

European Communities

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Working Documents

1984-1985

6 March 1985

DOCUMENT 2-1781/84/B

Report

drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development
and Cooperation

on the conclusion of the Third CÔté d'Ivoire Conventions

PART B: EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Rapporteur: Mr R. COHEN

PE 95.670/fin./B
Or. En.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENTI. INTRODUCTION

In December 1984, the month in which Lomé III was signed in Togo, the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York adopted a declaration on the critical economic situation in Africa. The declaration contains a summary of the short and long-term measures necessary to solve the economic problems of Africa, and urges the members of the United Nations to grant immediate aid to improve the chances of survival and health of the starving people of Africa.

It had already been decided at the European Council meeting in Dublin at the beginning of December 1984 to make extra food aid available for starving countries in Africa and the Heads of State and Government expressed their approval of the declaration adopted by the United Nations.

About ten days before that, at the end of November of that year, the United Nations Committee on Development Planning had already reached the conclusion that probably more than 5 million tonnes of grain would be required in 1984/85 to prevent malnutrition and death in a large number of African countries. It was however also said that emergency aid and the associated food aid, however necessary would have very little influence on the underlying causes of the present crisis in Africa. Unless the underlying causes were detected and dealt with, disasters like the present one would continue to occur in the future. Most of the structural problems involved have more or less been identified; it is considered at any rate that there is an some understanding of these problems. Caution however is still required in analysing them; in the past there have been some unfortunate errors of diagnosis with all their consequences. Not so long ago industrialization was considered to be the wonder remedy that would raise the developing countries out of poverty. As a result of this conviction, the theory was elaborated to include incentives for import substitutes and/or promotion of exports, on the assumption that protectionism by the industrialized world was a thing of the past and without any consideration of the technological revolution.

The concepts of self-reliance and food strategy have now become well established, and in view of the famine in many African countries - and even in other parts of the world although the causes are not always the same - these ideas can be expected to prevail for quite a long time. Who would dare take the risk of neglecting agriculture when people are dying of starvation and

what could be more natural than to emphasize self-reliance in a world in which international cooperation is much spoken of but seldom put into practice?

In the light of this situation it is not surprising that the new Lomé Convention places more emphasis on agriculture and it is useful and understandable that the European Community has already made preparations for planning and implementing food strategies in four African countries. These initiatives ought to receive further support, with the cooperation of the countries concerned. It is moreover as well to remember that results can only be expected in the longer term and the plan should not be regarded as a failure at the first setback.

At the same time it must be realized that neither the concept of food strategy nor the concept of self-reliance can or should mean that each individual country must necessarily be self-sufficient in food. Self-sufficiency is not desirable in all cases, in fact for the development of agriculture and food strategies regional cooperation is essential. At the same time it should not be forgotten that concentrating solely upon agriculture also has its disadvantages. It can already be forecast that it will not be possible to create enough jobs in agriculture for the ever-increasing population. The influx onto the labour market of job-seekers in the 15-25 age group means that alternative employment opportunities have to be sought. It is therefore curious that the so-called urbanization of the Third World is spoken of almost entirely in negative terms. Naturally it cannot be denied that urbanization does create problems and naturally the industrialized world will also have to make its contribution to the solution of these problems. Nevertheless, the contribution that cities can make to combating unemployment in developing countries appears to be underestimated. By drawing excess labour capacity from the countryside and through the growth of the urban informal sector the cities' role in employment policy has increased rather than declined. Thus, although the present situation in Africa justifies the emphasis on agriculture in the development of food strategies, the longer-term problems must not be forgotten. It would be a pity - to put it mildly - if it eventually had to be concluded that once again a one-sided emphasis on a single aspect of development policy was leading to results that had not in fact been forecast or intended.

In this connection a number of comments on the so-called policy dialogue also seem appropriate. The difficulties and confusion caused by this concept during the Lomé III negotiations are well known and so this need not be

enlarged on here. It goes without saying that it is normal that there should be discussion with the countries receiving aid and consultation on the spending of development funds. At the time of the previous conventions - Lomé I and Lomé II, but also under Yaoundé - there was already talk of some programming of aid. Methods and programming have been refined in the course of time; further refinements are no doubt due and perhaps the new Convention can help with them. Both the Community and the ACP States have in the meantime made verbal concessions, and the parts of the convention that deal with policy dialogue are now open to such a range of interpretations that with goodwill on both sides there is no need to fear any further difficulties.

The only criticism that can be made in connection with the policy dialogue concerns the cries of Hosanna from the European side at the birth of this new terminology: as if a caesarean section were essential for bringing a healthy child into the world.

The new concept betrays, perhaps unconsciously, the underlying conviction that the developing countries have gone wrong in the past, that they themselves are to a large extent responsible for their present troubles and that they will only find a solution to their difficulties if they pay more attention to what the donors say. Even apart from the fact that this seems to lay too much emphasis on the developing countries' internal situations rather than the external events that cause underdevelopment (world economic recession, population growth, high interest rates, burden of debt, protectionism, fluctuating raw material prices etc.), insistence on a policy dialogue ignores the mistakes that the donors have made in the past. In fact the failed investments, the 'cathedrals in the desert', the projects that could not even pay their own maintenance costs and the projects for which no parts for repairs or skilled labour were available were not set up exclusively at the instigation of those receiving aid. Mistakes have been made in the choice of projects just as they have been made in general policy decisions (industrialization, import subsidies and promotion of exports), and nothing and no one can guarantee that such mistakes will not be made in the future. Secondly, for a genuine policy dialogue should there not also be a discussion on internal policy in the industrialized world and, at least as far as the European Community is concerned, more progress towards coordination of the development policy of the Community and those of the Member States?

Perhaps more important than events during and surrounding the Lomé negotiations is the international background to the conclusion of Lomé III.

In the years prior to the conclusion of the new Lomé Convention there was little or no progress in the achievement of old or new development policy objectives. The economic recession has made the industrialized world hesitate about taking on new commitments; the flow of development funds to the Third World is drying up; in most industrialized countries export promotion has become the order of the day as a secondary objective of development policy; protectionism is gaining ground.

The recommendations of the 1981 UN Conference in Paris on the least-developed countries have remained a dead letter; the sixth UNCTAD Conference in Belgrade in 1983 produced no results. The European Community has made a timid - too timid - attempt to bring all the least-developed countries, including those that do not belong to Lomé, into a Stabex system, but this effort also failed. We are now a long way from the period in which the 0.7% objective was formulated, even though lip-service is still paid to it and to the 0.15% objective for the least-developed countries. There have been no new agreements on raw materials in the past five years (apart from the agreement on tropical wood) and the International Sugar Agreement has become a purely administrative arrangement. The generalized system of preferences has not been significantly improved and the Multifibre Arrangement has had a longer lease of life than was originally intended. It was only with great difficulty that it was possible to reach agreement on the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, but although the European Community was able to accede to the Convention two Member States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, are refusing to sign it.

Perhaps more disquieting than many of the abortive attempts to achieve a result is the feeling of mistrust and suspicion against international consultations as such. In international trade negotiations the idea of bilateral reciprocity is making more and more headway, in flagrant contradiction of the multilateral principle on which GATT was founded. The open attack on UNESCO - though fairly understandable when it is considered what this organization has, or rather has not, achieved in recent years - is also a symptom of a trend towards rejection of the international system as this has developed in the past few decades. The hostility shown towards UNCTAD is another example of the same attitude by the industrialized world.

The fact that it was possible to sign a convention within the time-limit provided, despite the rather sombre picture painted above and the difficult negotiating climate, should not cause too much surprise. Both negotiating

partners were realistic enough to know how far they could go, both parties were prepared to make concessions, and, no less importantly, the contractual nature of the convention and the fact that the Convention of Lomé gave industrialized Europe a commitment towards a large number of developing countries, compelled the negotiators to succeed. No Member State in the European Community could afford to bring upon itself the odium of having caused the failure of the Lomé negotiations when Lomé is the show-piece of European development policy and it is not really in any ACP States' interests to go to extremes and drive a hard bargain at the risk of endlessly drawing out the negotiations. If there is any solidarity between the industrialized world and the developing countries, it is to be found during the actual negotiating process. With the end result of that process the European Parliament can be only moderately satisfied. Parliament has repeatedly called for a total amount of aid that would make adequate allowance for the greater number of developing countries in Lomé III and the population increase in the Lomé countries. In addition the European Parliament feels that account should be taken of the depreciation, due to inflation, of amounts expressed in nominal terms.

The total amount of aid that has finally been made available for the five years the Convention will remain in force takes no account of these requirements.

Nevertheless the European Parliament does find cause for satisfaction in the fact that a number of new forms of development cooperation are defined and specified in the Convention. The Parliament also wanted greater attention given to rural development and food strategies is also something which Parliament had called for; more scope for action in specific areas, sectoral programmes, cultural and social cooperation, protection of the environment, financial aid for the maintenance of earlier investments and more intensive cooperation in the fisheries sector are all projects that have been and are being supported by the European Parliament. Naturally this also applies to the reference to respect for human rights and to improvements in provisions concerning the Convention's institutions. Parliament has been arguing in favour of both these improvements for a long time. Nevertheless, despite this partial satisfaction, reading the Convention leaves a bitter taste in the mouth. This is partly due to its length. The Lomé II agreement had 191 articles, Lomé III has expanded to 294. It has to be asked whether in fact the right legal format has been found for an agreement with a duration of five years and with financial resources that in real terms do not exceed those available under Lomé II. This suggests that the search for perfection

- and thus perfection that will last only five years - has got the upper hand and the seed has been sown for differences of interpretation. Furthermore on reading the text one realizes that the changes in Lomé III, compared with Lomé II, are comparatively minor and the special responsibility for Africa in which the Community takes such pride must find expression in something other than Lomé III if it is the Community's wish to fulfil the expectations that have been awakened. Unfortunately the only conclusion that can be drawn at present is that reached in a study on Lomé by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels: 'Lomé III has maintained and in places marginally improved the status quo which is under threat elsewhere. The fact that it can be described as an achievement is a sober reflection on the deterioration of industrialized country attitudes towards Third World problems since the heady days of 1975 when Lomé I was signed'.

Lomé III has now been achieved, it has at least been signed, and now the Convention has to be implemented as efficiently and as quickly as possible. The first condition is for the national parliaments in the Member States and in the ACP countries to ratify it. The European Parliament will do all it can to put pressure on MPs in Member States to carry out the ratification as soon as possible. Naturally it is also appropriate that the ratification procedure in the national parliaments should be accompanied by a debate and the debates ought to be able to draw inspiration from the comments and conclusions set out in this report and resolution by the European Parliament. Identical, or in any case similar, recommendations by the national parliaments will not fail to simply have an effect on the formulation of proposals for what for the sake of convenience is now called Lomé III.

A second condition for the satisfactory implementation of the Convention is a solution for the problems related to the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Community. The first requirement is that the formal conditions should be taken into consideration and that the consultation procedure with the ACP countries should be respected in letter and spirit. At the same time a satisfactory arrangement will have to be found for the sugar problem, however much it is the case that the Sugar Protocol itself is not a subject for negotiations.

A third condition is an agreement reached in good mutual understanding on the necessary transitional measures for the period from 28 February 1985 - the date when Lomé II expires - to the time when Lomé III finally comes into

force. It should not only cover trade arrangements, on which a consensus can easily be reached on the basis of the provisions applicable during the transitional period from Lomé I to Lomé II, but must also deal, for example, with what should happen to the amounts still remaining from the Stabex system.

A fourth - distinctly political - condition is that after Mozambique also Angola is also deciding to accede to the Convention. With Angola's accession it will no longer be possible to blame the Community for being responsible for any divisions in Africa and at the same time it will make it easier for the later accession of an independent Namibia.

A fifth and last condition is that the Commission of the European Communities should make an early start on aid planning - even during the transitional period - so that preliminary financing of projects and programmes can begin shortly after the Convention comes into force. It does not seem unreasonable that special attention should be given in the initial planning to the ACP countries in the Caribbean region, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The miserable conditions prevailing on the African continent, of which famine is merely a symptom, have rightly inspired exceptional efforts by the Community, but it should not be forgotten that in the Lomé Convention the Community is dealing with equal partners, irrespective of the geographical location of the ACP countries, and that all interests must be borne in mind.

Fulfilment of the conditions listed above would mean that the Convention would probably be reasonably well implemented, although this would not of course change the fact that it still offers only a slight and partial improvement on Lomé II, with insufficient financial resources to fulfil all promises and all expectations.

II. The Third Lomé Convention

The present examination of the Third Lomé Convention will be carried out in the light of the relevant reports and resolutions adopted both by the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly and the European Parliament, and in particular the Irmer report and resolution on the context of the future ACP-EEC Convention to follow Lomé III.⁽¹⁾

The new Convention begins with general provisions outlining the aims of ACP-EEC cooperation. The principles of equality between partners, respect for sovereignty, mutual interest, interdependence, and the right of each state to determine its political, social, cultural and economic choices are confirmed. The importance of an 'self-reliant and self-sustained' development is stressed, and it is obvious that attention is being paid to the principle of self-reliance, which is regarded as a fundamental objective of development in Articles 4, 5 and 6. It is clearly stated that man is at the center of development. In general the guiding principle correspond to the views expressed by the European Parliament.

Of particular interest to Parliament is the reference to human rights in the new Convention. Human rights is referred to in the preamble to the Convention and in article 4, and is the subject of an interpretative declaration annexed to the Convention. The reference in article 4 is particularly general but it does at least re-affirm the importance of promoting "the ACP States' social and economic progress and the well-being of their population through the satisfaction of their basic needs, the recognition of the role of women and the enhancement of people's capacities, with respect for their dignity". The joint declaration on article 4 is more complete and represents a real step forward. In this the Contracting Parties reiterate their attachment to human dignity as an unalienable right, and reaffirm "their obligation and their commitment under international law to fight for the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on ethnic group, origin, race, nationality, colour, sex, language, religion or any other situation. They proclaim their determination to work effectively for the eradication of apartheid which constitutes a violation of human rights and an affront to human dignity."

(1) OJ No. C277 of 17.10.1983, p.146

As in Lome II the strongest emphasis is on agricultural development and food security. An important innovation is the development of food strategies. In addition the new Convention gives greater emphasis to the reduction of post harvest losses, conservation and storage of food, and agricultural credit systems, as well as training in agriculture.

Food strategies should be taken into account in multi-annual indicative programming. All these developments correspond to the wishes of the European Parliament even though the emphasis on grass-roots rural development, and in particular peasant farming, may not be quite so strong as Parliament might have wished. There has been some limited progress on the vexed question of the provision of available agricultural products at preferential rates to ACP States. Article 34 lays down the possibility of pre-fixing export refunds for a series of products. Specific agreements can be concluded in this respect with interested ACP States in the context of their food security policies, if and when agreement can be reached on particular details. It is most important that such arrangements be drawn up in a manner that will not increase dependence on imported foodstuffs.

It should be noted that the Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation provided for under Lome II is now beginning to be operational and is continuing under the new Convention.

A special Chapter (Chapter 2) of the new Convention deals with the campaign against drought and desertification. This is an innovation which is welcomed by the European Parliament, as insufficient emphasis was put on environmental matters in the former Convention. It would have been a serious omission if this aspect of development had not been stressed given the tragic and potentially disastrous situation facing the Sahel and parts of southern Africa.

A further new Chapter (Chapter 3) deals with agricultural commodities, including their commercialisation, local production and the diversification of production. An Agricultural Commodities Committee is to be set up. One may question the utility of such a committee in the light of the meagre results achieved by some of the other ACP-EEC specialised committees operating under the Committee of Ambassadors.

The entirely new section on the development of Fisheries (Title II) should be particularly welcomed by the Committee on Development and Cooperation. In Lome II only Annexes XVII and XXI and article 84(f) dealt with fishing. In the new Convention this is the subject of a Title with 10 articles which, on the whole, corresponds to the views expressed in the Sidiya and Malingur, Ewing and Fich Report⁽¹⁾. However little progress has been made with regard to the rules of origin governing fisheries products imported into the Community.

In this Title emphasis is placed on the provision of Community assistance for the improvement of ACP management of fishery resources within their EEZs, the need for conservation and fish stock management, and the future development of fishing agreements with interested states and groups of states. In addition general guidelines are laid down for the use to be made of the compensation granted by the Community in return for fishing rights. Fishing is also specifically mentioned in the section dealing with Regional Cooperation (Title VII) - Article 113c.

Title III deals with industrial development. This is not radically different from the industrial cooperation Title of Lome II though there are notable improvements, namely the new emphasis on the restoration and restructuring of existing industrial capacity in the ACP States. Here again the attainment of self-reliance is regarded a paramount objective (Art. 60). There is a new stress on training, while the attention paid in Lome II to SMIs and artisanal industry is maintained. The role of the Centre for Industrial Development is more clearly defined, its administration is revised and simplified and its Title is changed to Centre for Development of Industry (one wonders why).

In general the new Title on industrial development goes some way, though not far enough, towards meeting the wishes expressed in Mr Fuchs' Report to the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly on industrial cooperation and the impact of the Lome Convention⁽²⁾

Title IV deals with the development of mining and energy potential. Under the previous Convention energy cooperation had only one article under industrial cooperation, and mineral products other than Sysmin only 3 articles. Thus this section is considerably expanded. Article 75 to 77 reflect to a great

(1)

Doc. ACP-EEC 62/84, OJ No. C 282 of 22.10.1984, p.28

(2)

OJ No. C 300 of 7.11.1983, p.16 - 10 -

extent the views expressed in the Siddig Report on ACP-EEC cooperation in the field of energy⁽¹⁾ and, providing due attention is given in indicative programming, could represent a real improvement.

It is to be noted that the section on mining and minerals gives particular emphasis to maintenance, rationalisation, rehabilitation and modernisation. This is also to be welcomed.

A further innovation is the new Title V "Transport and Communications". In the past this was referred to only under financial and technical cooperation with what was little more than a passing reference. Special mention is given to transport by road, rail, air and sea and the maintenance and construction of port facilities. Though such projects were undertaken under previous Conventions, this was not so clearly defined. Furthermore, the importance of the U.N. Convention on a code of conduct for liner conferences in shipping is underlined. In addition the Community acknowledges the ACP States' desire to participate to a greater degree in shipping, including bulk cargo shipping, on an economic, competitive basis. There is also provision for cooperation in safety of ships and their crews and on pollution control.

Title VI deals with the development of trade and services. The trade provisions are not notably different from those of Lome II though the addition of 2 new articles 97 and 98 providing for assistance for the tourist industry is new. A further innovation is the possibility of providing technical help for the setting up of credit and insurance institutions in ACP States.

Under Title VII Regional Cooperation is extended and more clearly defined than in Lome II. In addition it provides for assistance with schemes to promote food security and the environment. The Regional Fund has been increased from 600m ECU to 1000m ECU, which does not represent an increase in real terms given inflation rates and the adhesion of Mozambique to the new Convention.

Of particular interest to the European Parliament is the new Title VIII dealing with cultural and social cooperation. This is largely the result of the work of the Joint Committee, in particular the different Chasle reports and resolutions⁽²⁾ on cultural cooperation.

(1) OJ No. C39 of 10.2.1983, p.28

(2) OJ No. C15 of 20.1.1982, p.22; OJ No. C39 of 10.2.1983, p.41;
OJ No. C300 of 7.11.1983, pp. 25 and 28

Lomé II stipulates that account should be taken of the social and cultural dimension in all projects and programmes. In addition cultural identities are to be promoted actively.

It should be noted that the role of women is recognised in article 123 where particular attention is given to women's work, the improvement of women's living conditions and the enlargement of the role of women. Reference is also made to the importance of women having full accession to all aspects of training and to credit and cooperative organisations, as well as to appropriate technology to facilitate their daily work.

Within the Stabex system one innovation gives the Commission the right to delay decisions on future transfers if the recipient country has not reported on the use made of earlier Stabex funds. This effectively increases Commission control over the utilisation of Stabex transfers. The systems coverage has also been extended by the addition of three new products and the lowering of the dependence and fluctation thresholds from 6.5% to 6% (from 2% to 1.5% for the least developed, land-locked and island countries). In addition the general rules governing the system have been reworded and clarified.

The rules governing Sysmin have also been redrafted, though the provisions governing dependence thresholds and the list of products covered remains unchanged. It should be noted that Sysmin may now provide assistance for diversification when it would appear to be impossible to restore the viability of a particular mining industry in an ACP State. This would appear to be a logical improvement. As under Lomé II Stabex funds proved to be quite inadequate in certain years, while Sysmin was of benefit to only two countries, it would be reasonable if the possibility of transferring unutilized Sysmin funds to Stabex could be examined.

Parliament is particularly pleased with the new provisions in Article 204 regarding aid for longer term projects and action programmes aimed at self-sufficiency and the integration or re-integration of refugees and returnees. Longer term projects are not covered by emergency aid, which can be granted for not more than six months. The new provisions go a long way towards meeting the demands formulated by the European Parliament in the Dury Report on assistance to refugees in developing countries.⁽¹⁾

(1) OJ No. C10 of 16.1.1984, p.278

It should be noted that, as called for by the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly and by the European Parliament in the Irmer resolution,⁽¹⁾ the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly will be replaced by a single parliamentary organ to be known as the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly.

Even though throughout the text of the Convention no reference is made to policy dialogue, it would appear that programming procedures have been modified (Articles 215 to 224) in a way that is intended to speed up the implementation of the Convention and enhance dialogue. This is certainly necessary, but one may wonder if the new procedures are sufficiently far-reaching to lead to a real improvement given the cumbersome nature of the decision-making and aid administration that has been built up under the previous Conventions.

One of the key factors in the effectiveness of the Convention must be the volume of finance available. After arduous negotiations the Community Member States decided on a figure of 8,500m ECU, broken down as follows: 7,400m ECU for the 6th EDF and 1,100m ECU for EIB own resources. (It should be remembered that the total for Lome II was 5,530m ECU.

Given the degradation of the economic situation, the difficulties facing even oil producing ACP States and the enlargement of the ACP by the adhesion of Mozambique (and possibly, in the future, of Angola) this total of 8,500m ECU would appear to be insufficient to meet the objectives stated in the first section of the Convention. Without adequate funding nothing can be done.

The European Parliament condemns the failure of the Member States to countenance the budgetisation of the 6th EDF, thereby depriving Parliament of any effective control over ACP-EEC cooperation.

Also regrettable is the failure to provide for more far-reaching ex-post evaluation and monitoring under the new Convention, in which the European Parliament should be involved as demanded in the Michel Report on the assessment of Community development policies and the role of the European Parliament.⁽²⁾

(1) OJ No. C 277 of 17.10.1983, p.146

(2) OJ No. C260 of 12.10.1981, p.72

It should be noted that, in accordance with the wishes of the ACP States, the duration of the Convention will be 5 years, as was the case for its predecessors.

III. CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that the Third Lomé Convention contains modifications and improvements effected in the light of ten years of ACP-EEC cooperation. It is furthermore heartening to report that many of the changes reflect views expressed by the European Parliament and the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly, notably with regard to self-reliance, human rights, the environment, fisheries, energy, and cultural and social cooperation. One wonders, however, how effective the new Convention will be in assisting the ACP States to achieve real development during the coming five years. The new Convention received but a muted welcome at Lomé, and the reserves expressed by ACP representatives are fully understandable. While aid should clearly be as efficient as possible, the financial means to translate policies into actions must exist. In real terms, given the circumstances already mentioned, one is obliged to conclude that, as stated in paragraph 83 of the Irmer⁽¹⁾ resolution "inadequate financing could adversely affect not only individual projects or programmes, but the qualitative objectives of the Convention as a whole."

It is useful and desirable to start looking into the future right now. In his address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank in September 1984 the President of the Bank, Mr Clausen, said the following: 'Whatever the domestic efforts of our borrowing members, the nature of the prospects facing them still depends heavily on the courses of action which the industrialized world will take - the road of reform, which we believe is essential, or the road of "business as usual", which we believe exposes the world to considerable risk. But one thing is certain: whichever road is taken, the economic environment in which the developing countries will be struggling to grow in the late 1980s

(1) OJ No. C277 of 17.10.1983, p.146

and early 1990s will be significantly different from that of the 1970s. In some respects it is almost certain to be worse.' Even those who do not fully share Mr Clausen's opinion will have to agree that the situation today is much more disquieting than it was considered a decade ago. In such a situation Lomé is a sign of hope, but not more than that. The more structural problems of Africa and other developing countries - including burden of debt, raw material prices and their isolation from modern industrial development and technology - will not be solved or will be only partially solved by Lomé, and thus something more must be done.

For the time being the task before us is to make a start on the implementation of Lomé, but the European Community cannot back out of further responsibilities. The criticism levelled at Lomé III in this report and elsewhere must be used as an incentive to work towards future improvements. But the Community will also have to intervene in the world arena. The next few years, when it will be fairly quiet on the Lomé front because negotiations for a new convention will not begin until 18 months before the present one expires, offer a unique opportunity to turn these responsibilities into a reality. If it is true, as we believe, that development cooperation also includes an element of enlightened self interest, then new initiatives will be of benefit not only to the Third World but to the Community too.