans 1h, il ya 60 secondes (s).

1 siècle = 100 ans.

1 an = 365 jours = 52 semaines = 12 mois = 4 trimestres = 2 semestres

1 mois = 30 ou 31 jours, mais Février compte 28.

1 semaine = 7j.