



The Courier

AFRICA-CARIBBEAN-PACIFIC - EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Published every two months

No 89 JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1985

ACP-EEC CONVENTION



LOME III

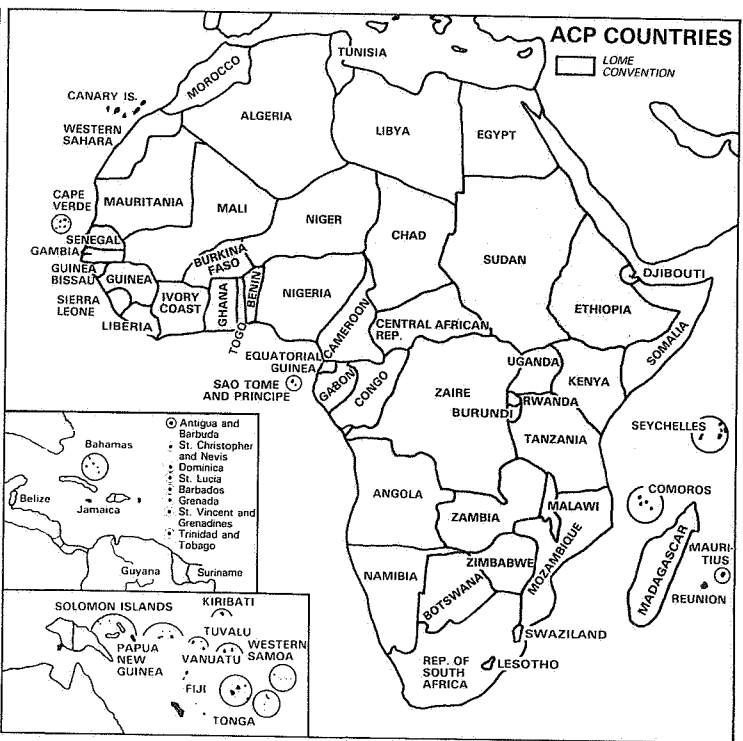
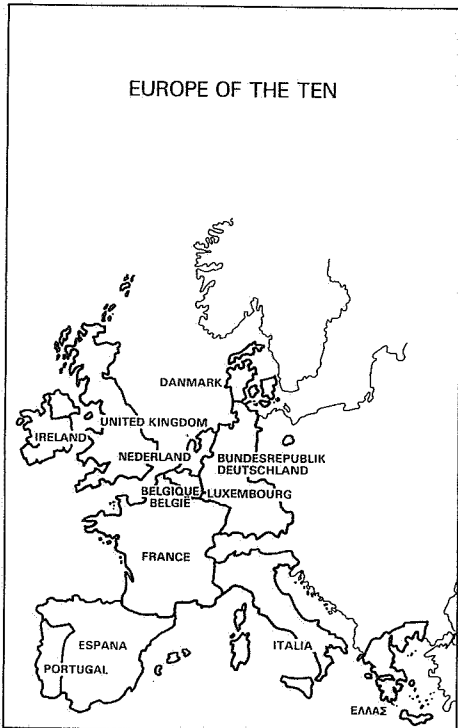
SPECIAL ISSUE

**THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY**

THE 65 ACP STATES

BELGIUM
DENMARK
FRANCE
GERMANY
(Federal Rep.)
GREECE
IRELAND
ITALY
LUXEMBOURG
NETHERLANDS
UNITED KINGDOM

ANTIGUA & BARBUDA	GHANA	ST. LUCIA
BAHAMAS	GRENADA	ST. VINCENT & THE GRENADINES
BARBADOS	GUINEA	SÃO TOMÉ & PRÍNCIPE
BELIZE	GUINEA BISSAU	SENEGAL
BENIN	GUYANA	SEYCHELLES
BOTSWANA	IVORY COAST	SIERRA LEONE
BURKINA FASO	JAMAICA	SOLOMON ISLANDS
BURUNDI	KENYA	SOMALIA
CAMEROON	KIRIBATI	SUDAN
CAPE VERDE	LESOTHO	SURINAME
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	LIBERIA	SWAZILAND
CHAD	MADAGASCAR	TANZANIA
COMOROS	MALAWI	TOGO
CONGO	MALI	TONGA
DJIBOUTI	MAURITANIA	TRINIDAD & TOBAGO
DOMINICA	MAURITIUS	TUVALU
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	MOZAMBIQUE	UGANDA
ETHIOPIA	NIGER	WESTERN SAMOA
FIJI	NIGERIA	VANUATU
GABON	PAPUA NEW GUINEA	ZAIRE
GAMBIA	RWANDA	ZAMBIA
	ST. CHRISTOPHER & NEVIS	ZIMBABWE



FRANCE
(Overseas departments)
Guadeloupe
Guiana
Martinique
Reunion
St Pierre and Miquelon
(Overseas territories)
Mayotte
New Caledonia and dependencies
French Polynesia
French Southern and Antarctic Territories
Wallis and Futuna Islands

NETHERLANDS
(Overseas countries)
Netherlands Antilles
(Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, St Martin, Saba, St Eustatius)
DENMARK
(Overseas territory)
Greenland

UNITED KINGDOM
(Overseas countries and territories)
Anguilla
British Antarctic Territory
British Indian Ocean Territory
British Virgin Islands
Cayman Islands
Falkland Islands and dependencies
Montserrat
Pitcairn Island
St Helena and dependencies
Turks and Caicos Islands

This list does not prejudice the status of these countries and territories now or in the future.
The Courier uses maps from a variety of sources. Their use does not imply recognition of any particular boundaries nor prejudice the status of any state or territory.



CONTENTS

2. **THE SIGNING OF THE LOMÉ III CONVENTION**
Under the banner of solidarity and human dignity
4. **Rabbie L. Namaliu**, President of the ACP Council of Ministers: "In the end, the dictates of mutual self-interest and interdependence... prevailed"
7. **Peter Barry**, President of the European Council of Ministers: "A new dimension in ACP-CEE cooperation"
9. **Gaston Thorn**, President of the Commission of the European Communities: "A sense of responsibility"
12. **President Gnassingbé Eyadéma**:
The result of a certain "spirit of Lomé"
15. **Edgard Pisani**, Commissioner for Development: Giving tangible expression through frank and fair dialogue to the hopes raised by the new Convention
16. Commentaries by the former co-Presidents of the ACP-EEC Council during the negotiations:
 - **Archie Mogwe** (Botswana): "Partners should not ignore, nor worse yet, abet, the undermining

of the Convention"

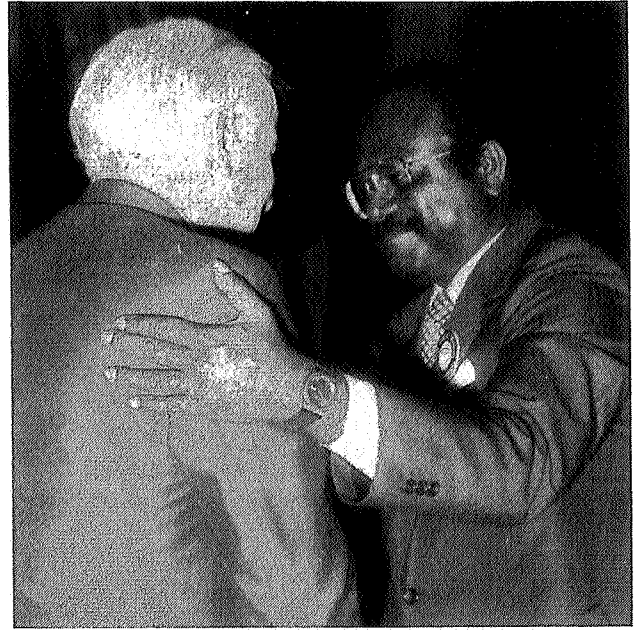
- **Yannis Haralambopoulos** (Greece): "The continuation of a fruitful cooperation..."
 - **Hugh Shearer** (Jamaica): "An achievement of which both sides can be proud"
 - **Claude Cheysson** (France): "Providing a framework for all forms of development assistance..."
18. **Yaya Diarra**, Chairman of the ACP Committee of Ambassadors: Lomé III has reinforced the dynamic of ACP-EEC cooperation
 19. **Dieter Frisch**, Director-General for Development at the European Commission: Lomé III, living through difficult negotiations
 21. **THE MAIN FEATURES OF LOMÉ III**
 26. **STRUCTURE OF THE ACP-EEC NEGOTIATIONS**
 28. **PROFILES OF THE ACP STATES AND OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**
 32. **MILESTONES IN ACP-EEC COOPERATION**

YELLOW PAGES: Complete text of the Lomé III Convention with Protocols and Annexes

THE SIGNING OF THE LOME III CONVENTION



EEC COUNCIL - BRUSSELS

Peter Barry and Rabbe L. Namaliu sign...

EEC COUNCIL - BRUSSELS

... and embrace

Under the banner of solidarity and human dignity

Lomé International Airport, on the eve of the signing ceremonies of the Lomé III Convention, was the centre of considerable activity. Thousands of officials and guests from the 65 ACP States and the 10 Member States of the Community had been arriving in groups throughout the preceding week to attend the ceremony which would, for the first time, be rebroadcast by television satellite to the majority of the countries taking part.

Lomé maintained its reputation as a peaceful and hospitable city. The airport, the main roads and 2nd February Square were festooned with the flags of the 75 participating countries and with the portraits of their Heads of State and government. The principal route leading to the centre of the city was draped with banners bidding guests welcome and expressing what is likely to be called henceforth the "spirit of Lomé", which may be described as the search for cooperation in "solidarity", with "dialogue" and above all with "respect for the personality and dignity" of each partner.

Impeccable organization

Those who were present in the Togolese capital in 1979 for the signing of the Lomé II Convention had already had occasion to note the impressive way in which the ceremonies had been organized. In December 1984, the public services and the population in general proved again, by their willingness, their discipline and their desire to succeed, that Togo was capable of putting on a ceremony worthy of the interest displayed in the Convention. By general consent, the organization of the ceremonies was impeccable and the atmosphere welcoming. The lodging, transporting and entertaining of delegates and journalists went off without a hitch.

Going beyond simple self-interest to see man as capable of progress

The signing ceremony took place on 8 December 1984 in the hall of the RPT, the ruling party. As in 1979, it was enlivened by the songs and the rhythmic dancing of hundreds of young Togolese who brought a festive atmosphere and a climate of youthful and popular enthu-

siasm to the occasion. It was a fitting climax to a week of splendid and varied artistic offerings provided for the delegates, of which the centrepiece was the cultural soirée in the Eyadéma Stadium where the Togolese National Ballet, as well as performers from Ghana, Senegal and Ireland took part. It was a performance which gave full expression to the cultural dimension which, for the first time, figured in the text of the Convention between the Ten and the ACP States.

This desire to "dematerialize" Lomé III to a certain extent and to make it a global package encompassing economic, cultural and human cooperation was echoed in the speeches of Peter Barry, President of the EEC Council of Ministers, R.L. Namaliu, President of the ACP Council of Ministers, Gaston Thorn, President of the Commission of the European Communities and President Gnassingbé Eyadéma, Togolese Head of State. The latter underlined the importance of Lomé III but also dwelt on the pressing needs of ACP countries which risked overshadowing the positive aspects of the Convention if "urgent measures were not undertaken to alleviate the burden of public indebtedness in the Third World".

As far as ACP States were concerned, the President of the Togolese Republic reaffirmed the need for closer intra-ACP cooperation; without this, vertical relations with the Ten would remain unfavourable for themselves despite the decisive role of the Convention in providing the impetus for real development for their 65 members. The Togolese President reminded them, on a number of occasions, that, in signing the Convention, they were "making a solemn undertaking to go beyond a simple calculation of the self-interest of our states to see man as capable of progress and of outdoing his own efforts in a new world which he has made a better place by finally understanding the meaning of solidarity".

Mozambique: the 65th member of the ACP Group

After greeting the accession of Mozambique as a signatory to the ACP Group, and expressing his keen desire to see Angola and Namibia follow suit, the President of the ACP Council spoke of his "satisfaction" at the new Convention which, as he said, took account of "necessary improvements in structure and implementation" which were missing in Lomé I and II. Regretting the financial provisions of Lomé III which were "well below the minimum requested by the ACP States and justified by their needs", Mr Namaliu nevertheless underlined that "the very foundation of the entire Convention has been set in a spirit of interdependence and the basis of the cultural prerequisites of the development of the ACP States, giving primacy to their peoples and sovereign choice to their societies".

Mr Namaliu also noted with interest that both parties agreed on the importance of human rights in the new Convention, and, in particular, the struggle against apartheid, the "most odious" form of violation of human rights on the African continent.

"The Lomé Convention" stated Mr Peter Barry in his speech, "is above all a work of solidarity whose aim is to improve the economic condition of millions of men, women and children". Mr Barry went on to express the "individual and collective commitment of Member States of the Community" to the fight against "the systematic discrimination of apartheid in South Africa and to the ending of that country's illegal occupation of Namibia".

Returning to the content of the new Convention, Mr Barry stressed the progress that had been made in an agreement which offered greater opportunities and means for the development of the

ACP States. But he also added that "the Convention wasn't the answer to all the questions, nor could it find a solution to all the problems". As far as the Community was concerned, Mr Barry underlined that "it was a genuine attempt to get to grips with some of the most pressing problems facing the developing countries. Considerable financial resources, to cover the needs of all the ACP States that participated in the negotiations, whatever their date of accession, and which look forward to the enlargement of the Community through the arrival of Spain and Portugal, have been made available. Doubtless, some will say that despite the financial constraints which weigh on the Member States, the Community could have done more. Nevertheless, at a time when the North-South dialogue is faltering—as witness the reconstitution of IFAD and the IDA—should we not rather draw some

renewal of our Convention".

The President of the Commission of the European Communities then put particular emphasis on "the critical state of affairs in the Third World" which, he said, "calls for a special effort by the international community, an increase, or at least the maintenance in real terms, of official development aid, a marked improvement in coordination between donors, and between official and unofficial sources of aid...".

He also attempted to clear up any misunderstanding which might linger in some ACP circles on what had come to be called the "policy dialogue" stating first and foremost that "the Community has not the will, much less the desire to make its aid conditional upon the adoption by its partners of policies decided upon elsewhere".

(See the extracts from the main



Young dancers of the Togo National Ballet
Culture is the expression of oneself and of one's society. It conditions economic and social development and its success

encouragement from the happy outcome of our deliberations?"

Mr Gaston Thorn, President of the European Commission, began by paying tribute to Commissioner Pisani whose ideas and role have marked the new Convention with his imprint. "Edgard Pisani, a man given to reflection and to dialogue" he said, "was able to remind European leaders that the future of Europe must be sought as much beyond her frontiers, in solidarity and the strengthening of links with the Third World, as within her boundaries. He has been called away, on another task involving the search for peace through dialogue (*), but he must be aware of our gratitude for the clarity of mind and fixity of purpose that he brought to the consolidation and

speeches delivered at Lomé in the following pages).

Negotiators as well as observers are agreed on the real progress that has been made in the concept of EEC-ACP cooperation in the context of the third Lomé Convention. Even if there are certain "shortcomings", notably insofar as the size of the financial package is concerned, it must be noted that the success or failure of Lomé III does not depend on that but much more on the spirit in which it is implemented. And in that respect there was considerable optimism among the delegates present at Lomé. Perhaps that is why, at the end of the reception hosted by President Eyadéma, all the delegates rose to their feet and, together with the orchestra, joined in singing "Ce n'est qu'un au revoir...". o

LUCIEN PAGNI

(*) Editor's note: in New Caledonia.

“In the end, the dictates of mutual self-interest and interdependence which characterize ACP-EEC economic relations prevailed”

Rabbie L. Namaliu, President of the ACP Council of Ministers

Rabbie Namaliu (Papua New Guinea), President of the ACP Council of Ministers felt “Lomé has indeed become a symbol of international cooperation. Virtually the sole beacon in an otherwise dark and unlit sea, strewn with unfulfilled hopes”. He also said the ACP family took a particularly happy turn in Lomé with Mozambique joining the Group as a full member of the ACP group of states as created in Georgetown (Guyana). Prior to describing certain “achievements” or certain

“shortfalls” of the new Convention, the President of the ACP Council of Ministers paid a tribute to his predecessors, ACP as well as European (Mogwe and Shearer, Haralambopoulos and Cheysson); and “a very special tribute to Commissioner Pisani and his team headed by Dieter Frisch, Director-General of the Development Directorate of the EEC Commission”. Of the negotiations and the result, the new Lomé Convention, Rabbie Namaliu said:

“The negotiations proved to be more difficult and protracted than any of their predecessors. No other Lomé Convention took six ministerial-level meetings before being finalized. In the end, however, the dictates of mutual self-interest and interdependence which characterize the economic relations between the EEC and the ACP States prevailed and the third ACP-EEC Convention is ready for signing in Lomé today.

In the course of arriving at a jointly agreed Convention a number of key issues emerged, none more contentious than the concept of policy dialogue and the question of human rights. To the ACP, the former characterizes a method of cooperation by which indepth dialogue and agreements on ACP States’ sector policies and programmes would become a prerequisite for Community financial assistance in the particular sector. The ACP rejected what they saw as too great a measure of involvement by the EEC in their domestic policies and programmes, and the implied conditionality in gaining access to the financial resources under the Convention. These were not consistent with agreements between sovereign states.

In the end, a *modus vivendi* was found by which the desiderata of consultation, efficiency and accountability were accommodated without any excessive notion of conditionality and Community intervention.

The ACP States have jealously guarded their sovereignty while advancing the scope for improving efficacy in financial cooperation.

The question of human rights was present in ACP-EEC negotiations since Lomé II. Then, the matter was resolved by both Presidents making public decla-

R. Namaliu
On human rights and apartheid: “I’m happy to indicate that the Community has agreed to adopt a joint declaration”

rations on this question at the signing ceremony of Lomé II. On that occasion, the ACP President said, inter alia, and I quote:

“Every signatory state here today is a member of the United Nations. All of us subscribe to the Charter of that body. Those of us who are members of the Organization of African Unity have reaffirmed that intention at the level of Heads of State in the now famous resolution in Monrovia in July 1979; and those of us who are members of the Commonwealth adopted, also at the level of Heads of State, a resolution expressing a similar concern in Lusaka in August that year”.

And then he stressed:

“We, too, are militants for human rights and as such our relations continue to be founded on the principles which form the cornerstone of justice, liberty, peace and respect for human dignity”.

The EEC President for his part, recalled that Lomé was, and I quote: *“Built on the solid foundations of these truths and expresses our respect for those principles...”*.

On this occasion, the ACP, consistent with their commitment to this concept, indicated that they were willing to discuss human rights matters if the Community was equally willing to discuss its relations with South Africa. I am happy to indicate that the Community has agreed to adopt a Joint Declaration which states, inter alia, and I quote: “In this respect, the contracting parties reaffirm their obligation and their commitments 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 proclaimed their determination to work effectively for the eradication of apartheid, which constitutes a violation of human rights and an affront to human dignity”. On this basis, the ACP has in turn agreed to an insertion in the preamble of the Convention which states as follows:

“Reaffirming their adherence to the principle of the said (UN) Charter and their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...”

No longer, therefore, can our Convention remain mute on the flagrant viola-

tion of human rights which apartheid constitutes and generates and we stress, Mr President, that both the ACP and the EEC are committed to work effectively to eradicate that nefarious system.

“The fundamental question of food self-sufficiency in ACP States”

As regards the specific contents of the Convention, we have been able to give due prominence and reasonable support to the fundamental question of food self-sufficiency in ACP States. And, in support of this objective, we have joined the struggle against drought and desertification, particularly rampant in several African ACP States, undermining all efforts to achieve increased food production and indeed general social and economic development.

The dominant role of the agricultural sector in the development of most ACP States, as the main source of foreign exchange earnings and employment, is reflected for the first time in the Convention in a special chapter on Cooperation in Agricultural Commodities, with the central objectives of improvement of the conditions of production, transportation and marketing.

While falling far short of our major objectives, the provisions in this chapter do constitute a framework on which further progress could be made. Much will, however, depend on the implementation strategy adopted by us and our EEC partners. This question we consider to be fundamental.

On the key concern of access for our agricultural exports to the EEC markets, we have reached agreement on limiting the delay by the Commission in responding to our specific requests for improved access. This modest progress is reinforced by more automaticity in the provisions for derogations for the rules of origin, which, in our considered view, remain too stringent to encourage ACP development.

The development of services such as tourism and maritime transport have been recognized as important areas for greater emphasis in Lomé III.

And we have strengthened Stabex by lowering the thresholds and by adopting clearer management and reporting procedures on the use of transfers.

The Convention takes today's needs into account without ignoring those of the future. In this regard, it improves on the arrangements for the present exploitation of our mineral resources and strengthens the scope for future develop-



Mr Rei Baltazar Dos Santos Alves, Minister of Finance of Mozambique, signs the Convention on behalf of his country, the 65th ACP State

ment of such resources, including our energy resources.

The financing package

The Convention provides for a total financial package of 8.5 billion ECU. This amount falls far short of the minimum requested by the ACP and justified by our needs, and the objectives of the Convention. At a time of reduced soft funds from international agencies such as IDA, the ACP need more, not less, real per capita resources under Lomé III. Such, however, was not to be the case.

Nonetheless, these resources are now more than before available for programmes as much as for projects, and for rehabilitation, repair and maintenance as much as for new investments. To supplement these resources, the Convention provides a significant chapter on the flow of private investment between the Community and the ACP States. It is our strong determination to see full effect given to this chapter under Lomé III.

As regards the institutional structure, we have strengthened our technical agencies such as the Centre for the Development of Industry and the Agricultural Centre; we have streamlined our consultative bodies by replacing the Joint Committee and the Consultative Assembly, with one Joint Assembly. Institutionalized arrangements have also been made for consultations with the social and economic circles.

Most critically, we have reinforced our Council of Ministers as a political body by extending its competence to deliberate on all issues relevant to the Convention.

Finally, the very foundation of the entire Convention has been set in a spirit of interdependence and on the basis of the cultural prerequisites of the development of the ACP States, giving primacy to their peoples and sovereign choice to their societies.

Lomé III “improves on its predecessors”

Undoubtedly, the third ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé improves on its predecessors in its structure, content and mechanisms for implementation. But it will call for the greatest imagination in implementation to ensure that all the intended benefits are essentially achieved. Apart from everything else, it will call for a closer coordination and consultation between the different ACP and ACP-EEC institutions involved in the implementation of the Convention. It will call for closer contact with and consultation among the regional organizations, with the ACP States taking full advantage of the regional cooperation provisions of the Convention to further strengthen our regional, interregional and intra-ACP cooperation.

In this latter regard, it is thanks to your initiative, President Eyadéma, on the occasion of the signing of Lomé II, when you called for a Federation of Chambers of Commerce of ACP States, that such an organization is now being established which could be a critical instrument in developing intra-ACP trade.

As I stated at the beginning, Mr President, it is absolutely necessary that Lomé III succeeds in stimulating the economies of the ACP States, for that stimulation is itself a necessary element for international economic recovery.

The objectives of that recovery can also benefit significantly from the realization of the \$ 1 000 million Fund for Africa being called for by the President of the World Bank, an initiative to which the ACP States would appeal to their partners to give full support.

The negotiations have obviously not achieved everything. Certain key concerns remain. Our commodities are still to be subject to the vagaries of market forces, while our partners and every other developed country protect their agriculture from the full blast of these forces.

ACP representatives during the signing ceremony for Lomé III

One significantly dangerous consequence of this is the threat which it poses to the achievement of our fundamental objective of food self-sufficiency. We all know that we can stimulate the farmer to produce more by augmenting his income. And that this latter can be achieved by raising the prices of his output and by reducing the cost of his production inputs. The former tend to have major social, economic and political consequences including riots and other instabilities and in the absence of remunerative prices for the exports of our major commodities, ACP Governments would be hard-pressed to find the resources to subsidise farmers' inputs. Thus there is a critical lacuna here and one is concerned that the Convention, in not dealing with commodity prices, and/or special arrangements for manufactured, processed export products, may not have adequately tackled this problem.

If this analysis is correct, more financial assistance would obviously be necessary. (...)

**“Reservations” on
trade regime and
sugar protocol**

Overall, apart from the volume of funds, if there is one key area of this Convention about which we continue to have reservations it is the trade regime, including the rules of origin. We would need to apply them with the greatest sympathy and understanding to provide the opportunity which ACP States need. It is that imagination and sensitivity which we would need to show if we are to take advantage of opportunities such as that offered for the increased exportation of ACP raw cane sugar to the EEC by the expected entry of Portugal into

the Community. The request by Portugal to be allowed to import from the ACP 300 000 tonnes of raw cane sugar annually after it accedes to the Community, while not strictly a matter under the negotiations for Lomé III, provides an excellent example of the type of opportunity one would need to grasp if ACP States are to be effectively assisted to increase their export and badly-needed foreign exchange earnings.

Fail to do so and we endanger even the basic objectives of food self-sufficiency. We fear that the Community, perhaps unwittingly, is about to do just that. And this cannot be in the spirit of Lomé III.

On the other hand, Mr President, certain salutary elements have been introduced to our Convention. For the 30-odd years or more of post-war development cooperation, a variety of imported models of development prevailed, while the dimension of indigenous culture either figured marginally or was forgotten altogether. It is to the credit of Lomé III that an attempt has been made to resituate culture at the centre of our development efforts.

**“The vital question
of the treatment of
ACP cultural
goods”**

Regretfully, however, the vital question of the treatment of ACP cultural goods held in EEC Member States was not resolved in our negotiations. Thus, an invaluable part of our national patrimony, our heritage and history for future generations, remains unregulated by our Convention. We hold strongly to the view that this matter will continue to rankle our relations, and we consequent-

ly reserve the right to seek to discuss this matter within our institutional framework during the life of Lomé III.

Mr President, having negotiated and signed Lomé III, it is critical that every signatory country make the greatest possible effort for its most urgent ratification so that the Convention can come into force without any undue delay. The prevailing conditions in many of our countries cannot afford any such delay. It is therefore a task of mutual support and each state must undertake this process extremely rapidly.

**Lomé III
“is a product of
basic rethinking”**

Mr President, the Convention which we sign today is the product of the efforts of numerous organizations, ministers, officials, etc. It is a product of basic rethinking and an attempt to refashion, as much as possible within the constraints of existing circumstances, an instrument of cooperation and development for the ACP and EEC States; an instrument which faces as squarely as possible the harsh problems of the absence of ACP basic food for the populations of ACP States after twenty years of independence and development cooperation with Europe; an instrument which recognizes Europe's dependence on these ACP countries for many of their raw materials, minerals and export markets; an instrument which realises that development of a people must be in terms of their own objectives, values, culture and priorities.

Lomé is therefore something of a new departure and I can only thank all those who have made it possible (...). ○

“A new dimension in ACP-EEC cooperation”

Peter Barry, President of the European Council of Ministers

Below are highlights of Peter Barry's speech in Lomé. Prior to his address he paid a tribute to Commissioner Edgard Pisani whose ideas and action determined the new ACP-EEC agreement.

“On the European Community side, allow me to pay tribute to a man who regrettably is not here today but without whom we would possibly not be here ourselves—Edgard Pisani.

His charm and humour, his intellectual integrity, imbued with humanity, his command of detail in dealing with the most complex and sensitive issues: these have been qualities which I have greatly admired. His country and Government have recognized them, too, and I am certain that I speak for you all when I express the hope that his mission to New Caledonia will prove as successful as his work with us.

Great upheavals in history place major options before leaders and statesmen. Upon their choice the course of events depends. Thus, in the aftermath of the Second World War, six European states chose to lay aside their rivalries and quarrels. Similarly, following decolonization, 18 sovereign, independent states of Africa chose the path of co-operation and interdependence to develop and organize their relations with the emerging European Community. A quarter of a century later, 65 ACP States have participated in the negotiations for the renewal of the Convention with a Community of 10 Member States, soon to be enlarged to 12. The European Community, which welcomed the participation of Angola and Mozambique in the negotiations, is particularly pleased to count Mozambique as one of the signatories. If Angola decides to accede to the Convention, she too will be assured of an equally warm welcome. I also express the wish that in the near future we will be able to add one more signatory to our Convention, that of an independent Namibia.

ACP-EEC co-operation now brings together more than half the members of the United Nations. What other instrument has so helped to change the notion of co-operation between industrialized and developing countries? The different Conventions which have over several

decades associated independent African, Caribbean and Pacific countries with the European Community, have allowed us to build up a unique system of co-operation of the highest political significance and which we regard as our common heritage. We have founded this common heritage on a number of fundamental principles which guarantee its value and its strength. They are interdependence, mutual interest, respect for each other's sovereignty, equality between partners and the right of each state to determine its own political, social, cultural and economic policy options.

Beyond these basic principles, the Convention of Lomé which includes more than half of the poorest countries on the planet, is above all an act of solidarity aimed at improving the economic circumstances of millions of men, women and children. (...)

“Agricultural development and food security at the forefront of our objectives”

Mr Barry then underlined the critical problems facing the Sahel countries and some others in Africa:

“The most immediate problem in Africa is that of hunger. The first priority must therefore be action to enable Africa to feed her people. We cannot control the climatic conditions which determine good or bad harvests. We can, however, ensure that through our co-operation, the efforts of the African countries themselves—and they are considerable—receive the necessary financial and technical support to enable them to achieve greater food self-reliance than before. It is for that reason that we have placed agricultural development and food security at the forefront of our objectives for the next five years of ACP-EEC co-operation. We will attempt to tackle the problems in this sector in a more comprehensive and integrated way than in the past. We will seek to develop food strategies with the full co-operation of your Governments so that the amount of imported food will gradually be replaced by local, national production. For the first time in the history of our co-operation we will begin to examine how best to fight and win the battle against drought and desertification. Financial resources will be made available to tackle the alarming environmental deterioration. In addition, we will pay more attention to the social and ecological impact of our actions in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

“Man at the centre of our action”

These, then, must be our objectives in the medium and long term. They are noble and worthwhile aims. Their realization will depend on the spirit of co-operation in which they are pursued. That spirit, as far as we are concerned, has a name—it is the Spirit of Lomé.

In the objectives of the Convention we agreed to put man at the centre of our action. Whatever his situation, man has the right to respect for his dignity and person. He has the right to life and to hope. Regardless of race, religion or culture, he must be the actor and the beneficiary of the development process. That is the ultimate goal of our co-operation and because we jointly believe it to be so, we have duly reflected it in the text of our Convention. We have also agreed to give a more human dimension to what has essentially been an economic and commercial relationship by adding a chapter on cultural and social co-operation. We hope that this new dimension to our co-operation will lead to a greater mutual understanding between our peoples and an increased awareness of their customs and traditions. We firmly believe that it is only by developing understanding and knowledge that we can be-

Peter Barry

gin to eliminate intolerance and prejudice wherever it is found.

The systematic discrimination of apartheid in South Africa and the delay in ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia are continuing causes of concern to the 10 Member States of the Community. Individually and collectively, the Ten have expressed their abhorrence of and opposition to South Africa's apartheid policy. We reject apartheid in all its forms and we shall continue our pressure on South Africa to abandon this iniquitous system.

The European Community and its Member States have supported and will continue to support the Namibian people, particularly through the United Nations Institute for Namibia. I take this opportunity to re-state the willingness of the Community and the Member States to assist in the development of a free and independent Namibia."

The future

Mr Peter Barry mentioned the global problems which had prevented the two previous Conventions from fully achieving their objectives. Then he pondered on the future.

"What of the future? Will the international economic environment become less harsh during the life of the third Lomé Convention? It is perhaps too early to state confidently that better times are on the way. It is certainly true that all the indicators show that recovery is indeed now underway in the North. Renewed economic growth has been



During the signing ceremony young Togolese kept up a wholehearted and rhythmic welcome

confirmed although it is still modest in comparison to earlier periods. More encouraging has been the improvement in world trade last year with a similar trend evident for this year. This should have a significant impact on the developing countries. For the ACP States, the strengthened trade provisions of the new Convention should enable many of you to take full advantage of this better trading climate.

This is just one example of how the European Community and its Member States can contribute through the instruments of our Convention to the econom-

ic development of our ACP partners. I must stress, however, that it is only a contribution. The Lomé Convention does not provide answers to all questions and it cannot invent solutions to every problem. I can state, however, that as far as we are concerned, it is a genuine attempt to tackle some of the most serious problems confronting developing countries today. A significant amount of financial resources, which covers all the ACP States which participated in the negotiation, whatever the date of their accession to the Convention, and which also anticipates the enlargement of the Community to include Spain and Portugal, has been provided to implement the Convention. No doubt some would say that, despite the budgetary constraints confronting the Member States, the Community could have done even more. At a time, however, when there is so much hesitation in the North-South dialogue—the reconstitution of IFAD and IDA spring to mind—should we not take some encouragement from the successful outcome of our deliberations?

"New areas for co-operation" and new challenges"

The Convention which we sign here today not only will have more signatories but it is also broader and deeper than its predecessor. It provides us with new areas for co-operation and poses new challenges. We have concluded the first stage of our work in a spirit of hope and solidarity. We must now go forward together with conviction and determination to ensure that in the years ahead we can meet the objectives we have set ourselves." o

Irish musicians also performed at the ceremonies at Lomé, in order to underline the importance of the cultural aspects of the new Convention

Gaston Thorn, President of the Commission of the European Communities

“A sense of responsibility”

Mr Gaston Thorn, President of the Commission of the European Communities (until 5 January 1985) and speaking on its behalf in the absence of Commissioner Pisani, stressed the solidity of what had been acquired and the spirit of ACP-EEC cooperation. Lomé III could, he believed, be described as “A Convention of which most of the provisions have been overhauled, expanded to cover new areas of activity, matched to the real world and the challenges of this latter part of the century”. Looking further at the Convention, Mr Thorn added:

“However, before going on to talk about the future of our cooperation and the tool we have forged together, I should like to turn back to the immediate past for a while, to the year of negotiations through which we have passed. No doubt somebody versed in political necessities would say that today's success was bound to come, it was written in the stars.

But I should like you to remember what the situation was like in Europe a year ago when our negotiations opened. We had a Community the very existence of which was threatened by the development of centrifugal forces, aggravated by the world economic crisis.

I should like you to remember the international climate, the state of the North-South dialogue, paralysed by the egoism of the great powers, lack of imagination and an absence of will, and which, from the failure of UNCTAD in Belgrade to the drastic cuts in IDA (International Development Agency) resources, piled disappointment on bitterness (...).

The fact that we are here, celebrating our cooperation, proves that, on both sides, as well as wisdom and inventiveness, it has been a sense of responsibility, mutual trust and, in the final analysis, friendship, that has won the day. It is on this basis that genuine negotiation has taken place and the real forces involved have come into action—and here I should like to emphasize the power, throughout our discussions, of a united ACP Group, unswerving in its negotiating position.

We have been conscious of that power all through this last year. Many of the improvements and innovations on which we are congratulating ourselves today are due to it. I am thinking particularly of the special place we have made for the social and cultural dimension, of



Part of the Community's official rostrum at the signing of the Convention

EEC COUNCIL - BRUSSELS

the increased security provided in our trade arrangements, in Stabex and in Sysmin, of the improvements in the rules of origin, and the new vigour we have imparted to our institutions.

And even if a trial of strength did come into it—something quite understandable in any negotiation—I am happy to say there was never any confrontation, except of ideas and constructive proposals!

In fact the only subject under discussion, the only question asked, was the fundamental one of how to do more, do better, act more effectively for the development of the ACP countries, for the greater well-being and self-fulfilment of their peoples.

And it is not by chance that, apart from the difficult issue of the financial resources, the two subjects which made the greatest impact on our negotiations, which caught the attention of opinion at

large, were respect for human dignity and fundamental human rights and the greater effectiveness of our cooperation through dialogue.

“Who would not acknowledge the worth of the message we are sending out to world opinion?”

For the first time in the history of our cooperation, our negotiators have agreed to deal fully and explicitly, in the Convention, with the question of human rights and respect for human dignity.

This is a clear sign of the extent to which our relations and mutual trust have matured. Of course, all our states, all our peoples, had proclaimed, in a different forum, their attachment to these fundamental rights and their commitment to promoting such rights. But this time, having overcome our reticence, we are making this commitment a part of our common heritage. We are joining together to proclaim, with the quiet assurance gained from our long friendship, our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. We are reaffirming, in a joint declaration, having weighed up all the implications, “that every individual has the right, in his own country or in a host country, to respect for his dignity and to protection by the law”.

In these troubled times, when values

sometimes slide, who would not acknowledge the worth of the message we are sending out to world opinion? (...).

A dialogue between trusting and equal partners

There is quite a different lesson to be learned from our long discussions on the "policy dialogue". What passions were aroused, what anxiety and what misunderstandings caused by this idea, which the Community had put forward for the sole purpose of making aid more effective and as a natural consequence of the diversification of our contributions!

The reason why the expression made such a stir was not that the idea of more effective cooperation was being challenged. Nor was it, I dare say, because the word or the concept of "dialogue" was suspect between trusting and equal partners.

No, if there were any doubts, it was because some people thought they saw in this idea that the Community was calling in question the contractual nature of our relations and, to be blunt, some thought they could detect in it a move by the Community to make its aid conditional on the adoption by its partners of policies decided upon elsewhere.

The lesson I should like to draw from our discussions is the following: yes, the situation in the Third World is critical, it calls for a special effort on the part of the international community, an increase in official development assistance, or at least measures to maintain it in real terms, a considerable improvement in coordination between aid donors and between official assistance and private contributors. It calls for more effective implementation, because the resources are limited and the needs immense. However, we must be careful not to reverse the roles.

Our partners are sovereign states and nothing can be done which is not carried out in the strict observance of that sovereignty.

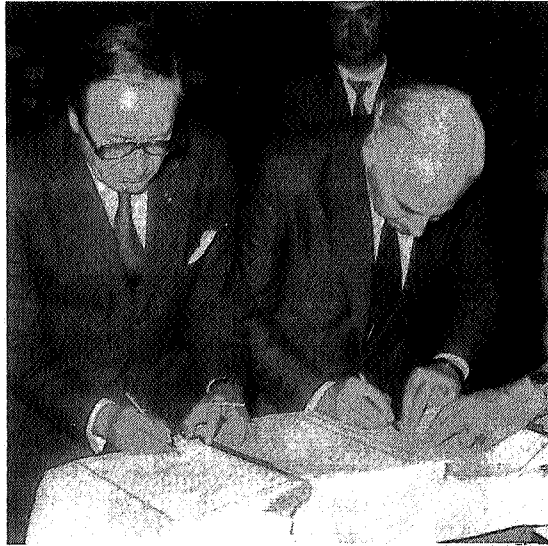
I have just dealt with the two subjects about which we have had the most discussion. I shall not avoid the third, which, though it was outside the scope of the negotiations from the formal point of view, remained in the back of our minds and cropped up in many a discussion — that of the financial package for the new Convention. I shall be straightforward here.

"Our efforts have not been relaxed"

Of course, compared with the tasks to be accomplished, the 8.5 thousand million ECU which the Community is committing for the next five years does appear inadequate. We should all have liked to be able to do more.

However, the sum we have managed to come up with will enable us to increase our capacity for action and to extend our cooperation to new ACP countries.

In other words, our efforts have not been relaxed despite the recession and



Presidents Thorn and Barry jointly signing the final act of the Convention on the Community's behalf

despite the financial difficulties of the Community and its Member States—no small thing in itself. It is worth remembering that the first Lomé Convention was signed by a Community at the height of its economic and commercial power, that the second Convention was concluded in 1979 by a Europe which thought it could see the light at the end of the tunnel, following the first oil crisis, but which did not know that there was another crisis approaching. We all know what economic and monetary disorder has reigned since then.

However, Europe, the Community, is not giving up. Despite the crisis, it is not going to give up an original development policy which is an integral part of its identity, nor its special ties with the ACP countries. It is not flinching at the challenges facing its partners, particularly on the African continent. The challenge of drought and the apparently inexorable progression of the desert, the abandonment of the countryside by peasants

without hope, who then flock to the outskirts of the towns, the wanderings of refugees in various parts of the continent, the desertion by foreign investors, discouraged by high risks, and the poor performance of economies trying to cope with poor infrastructure and scarce foreign exchange, and, especially, the ultimate challenge, that of hunger, a hideous spectre which we thought, ten years ago, that we could vanquish for ever but which is still haunting us today in a yet more shocking guise.

Allow me, on this solemn occasion when we are celebrating our cooperation, to call to mind the tens of thousands of human beings who have already been struck down by this evil, the hundreds of thousands of starving men, women and children on this continent who could fall victim to it in their turn if no supreme effort of human solidarity is made.

I should also like to add, if you permit and with all the modesty dictated by the scale of this tragedy, that the Community, in liaison with all national and international bodies, all the organizations working in the field, is doing everything humanly possible to avoid the worst.

But everyone knows that the essential emergency aid and the necessary food aid are but palliatives, one-off responses to crisis situations. The root cause of the evil must be fought. In other words, local food production must be boosted; rural communities must be revived; the peasant farmers must be provided with the necessary inputs; techniques must be taught; post-harvest losses must be prevented, marketing improved and storage facilities provided.

In short, overall food strategies must be devised, not to exclude recourse to external food aid if necessary nor the possibility of imports, but starting from an overall view of food security based first and foremost on the development of domestic production.

That is one of the leading ideas which has found expression in the important chapter of our Convention devoted to agricultural cooperation (...).

"Bringing into play private operators on both sides"

Many would deserve mention. However, it seems to me that I would do better justice to our negotiators' work if I described rather their approach. This consisted of three complementary stages, all equally essential.

First: maintain what had been achieved under earlier Conventions. Second: make considerable improvements to the effectiveness of ACP-EEC cooperation. Third: go beyond the scope of the Convention itself, which is a cooperation contract between public authorities, to bring into play private operators on both sides.

It appeared essential, politically, to maintain the "acquis" of Lomé II in order to ensure the security of our relations—security of the financial commitments entered into for five years, security provided by the trade arrangements and the original cooperation instruments, namely Stabex, Sysmin and the sugar protocol, security provided by our institutional framework, within which all the problems connected with our cooperation may be discussed with a view to working out joint solutions together.

The need for security meant that these proven instruments had to be maintained. Therefore we have kept them.

In addition to the need for continuity there came another requirement—the effectiveness of our cooperation had to be improved considerably. Here too, the negotiators accomplished a great deal. In the new Convention, which has been restructured and thoroughly overhauled, instruments that have been reviewed in the light of our collective experience are grouped around a hard core of joint principles and objectives.

Our negotiators' third important task was to seek ways of encouraging private operators to become more involved in ACP-EEC cooperation. For everyone knows that official action, whatever resources are deployed, can be fully effective only if it can mobilize other forces, entrepreneurial abilities, in the Community as well as in the ACP countries.

The innovatory texts adopted for the new Convention—on fishing, shipping, private investment—meet this concern, as do the new provisions on the Centre for the Development of Industry and the European Investment Bank.

On the subject of private investment, I would like to comment on the fact that, although virtually the complete range of all possible variations of economic systems and organization was represented among the parties negotiating, we managed to avoid any ideological conflict and were able to agree on a clear, binding and constructive text. As far as I know, there is no equivalent in any other multilateral forum—and I see once more the mark of the originality and dynamism of our cooperation.



A further view of the EEC rostrum at Lomé

“The most complete example of what the North-South dialogue should always be”

The agreement which we are signing and sealing is an important act in international life. Today's conference is perhaps the most complete example of what the North-South dialogue should always be—a debate in which the confrontation of ideas always leads to the adoption of practical arrangements, practical commitments having a tangible and immediate impact on our peoples.

In order to maintain good faith we

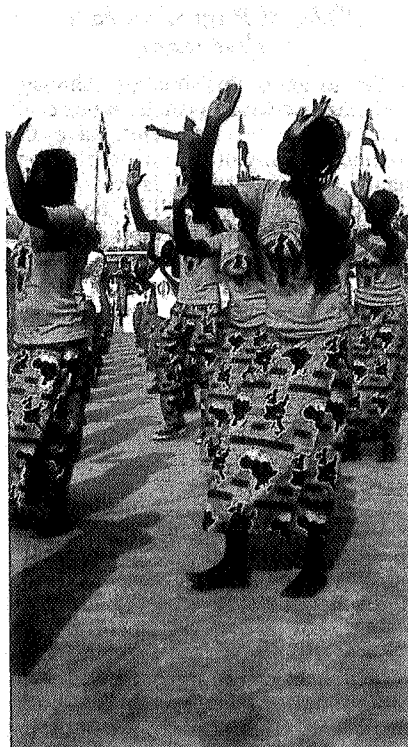
now have to implement this Convention with the same persistence, the same demanding attitude as we adopted to negotiate it. It is valuable as an example of our cooperation and the very survival of that cooperation is at stake.

Ten years ago, when we concluded our first Convention, we were hoping to make it the cornerstone of a fairer and more balanced new international economic order. Despite the disappointments, the deadlock of the North-South dialogue, the anxiety aroused by the growing disparity between the powerful and the poor, our ambition has not wavered. On the contrary, I am launching from here, from the heart of a continent in the grip of tragedy, an appeal to the international community, and first of all to the eastern and western powers, to tread the path of solidarity, of cooperation, of development.

In addition to this ambition I should like to mention another, which involves only ourselves. Let us show the doubters, those who call in question the very usefulness of official development assistance, of cooperation, of our cooperation, that it is not merely a moral, political and economic duty, but that it contributes fully to the progress and self-fulfilment of our peoples.

Implementation of the new Convention will require an exceptional effort; we shall have to surpass ourselves and mobilize forces—both on the Community side and in the ACP countries. Let us accept this challenge. Let us place this Convention at the heart of our countries' policies. Let us devote our energy and our faith to it. So that the spirit of Lomé may live.

Speaking today in Lomé, before all the nations represented here, it is this effort that I call for, an effort to take us further along the path of solidarity that cannot be denied”. o



A festive, enthusiastic atmosphere which delighted all by its beauty

The EEC and the ACP go to Togo for the third time: the result of a certain "spirit of Lomé", says President Eyadéma

Prior to the signing of Lomé III, President Eyadéma told *The Courier* how he felt about the latest Convention being signed in Lomé.

► *Mr President, this is the third time the ACP-EEC cooperation agreement is being signed in Lomé. Do you see this as a success for Togolese diplomacy or a sign that Lomé III is not very different from the two previous Conventions?*

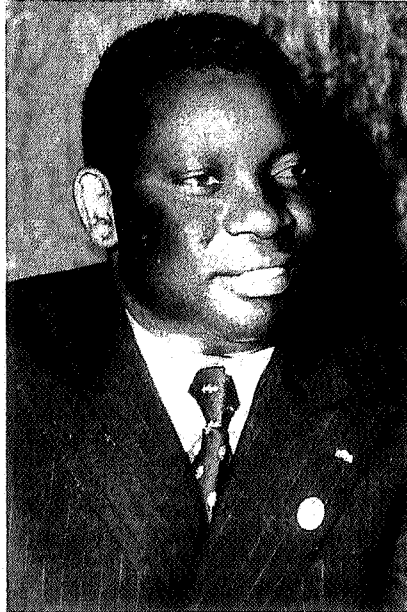
— This indeed is the third time that the countries of the European Economic Community and Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific have agreed to come to Lomé to sign the historic Convention that binds them.

Once again, it is an honour for the Togolese people. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Togolese nation and its party, the RPT, to extend my most sincere thanks to all our partners for this further expression of their confidence.

And it is certainly a diplomatic success for us, too—although, over and above the pride we feel, it is more an expression of our desire to continue a union that we all know to be fruitful. Saying that Lomé III is much the same as the two previous Conventions would not give a very good idea of the new agreement. The negotiations were harder. But the continuity of our union is cause for congratulation. In these crisis-ridden times, three successive, non-stop Conventions being signed by 10 developed and 65 developing nations is proof that there is something positive worth safeguarding—and that is the spirit of Lomé. It is the desire which all of us have to cooperate on a strictly equal footing for the happiness of our peoples, regardless of the level of their economic structures.

► *Now Lomé III is about to take effect, everyone agrees that the economic situation in the ACP States is critical. They don't even talk about economic take-off any more. How do you see the general trend in the Group?*

— We all know that the world economy is in a sad state and that our countries, more than others, are very hard hit by the effects of the crisis. So we are aware of what is happening and all our peoples' work and sacrifices are aimed at



President G. Eyadéma
"The ACP countries have to close ranks"

getting us out of this situation. Although we realize we have to count on ourselves first, we nevertheless must have the common destiny of all our peoples constantly in view—which is why we are convinced that there will be no lasting solution until global attempts are made to deal with the crisis.

If the countries of the Third World are not involved in recovery, then it will not last. And the ACP countries, I think, have to close ranks to make their action more effective.

► *Do you think Lomé I and II have been satisfactory as far as Togo is concerned?*

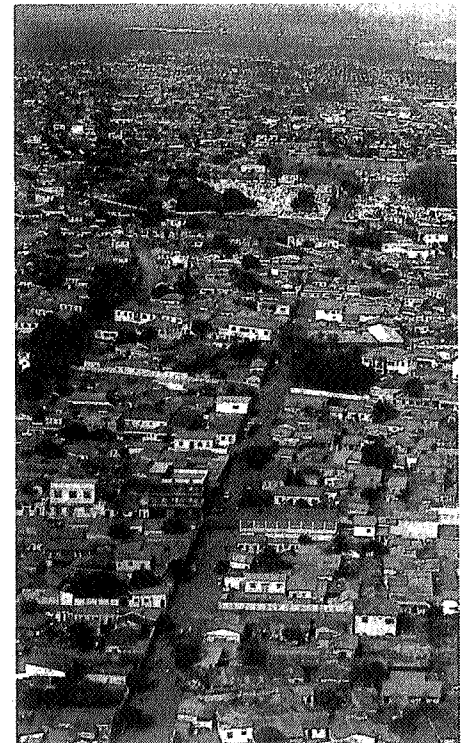
— Togo is one of the countries that has been associated with the EEC from the very beginning and we think we have done very well from the association. Our hopes haven't always been fulfilled, of course, but the development of our country has, to a large extent, been backed up by the financial, technical and commercial machinery of the Lomé agreements. That is to say we are satisfied with the overall results of Lomé I and II and we expect a lot of Lomé III.

► *In the speech you made when Lomé II was signed, you said you had hopes of and confidence in both EEC-ACP relations and broader cooperation in the ACP Group. Are you still optimistic about the future of these two aspects of cooperation under Lomé III?*

— As I said just now, the ACP countries have to be increasingly aware that they will only succeed properly when they have found how to cooperate effectively together.

We are realistic. The fact that the ACP countries are spread about the world is a handicap as far as cooperation is concerned, but their diversity may be a source of complementarity. That is why we think that what we need in the early stages is flexible machinery that will give us the right information and enable us to identify the fields in which we can get this cooperation started. But neighbouring countries still have to make an effort to create a proper framework for South-South cooperation. That is what we are trying to do in this sub-region of Africa, with ECOWAS and other similar organizations. Some other African countries have looked at ECOWAS and are now getting together in economic groupings of their own. That is a first step towards cooperation between ACP countries.

► *Do you think the success of a cooperation agreement depends more on the*



General view of Lomé,

amount of money it involves or the way it is applied?

— An agreement is a legal instrument whereby the partners agree to do something together. If it provides money to achieve its aims, then it would be reasonable to expect it to provide enough to do so. The amount of financing is discussed during the negotiations and is intended to meet a number of our countries' development aims.

Once the agreement has been signed, then we think the way it is applied is vital, as otherwise it would be drained of any content.

► *Lastly, do you think that the content, spirit and implementing provisions of Lomé III—and I and II—are in line with the trend in ACP development requirements?*

— We have followed the negotiations closely. As the essence of Lomé II has been safeguarded and may even be improved upon in Lomé III, we are satisfied. You must remember that the present crisis affects all the countries, regardless of their level of development. We have to make a joint effort to overcome these serious economic difficulties. So, apart from the size of the financing, the essential thing is for there to be solidarity between us. That, I think, is what the new Convention should make clear.
L.P.

At the signing ceremony

“We need to form a homogeneous bloc so that North-South cooperation may enable us to raise the value of our production”

said President Eyadéma



President Eyadéma at the Lomé III signing ceremony

With his customary blend of warmth and level-headedness, the Togolese Head of State, General Gnassingbé Eyadéma, expressed his keen desire to see ACP-EEC cooperation strengthened by the signing of the third Convention, not merely in regulating economic relations but henceforth in the cultural and purely human spheres as well. The President of the Togolese Republic pledged his country's contribution “in its own way” to ensuring a positive outcome, but he warned of the problems that could upset the special relationship between the ACP and EEC groups if “certain necessary measures” were not taken at international level with the support, or at the instigation, of the EEC. President Eyadéma went on to say:

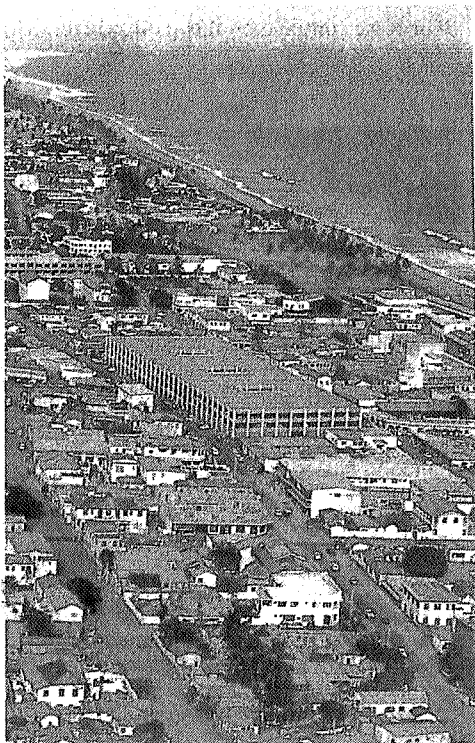
“Even now, if nothing is done to remedy the problem of Third World debts, it is still to be feared that the gulf between the countries of the South and the North will grow wider.

It is thus time that the peoples of the developed countries in general and of Europe in particular, understand the

prime importance of cooperation so that our relations may be guided by the noble principles of the community of human destiny and the mutual interests of peoples. It is these principles, on which the Lomé Convention is already based, which from now on must guide our steps in pursuit of the New Order, which is long in coming.

When we have succeeded in introducing fairness into international trade and all products fetch a fair price on the world market, free of the influence of speculators, we shall have taken the decisive step on this road. Then cooperation will have taken on a different meaning, with economically equal partners facing one another, conscious of their interdependence and their complementarity.

In the immediate future, it is extremely urgent for us that more effective measures than those employed up to now should be taken to lighten the burden of public debt on the Third World; the mechanisms set up within the international monetary organizations as well as through the Clubs of Paris or London only serve to put our sick economies to sleep, without being able to cure them.



capital of Togo



Thousands of Togolese enlivened the celebration of ACP-EEC cooperation

EEC COUNCIL

Another North-South Conference?

We feel that more vigorous measures, extending even to simply cancelling certain debts, are more in order. With this in mind, a frank, objective dialogue should be established between the debtor countries and their creditors.

This dialogue could take the form of another North-South Conference under the aegis of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

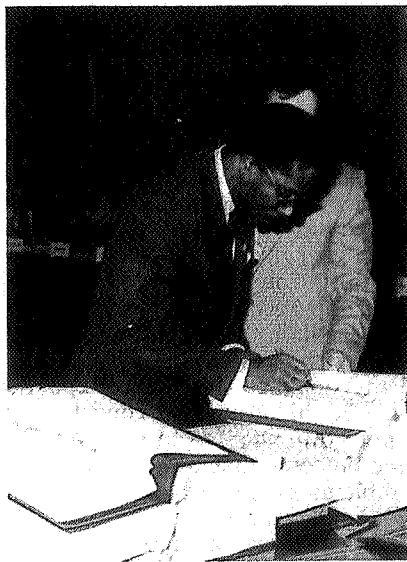
For us, another auspicious idea is to set up a Special Fund under the World Bank, intended to relaunch the economies of the African countries in the greatest difficulties, and our European partners should encourage this.

In this world of selfishness and lack of understanding, where the voice of the poor is far from being heard, the Third World countries should start by relying on their own efforts.

If through the Lomé Convention we are holding out one hand to nations better endowed than we are, it seems to me that the other hand should be extended to our brothers in the same state as ourselves. By this I mean that we must investigate ways and means of stepping up South-South cooperation and particularly cooperation among the ACP.

To achieve this aim, five years ago, in this very hall, I proposed the setting up of a Chamber of Commerce or some other structure to expedite trade between our countries. I think it is time that this idea became reality. For we need to form

a homogeneous bloc so that North-South cooperation, made possible especially by the transfer of technology, may enable us to raise the value of our production. But this transfer will not take place without an effort from our countries.



Mr Yaovi Adodo, Togolese Minister of Planning, signs the Convention; as Togo's Ambassador in Brussels, he also played an important role in the negotiations

EEC COUNCIL

Taking "the initiative on technology rather than wait for it to come to them"

We must realise that it will no longer be a question of struggling to attain

something which may be unattainable. Third World countries must take the initiative on technology rather than wait for it to come to them.

This is because it is the northern countries, the guardians of technology, who determine the selling price of our raw materials, process them and sell them back to us at prices which they fix unilaterally, sometimes multiplying by ten the price of the very product they have bought from us.

In this manner, the rich countries become ever richer and the poor countries ever poorer, and at present no futurologist can say where it will end.

Meanwhile, we note with resentment that industrialized countries devote enormous capital sums to the exploration of space without seeking to find out how the other people who are on the earth with them are living.

What use will humanity be able to make of conquering space and mastering all the technologies and sciences which enable it to dominate the world if this world is still peopled with injustice, self-interest, scorn of others, poverty, misery, famine and ignorance?

It appears to us that the moment has come to draw the developed countries' attention to the dangers of this policy, which has the effect of interrupting the North-South Dialogue and jeopardizing the achievements of international cooperation.

For if we continue on this path, where the weakest are further weakened by the law of profit and the strongest are ever stronger, a breaking point must eventually be reached.

The weapon of the weak, who no longer have any other recourse in resisting oppression, the exploitation of man by man and injustice, is *revolt*.

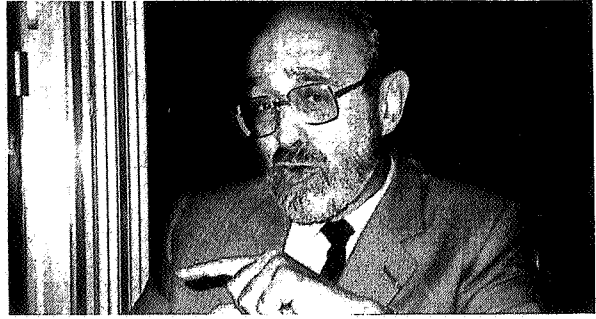
We do not wish to turn to this extreme solution, of which there are already signs in some areas. The industrialized countries should thus re-examine their positions and seek more adequate means of lightening the burden of foreign debt on the developing countries, which are at present driven into a corner and condemned to austerity measures incompatible with their minimum development programmes."

The Head of State also pointed out the serious danger in Third World countries of super-power overarmament.

"In the meanwhile it falls to us, the peoples of the Third World, to set an example by preventing any armed conflict between our States and avoiding subscribing to systems which could draw us into international conflicts (...)." ◊

Giving tangible expression through frank and fair dialogue to the hopes raised by the new Convention

A message from Edgard Pisani, Commissioner for Development



No policy can be great if it is not laid down for the long term. At the same time, it must not become rooted in immobility. This was the paradox which the policy of Lomé resolved with the signing of the third ACP-EEC Convention at Lomé on 8 December 1984.

The continuity of the Community's development policy is based on faithful adherence to an overall concept of cooperation which is itself founded on dialogue, equality and mutual respect of the partners within a contractual framework. In the new Convention, this concept is first outlined in the "General provisions" which define the spirit of our cooperation and summarize what has already been achieved. It is further shown by the retention of the institutional framework of cooperation and of the institutional means established in previous agreements on various matters, be they trade, financial and technical cooperation, raw materials or mineral products.

As far as changes are concerned, they have come about from the lessons of the past. In this context, they have been designed to remove causes of misunderstanding, to make the Convention clearer, more solid and stricter in its execution; but it was also found necessary to ensure that the means and the will had to be better harnessed towards the objective of development. Everything for development—that is truly the key to Lomé III. That is the explanation of the priority given to the search for greater effectiveness in our cooperation within the framework of operations based on dialogue and planning. That is also why changes have been made to Stabex, Sysmin, the trade arrangements and the special protocols annexed to the Convention.

But the ambitions of the policies enshrined in Lomé go further than that: they seek to be a practical model of cooperation, in trying to find answers to the real problems facing developing countries. Who can fail to see today that the greatest problem, the greatest peril, is

hunger? The evidence before us more than justifies the priority given by the third Convention to food security in ACP countries: this will be sought by various means, by developing local production and improving marketing as well as by efficient use of food aid, seen not as a mere palliative but as a tool for development which can be integrated with food strategies benefitting from Community support on the basis of two years' experience of operation in certain ACP countries.

In the same spirit, Europe has agreed to set up a system for supplying ACP countries with its own surplus agricultural products. This is a task which will require a certain degree of inventiveness, but it is vital and it must succeed.

Another example of a practical problem: desertification. Yesterday the desert was a geographical fact, today we know it as a menace. An evil gnawing away almost inexorably at an entire continent. How do we combat it? The fight against desertification will call for considerable resources over a very long period of time: the new Convention does not hope to conduct the fight alone, limited as it is in time and in resources, but it does offer, in the framework of regional cooperation, a chance to get the process under way so that desertification can be halted and the biological balance of Africa restored, by concerting the efforts of all concerned within the scope of a long-term plan of action.

The objectives are ambitious but they respond to incontrovertible necessities. To recognize this is to look at the financial package for Lomé III in a certain way. In this matter, Europe has not flinched; it has held the course steadily for well-founded solidarity by increasing its contribution in real terms. This is no small achievement at a time when international cooperation efforts lose some of their substance day by day, or disappear altogether. However, in the face of the need, who would not have wanted to do more?

Official development aid, to which the

Community brings its contribution, is not the whole story. One of its major functions is to attract and support private initiatives, and in this regard the new Convention maintains its innovative character by seeking to stimulate the European private sector and to get it involved more deeply in ACP economies. It hopes to do this by stressing the need to protect European investments and by defining clearly the framework of a more active involvement of the private sector in areas of mutual interest, for example, fishing, maritime transport, mining, energy and industry.

Mutual interest, mutual respect: if the new Convention had to be summed up briefly, that is how I would choose to do it. Now, to respect others, one must recognize their culture and their personality, and thus it is that, in a quite natural way, social and cultural cooperation has found a place in the new Convention, and is one of its most characteristic innovations.

But after this beginning, we have gone further, since, for the first time since Lomé policies took effect, the Convention affirms "the right of each individual in his own country or his host country, to respect for his dignity and the protection of the law" and spells out the determination of all the signatories to fight discrimination in all its forms and to work for the elimination of apartheid. With this declaration, we are putting a name to the essential beneficiary of all our cooperation: man.

In concluding Lomé III, we have crossed some difficult terrain, and while we may congratulate ourselves on reaching our destination, there is much that remains to be done. However, this is the moment when I must leave you, and I will not repeat here with what sadness this fills me but rather concentrate on my wishes for you all, in the Community and the ACP States; that you will be able to find, through a process of frank, fair and unambiguous dialogue, a way of giving tangible expression to the hopes which have been raised by the new Convention. o

Commentaries by the former co-Presidents of the ACP-EEC Council during the negotiations

Archie MOGWE:
(Botswana)

“Partners should not ignore, nor worse yet, abet, the undermining of the Convention”

The following is an extract from the address given by Archie Mogwe (Botswana), President of the ACP Council of Ministers, at the opening of the negotiations in October 1983:

“For us, in this joint endeavour, the overriding objective is that any future cooperation arrangement must be capable of making a major and effective contribution to the ACP effort at overcoming the immediate problems of economic and social survival and contributing significantly to the removal of the stubborn longer-term problems of under-development, thereby helping to launch ACP States on the path to self-reliant development.

The preoccupation of the ACP States with self-reliant development springs from a realization that the foreign models of development which many of our societies have been led to embrace and implant, have failed. Attempts to sup-

plant indigenous values and cultures by foreign ones through their technological goods and services tend only to deepen our dependence and to reduce our resilience to external shocks. In such a state of dependency, with our increased vulnerability, it is not surprising that the withdrawal or reduction of external support results in unprecedented collapse as now threatens many of our economies and societies.

Cooperation, through a new Convention, must alter this trend and give support to our self-reliant development through the reinforcement of our indigenous cultures (...).

Supporting these objectives of our future cooperation must be a number of fundamental principles. Prime among these are mutual respect for the sovereignty of contracting parties, true equality of partnership and respect for the overall development strategies and priorities of each state (...). The embodiment and observance of these principles must be more adequately assured than is the case at present (...).

It is also necessary that we embrace, as a basic principle, that the development and advancement of the partners in the Convention should not be subordinated to other considerations. As such, there will be need always for all partners in the Convention to sustain the integrity and efficacy of such a Convention. Partners should not ignore, nor worse yet, abet, the undermining of the Con-

vention. When individual Member States of the Community adopt internal measures offsetting or contradicting the Community's policies in relation to the Convention to which they are parties, the Convention is vitiated. When, as is the present situation, Member States cooperate with a racist country which uses the fruit of its economic might to wreak havoc on the lives, the property and the developmental efforts of ACP States, the Convention is vitiated. (...)

Y. HARALAMBOPOULOS
(Greece)

“The continuation of a fruitful cooperation...”

The new ACP-EEC Convention, which was signed for the third time at Lomé on 8 December 1984, and whose objectives were to continue, to reinforce and to improve cooperation between the European Communities and 65 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, represents one of the most complete instruments of cooperation between developed and developing countries.

The start of the negotiations for the renewal of Lomé II took place in October 1983, at a time when my country held the Presidency of the European Communities and when I had the honour to preside at the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Ten. It was experience of the past, added to our own desire to contribute to a dynamic evolution of relationships between the Community and our ACP partners, that helped us to accomplish the difficult task which faced us at that time.

The negotiations which followed were long and difficult, but they had as their basic aim the improvement of the framework of our relationship, in which we could establish the priorities for extending and deepening a cooperation which would be open, balanced and fruitful. The principal objectives of the new accord, which were accepted by both the ACP States and the Member States of the Community, and enshrined by their recent signing of the Lomé Convention were the principle of self-determination, respect for each country's individual characteristics, the quest for greater self-



Left to right, Archie Mogwe, Yannis Haralambopoulos and Edgard Pisani on 6 October 1983 in Luxembourg

sufficiency in food supplies and the preservation and optimal utilization of natural resources.

I am convinced that both contracting parties see their interests as lying in the continuation of a fruitful cooperation based on mutual interest, and it is therefore my wish that the new ACP-EEC Convention—Lomé III—will become the instrument of ACP economic development, whilst at the same time contributing to the construction of a new international economic order, which is the fundamental and indispensable precondition in any quest for peace, stability and global security. o

Hugh SHEARER
(Jamaica)

“An achievement of which both sides can be proud”

The signing of the third ACP-EEC Convention in Lomé in December 1984 marked the end of an extremely difficult fifteen months of long and hard negotiations. This was not surprising as these negotiations took place during a period when the global economic situation was at its gloomiest. The fact that the ACP were able to renew with the European Community a third agreement, which is still unique in the context of North-South relations, is an achievement of which both sides can be proud. The fact that the spirit in which the negotiations took place was frank and friendly is a positive sign for our continued cooperation.

The third Lomé Convention, in addition to the special provision enshrining the benefits acquired under the previous two agreements, also contains a number of new elements which, I hope, will give an added and more meaningful dimension to our cooperation. These areas include the sections on private investment, drought and desertification, and cultural cooperation. There were, of course, areas of disappointment. The Convention does not provide sufficiently significant new concessions in the area of trade, which is a vital element in the resuscitation and development of ACP economies. I had the honour to be President of the ACP ministerial council during the first half of 1984 and to be associated with the negotiations to the very end. I would like to pay tribute to all those who participated, particularly to Minister Mogwe, who opened the negotiations during his presidency, to Minister Na-



Hugh Shearer and Claude Cheysson

maliu, who had presidential responsibility for concluding the negotiations, to my other ministerial colleagues, to the Committee of Ambassadors and to the staff of the ACP Secretariat. The will to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement was evident in the dedication, patience and skill displayed by all during the negotiations.

This agreement has created renewed hopes and aspirations among our peoples. If we fail to achieve the goals we set ourselves we will not only damage our credibility but also increase the frustration and disillusionment among the populations we represent and serve.

It is my fervent hope and belief that the genuine spirit of cooperation which was displayed during the negotiations will continue through the life of Lomé III. o

C. CHEYSSON
(France)

“Providing a framework for all forms of development assistance...”

With the conclusion of the third Lomé Convention, the underlying principles of the previous Conventions and the broad outlines of their policy pursued with determination over a number of years have been confirmed.

It represents among other things, a negotiated and subsequently contractual relationship between the regions of the North and the South, removing aid and cooperation from the vicissitudes of bi-

lateral relations, providing a guarantee that the help coming from the North does not give rise to pressure or interference in the internal affairs of recipient states, nor that it depends on the alignment of their foreign policy.

It is a global approach, providing a framework for all forms of development assistance: official development aid, public finance, investment, access to markets, trade promotion, technical cooperation, training, insurance against bad harvests, permanent consultation (or “policy dialogue”) integration of socio-cultural data (including the human rights aspect), exchange of views between parliamentarians... in contrast to the other type of relationship between developed and developing countries which differentiates between the types of aid and treats them unequally.

Finally, it is an ongoing commitment on the part of the Community which provides a guarantee of continuity and enables the partners to implement plans and programmes which must, of necessity, cover several years.

Thus, not only is the original approach of Lomé confirmed—which is in itself noteworthy in a period which has seen efforts elsewhere decelerate or move systematically towards bilateral relations, with their greater scope for pressure at each operation or concession—but it is actually improved—as witness, for example, cooperation on fisheries and an improved framework for encouraging investment.

I have worked for this approach over a number of years and have always sought to improve upon it as the occasion arose. I feel that there are good reasons for feeling pride and satisfaction in the results obtained. o

Lomé III has reinforced the dynamic of ACP-EEC cooperation

by Yaya DIARRA

Ambassador of Mali,
Chairman of the ACP Committee of Ambassadors
during the final phase of the negotiations

The signing at Lomé of the third ACP-EEC Convention, linking 65 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific with 10 countries of the European Economic Community, constitutes a major political event.

It is witness to the desire of the two sides to create a model of a relationship between industrialized and developing countries, founded on interdependence, friendship and solidarity. It shows their determination to bring to the service of their cooperation an organized framework, unique in its way, to structure this cooperation in several areas.

The contracting parties, that is to say the 75 ACP and European States, represent half the membership of the United Nations and their combined population is of the order of six hundred million. The EEC is the world's major economic power. The ACP grouping is the largest grouping of developing countries engaged in a multilateral process of cooperation.

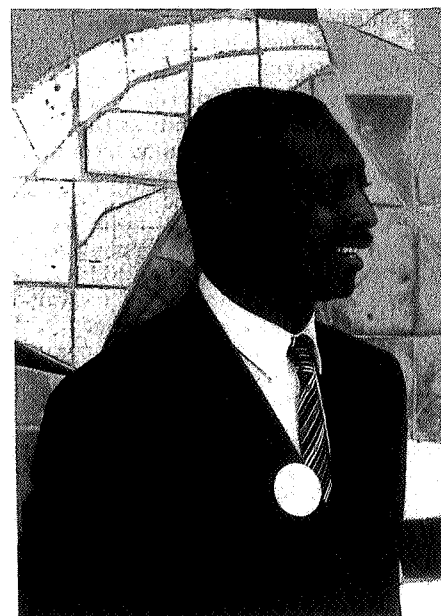
The signature of the Convention is also a completion. Negotiations continued for 14 months. They were intensive, arduous and sometimes dramatic. They required from its craftsmen a great deal of effort. The difficulty of the exercise, the scope and importance of what was at stake, the complexity and dryness of some of the subjects under discussion, all required on the part of the negotiators courage, imagination, flexibility, perseverance and a remarkable sense of responsibility. In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee of Ambassadors during what is generally considered to have been the most crucial and difficult phase of the negotiations, I should like to pay them a well-deserved tribute.

Negotiations between the EEC and the ACP Group almost always seem to take place when the partners have overriding economic and social problems to preoccupy them. In October 1983, the moment when negotiations opened, the world economic outlook was not brilliant, and all were agreed that the situation was worse than in 1973 or 1978.

The scale of the devastating repercussions of the world economic recession on

ACP countries, and especially African ones, was unprecedented. The deterioration of their economies, caused by drought and other natural disasters, was aggravated by the slump in prices for raw materials, the uncontrolled rise in interest rates, violent exchange-rate fluctuations, protectionism, balance-of-payments problems, increase in foreign debt and the fall, in real terms, of official development aid.

From the outset of the negotiations, the ACP Group strove to make known, especially in its memorandum, how alarmed it had become by the deepening of the recession. Quite naturally, the ACP negotiators were determined to devise a Convention which would be a tool capable of making an effective contribution to the economic and social progress of their countries and the well-being of their peoples. Faced with this attitude, the Representatives of the Member States only too readily projected the image of a Europe turning inwards but at the same time ready to lay down the law. In their view, the negotiations were a



Yaya Diarra

relatively simple exercise: generous Europe was going through a difficult phase but it would offer what help it could. These Representatives, on the pretext of increasing efficiency, tried to impose more rigid conditions upon the giving of Community aid.

Faced with this divergence of aims, the opening positions of each Group gave rise to a number of misunderstandings, and the negotiations were shot through with periods of tension. Any result obtained under such conditions is

It was a "long march" from 6 October 1983 right up to 8 December 1984



Dieter Frisch

bound to receive differing appreciations, and severe criticisms were undoubtedly expressed. But realism and objectivity required recognition of the merits of those whose inspiration and craftsmanship achieved this final result, in the Commission as well as in the ACP Group.

The third Lomé Convention, in following the logic of ACP-EEC cooperation, will be seen as improving the second Convention, and expanding upon previous ones. New areas of cooperation have been opened up to take account of the very real challenges to the development of the ACP countries: greater help for food self-sufficiency and security, the fight against drought and desertification, the inclusion of the social and cultural dimensions, and so on.

The chapters on ACP States' access to capital markets and on the promotion of private investment also open up new perspectives and throw down a challenge for the future. They go beyond the framework of our cooperation and open it up to economic operators in Europe and the ACP countries. Future conventions will doubtless widen this opening.

To sum up, then, despite some real causes for dissatisfaction, it must be said that the third Lomé Convention has reinforced the dynamic of ACP-EEC cooperation. And it must further be said that it expresses the vitality of that cooperation whose originality lies in its capacity to adapt itself to new requirements and to face the challenges of the future. ◊

Y.D.

Lomé III: living through difficult negotiations

by Dieter FRISCH

Director-General for Development
and negotiator for the Community

The long, hard year of negotiation is over. Those who bore the brunt of the work now feel that a load has been taken from their shoulders, and that their efforts have been rewarded.

Not that the Community and the ACP States have reason to be triumphalist: Lomé III is far from being perfect. They do, however, have cause to be genuinely satisfied with the outcome of their negotiations. In an international climate still showing all the signs of economic crisis and faced with deadlock in the North-South dialogue in all the major international fora, they have succeeded, in time to allow continuity in their contractual relations, in successfully ending tough negotiations whose outcome was by no means a foregone conclusion. This, in itself, is a major political achievement which testifies to a deep sense of realism and responsibility on the part of the participants and to their awareness of what is at stake.

And yet the negotiations were by no means easy.

They were difficult, firstly, because of the conditions in which they took place: the gloomy international climate and the crisis in the major international financial institutions could have blighted the negotiations. Instead, they were regarded by the negotiators as representing a challenge—willing them on to show to the world that Lomé remained a multilateral North-South forum and one which maintained its dynamism and its exemplary nature.

The situation within the Community itself was hardly encouraging. Plunged as it was in budgetary crises and bogged down with the economic problems posed by Spanish and Portuguese entry, was it likely that the Community would be prepared to devote to the Lomé III negotiations the political will requisite for a successful outcome? Recognizing the importance of what was at stake, the Community, throughout a full year, gave to Lomé a prominent place in Community discussions, alongside others concerning not merely the Community's wellbeing but its very survival.

Furthermore, the negotiations were difficult by virtue of the sheer numbers of participants involved. Can one imag-

ine what it means to negotiate a cooperation agreement, to be operational in its many facets, between 66 developing countries and the Community with its 10 Member States? In terms of numbers of countries, that is equivalent to almost half the United Nations. Sixty-six developing countries represents more than half the Third World countries in the UN. What diversity of situation and of interest the negotiations had to take account of! It gives an idea of the extent of the negotiation efforts that the ACP group had to make between themselves before they could put their position with a single voice to their European partners. And, nevertheless, this they managed to do, and great credit must be given to the ACP negotiators for their achievement. To defend, through a single spokesman, the interests of the countries of the Sahel, of countries exporting tropical products, of the far islands of the Caribbean and the Pacific, of economies dominated by agriculture, industry, mining or tourism ... this is rather more of an achievement than uniting in a political resolution at a UN General Assembly!

On the Community side, the position was much the same. The divide between the northerly countries, more inclined to make trade concessions—were there any left which would make a real impact?—but pulling the purse strings tighter nevertheless, and the southerly countries, fearing trade concessions (not because of the ACP but because of the precedent that would be created vis-à-vis far more formidable competitors), but tending towards greater generosity, had never been more in evidence. The debate that had to take place within the Community itself, therefore, before the negotiator could face the ACP partners with a mandate enabling it to get down to serious discussion, can be imagined.

On both sides, the negotiations had the effect of closing ranks and consolidating the groups present. The ACP group emerged from the discussions strengthened and calmed. For the Community, the challenge that the negotiations represented gave a new stimulus to integration. The signing of the Convention was, indeed, one of the few positive achievements of the Community in 1984.



EEC COUNCIL

If the negotiations proved to be "difficult" the atmosphere on both sides was good ...

Finally, the negotiations were tough because of the subject matter they had to cover. The two sides had undertaken, in effect, to renegotiate everything. There was to be no question of a simple renewal! History now shows—though Yaoundé I and II, and Lomé I and II—that, in practice, major negotiations take place at intervals of 10 years. Yaoundé I and Lomé I were real negotiations; Yaoundé II and Lomé II were more a matter of updating prior conventions. Lomé III was, again, a genuine renegotiation.

While it is undoubtedly true that the various areas and instruments of cooperation that had proved worthwhile in the past now became part of the "acquis", it was also the case that, in order to prepare the negotiations, both sides had to take a critical look at past performances, whether successes or failures. They wanted the lessons learned to be reflected in the new convention. This, therefore, is the origin of the main innovations in the new text. Even the structure of the new convention has been radically altered: it now begins with a vitally important chapter setting out the objectives, guidelines and methods of cooperation. Lomé III puts man at the centre of development efforts—man both as the agent of development and as the object of our development efforts, respected in his fundamental dignity.

Priorities are realigned: concentration is on grassroots development, integrated in its cultural and social environment, with the peasant and the rural world taking first place and with emphasis on food security as a target. The new convention is of a long-term character, attaching real importance to the preserva-

tion of man's natural environment, to the fight against the degradation of agricultural potential, against erosion and desertification. It opens up new perspectives in cooperation by tackling, without ideological tension, such delicate questions as the promotion and protection of private investment. The negotiators' attitude was, moreover, marked by their constant desire to ensure the greatest possible efficiency in cooperation in terms of development, leading to the move away from support to isolated projects and towards support for policies and to sectoral strategies. Hence the need for more thorough dialogue, to ensure the coherent insertion of cooperation instruments in the development policy independently chosen by our partners (and not to attempt to interfere in that policy!). Hence, also, certain modifications in the workings of the Stabex system... So many questions—and here I have only raised a few, taken more or less at random—which meant that these truly substantial negotiations led to a completely new convention.

And they were genuine negotiations! Those who think that negotiations between the Community and the ACP Group reflect a relationship between donor and beneficiary countries are mistaken. I would have liked them to have had the opportunity of taking part in one of our negotiation sessions to see for themselves that they represented meetings of partners in the true sense. The awareness of genuine interdependence set the tone for the negotiations. Neither should one underestimate the strength of our ACP partners, derived from representing a group of 66 countries, the main preoccupations of which they had made

their own. The Group's bargaining power—here was a vital aspect of the new international economic order!

One remarkable aspect was that the climate in which these difficult and complex negotiations were conducted was always constructive. They in no way resembled the atmosphere of confrontation which, alas, is so often the hallmark of discussions in major international circles. This is not, of course, to say that there was never any tension, never moments of crisis: there were, and dramatic ones, even. But the positions of the two sides were always defended with sound arguments and with a fierce determination to reach agreement.

All this was only possible because, with the passage of time and through multiple contacts and common experiences, the personalities involved began to know and to respect each other, to explain themselves openly and to speak to each other candidly. This immense fund of goodwill is, also, part of the "acquis" of Lomé which, I am firmly convinced, is a sure guarantee of ACP-EEC relations. I feel personally enriched and grateful for the friendships that difficult negotiation relations succeeded in creating or strengthening.

The long, hard year of negotiation is over. Lomé III is signed. But Lomé III will be the sum of what we can make of it together. I hope that all those directly or indirectly involved in its application will show the same determination, the same political will and the same imagination as the negotiators, so that the texts come to life and so that their development objectives and intentions may become reality. ◊

D.F.

The main features of Lomé III⁽¹⁾

The new Convention signed in Lomé on 8 December by the Community and its Member States and by the 65 countries of the ACP Group, following just over a year of negotiations, will govern ACP-EEC relations for a further period of five years.

This is the culmination of both sides' desire, expressed at the opening of the negotiations, to "continue, intensify and increase the effectiveness" of cooperation based on solidarity and mutual interest.

A more solid foundation

In the new Lomé Convention the rights acquired and obligations established under the earlier Conventions have first of all been confirmed and these now go to make up a kind of "common heritage" of ACP-EEC cooperation, reaffirming very clearly in this context the principles of non-interference and mutual respect for the sovereignty of the partners. This Convention, like the earlier pacts, provides for secure cooperation relations on the basis of a single contract freely negotiated between two regional groupings and between equal partners, on the basis of an overall approach comprising a combination of the different cooperation instruments and predictable aid from the Community for

(1) This outline is based on Commission documents.

the duration of the Convention. This model for cooperation has been deliberately set to take account of neutrality and respect for individual national and cultural features.

A more effective Convention

Having learned lessons from the changes in the world economic environment, the particular difficulties confronting the ACP countries and especially the experience of nearly a quarter of a century of cooperation, the Community and the ACP States sought to find and to establish all the components and arrangements that would help make aid more effective. This was the negotiators' main concern and it is reflected in all aspects of the Convention, both in the objectives and priorities set for cooperation, which are stated clearly right from the start, in

the general provisions; in the working method, which was designed, through a dialogue between equal partners and more thoroughgoing exchanges of views, to ensure that Community aid fitted in better with the ACP countries' own development efforts; and in the instruments of cooperation—the trade arrangements, Stabex, Sysmin, protocols and special trade arrangements—all the mechanisms of which have been overhauled in detail with a view to rendering them more effective in development terms, to meet new requirements. It is also reflected in the numerous areas of cooperation, both old and new, which have all been established by reference to objectives and priorities worked out jointly, and in line with the basic approach aimed at more self-reliant development for the ACP States and comprising coordinated development operations, programmes and policies.

Numerous innovations

There are numerous innovations in the new Convention and extensions have been added which broaden and deepen the scope of cooperation.

The provisions on cultural and social cooperation constitute both a new area of cooperation and a complement to

"The framework and scope of long-term operations (campaigns with specific themes) for the preservation of natural balances, and for drought and desertification control in particular, are also established under the Convention"

operations in all the other areas, since it is becoming increasingly obvious that a crucial factor for success is that the cultural and social dimension be taken into account.

The framework and scope of long-term operations (campaigns with specific themes) for the preservation of natural balances, and for drought and desertification control in particular, are also established under the Convention.

The Convention provides a framework for private investment; it contains principles and provides for operations that are virtually unprecedented in similar multilateral agreements between industrialized and developing countries.

The new Convention also provides a framework for further cooperation in the spheres of fisheries and shipping, taking account both of the growing importance of these sectors for the development of the ACP countries and of developments in the world as a whole, such as the United Nations Conference on the Law of

the Sea and the Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences.

The ACP-EEC consultation mechanisms have been strengthened under the new Convention, as have the joint institutions, which are the main fora for dialogue and cooperation.

Lastly, for the first time, the question of human rights and respect for human dignity was dealt with explicitly in the Convention; this is the logical consequence of the emphasis that is being placed in cooperation on the well-being of the population, the satisfaction of people's basic needs, the central role played by man in development and the enhancement of human potential. There is a joint declaration reaffirming that: "Every individual has the right, in his own country or in a host country, to respect for his dignity and protection by the law". The same declaration also reiterates the parties' undertaking to fight all forms of discrimination and to work for the eradication of apartheid.

A great financial effort

Of course, the financing available under the new Convention will not suffice on its own to solve the ACP countries' development problems. Nor can it be denied that the funds fall short of the hopes that were expressed and the claims made. However, in a particularly unfavourable international climate, where most of the multilateral development financing institutions are finding their capacity for action reduced (and sometimes considerably), this contribution has been increased beyond a mere updating to take account of inflation. The financial package of the Convention amounts to 8 500 million ECU (see the insert for a breakdown by instrument), which means an increase of nearly 60% in relation to Lomé II, of which 7 400 million ECU in EDF funds (up 59% in comparison with Lomé II) and 1 100 million ECU in own resources from the EIB (up 60% in comparison with Lomé II).

Developments in the main areas and instruments of cooperation

Clearer objectives in a more readable Convention

For the first time the Convention will have an introductory part, which will, as it were, constitute the framework for the texts as a whole and which are the outcome of thorough discussion at the start of the negotiations on the general objectives of ACP-EEC cooperation, on the underlying principles and on how to put it into practice. Emphasis is placed on the need for more self-reliant and self-sustained development of the ACP States, with support from the Community. The principles of respect for the sovereignty of the parties and equality between partners is reaffirmed. The mutual interest of the partners in cooperation and their interdependence is stated, as are the central role of man in cooperation, his well-being, the importance of food production and the special attention that must be paid to the least-developed, landlocked and island countries.

This part, which also contains the essential principles governing the various cooperation instruments and also the Convention's aims and guidelines in the main areas of cooperation, constitutes the political expression of what has been achieved by reinforced and renewed cooperation over a quarter of a century—an "acquis" that was described during the negotiations as the "common heritage" of the partners.

More suitable and more effective financial and technical cooperation

(a) The key item in the efforts to achieve effectiveness is the entirely new, ambitious programming process which has been set up after long and difficult negotiations. Whereas the main feature of the old system was the search for projects to be financed in sectors more or less clearly defined, the new process is based on genuine coordination of action between donors and recipient countries, account being taken of those countries' own choices of development strategy. The idea is to discuss and identify, by means of thoroughgoing exchanges of views, in the light of shared experience, not only projects and operations, but especially sectors on which to focus the Community's financial support, development objectives and priorities, and the most suitable means of achieving them and matching them to the countries' policies.

(b) The major new feature in Lomé III as regards the sectors of cooperation is that of no longer confining action exclusively to the search for and execution of new capital projects, but of extending the range of possible operations, in order to step up effectiveness, to operations of the programme-aid type (programmes to promote sectoral development and imports, the purpose of which is to help achieve maximum return from the pro-

ductive sectors), going as far as the financing of inputs in the productive system and, above all, the financing of maintenance (both in the start-up period and as a follow-up to operations undertaken earlier). Operations financed by the EIB itself will be able to cover the rehabilitation of industrial, energy and mining projects and no longer only the building of new installations.

(c) As regards procedures, improved cooperation through an ongoing dialogue will make it possible, within a revamped standing joint committee (formerly the "Article 108 Committee") at the level of ministers, ambassadors and experts, to examine systematically practical difficulties hampering execution, implementation procedures and bottlenecks caused by red tape, so that, whenever necessary, attention can be drawn to delays and cumbersome practices in order to improve efficiency. In this context particular attention is to be paid to joint evaluation. At every stage, whether of financing decisions on development projects or matters of daily routine such as the issue of invitations to tender, the award of contracts, the preparation and approval of shortlists of technical assistance consultancies or experts, to quote only a few examples, strict time-limits for replying and taking action have been fixed and will have to be observed. In addition, the Article 108 Committee's role has been reinforced.

(d) The microproject procedure,

which makes it possible to act at grass-roots level (beyond the reach of large-scale projects that eat up financial resources) rapidly and with an effectiveness guaranteed by the participation in the financing and implementation of schemes of the people concerned by them, has been extended to medium-scale operations in the form of sets of small schemes in a specific sector for which it will be possible to take overall decisions, under a programme, while leaving it to the national authorities, with the approval of the Commission's delegate on the spot, to approve the individual decision without having to refer back to Brussels.

(e) Technical cooperation, in the interests of greater effectiveness, has undergone profound reforms affecting its nature (greater consideration of the needs, better adaptation to local conditions, the taking into account of own resources) and also the implementing procedures. (Priority for tendering, with the double aim of increasing the openness of operations and keeping down costs, which are often excessive.)

(f) The range of means available for taking action in cases of emergency, whenever natural or other disasters occur, has been extended in two directions: even greater flexibility in the definition of the operations and products it will be possible to finance without, of course, going as far as the financing of reconstruction work, and—a real innovation in ACP-EEC Conventions—the funding of schemes to integrate and rehabilitate refugees. Funds have been earmarked for this purpose outside the indicative programmes, with separate amounts for emergency aid and refugees.

Trade: more barriers down

Lomé is not only a Convention on aid. It is also an extremely liberal trade agreement which guarantees duty-free entry to the Community market for virtually everything the ACP countries produce. It was not that easy to improve on the Lomé I trade arrangements because they were already the most liberal in the world. Nevertheless, from Convention to Convention, we have seen the last obstacles to ACP exports to the Community being whittled away and operations for the development of trade and services being built up into a system.

Access for agricultural products: with the new text comes an extension and improvement of the procedures governing the processing of ACP requests for preferential access for their agricultural products. Provision is made, notably, for a precise time-limit for response to such requests (six months). Regarding re-

quests for more favourable tariff arrangements, the Community will take account of the concessions granted to other developing countries in respect of the same products, and of the possibilities offered by the off-season market.

Safeguard clause: the provisions of Lomé II are maintained, with the addition of an annex setting out the arrangements for applying the prior consultation process decided upon by the ACP-EEC Council in May 1983. These arrangements will prevent any unforeseen recourse to safeguard measures.

Particular products: the rights and obligations under Lomé II as regards bananas, beef and veal, rice and rum are maintained or improved upon in the new Convention.

Development of trade and services: under the new Convention:

- (i) the objectives of trade promotion are broadened to include cooperation aimed at stepping up the ACP States' capacity to expand trade on a self-reliant basis. For example, aid will be provided for devising a trade strategy, for improving contacts between those engaged in economic activity and for increased regional cooperation, paying special attention to local markets (and regional and international markets) and South-South trade;
- (ii) new emphasis is placed on expertise in the tourist industry by the ACP States;
- (iii) the scope of operations is broadened to include services; for example, technical assistance may be provided for export credits and insurance.

Rules of origin: the present system of rules of origin has been considerably simplified under the new Convention, which will make it easier for the ACP States to understand and use. For example, a general tolerance rule of 5% of non-originating components has been introduced. The derogation system has been improved by the granting of longer derogation periods and the introduction of the value added criterion, together with a favourable disposition from the outset towards granting derogations. Better account is taken of the ACP States' needs regarding the rules of origin for fishery products. One restriction (50% of the value of the products, parts or components used in the manufacture of a product must be originating) has been lifted in respect of a number of lines of interest to the ACP States.

Stabex: better risk coverage

The best-known of the Convention's instruments is probably the mechanism

for the stabilization of export earnings (Stabex). Set up under Lomé I to cover losses of earnings caused by a drop in prices or production of the main ACP agricultural exports, the system worked perfectly for the lifetime of that Convention. Under Lomé II, Stabex went through two years of crisis, which led to a reduction of transfers. Lessons have been learned from past experience and the instrument has been made more effective under the new Convention.

(a) The system's coverage of risks has been extended under the new Convention by adding three new products of interest to the ACP countries (dried bananas, mangoes and shea nut oil). There are now 48 products on the list, all agricultural (the system no longer covers iron ore). The dependence and fluctuation thresholds have been lowered (general lowering from 6.5% to 6% and lowering from 2% to 1.5% for the least-developed, landlocked and island countries). Part of the annual instalment is to be invested in the market, over certain periods of the year, and this will generate interest to boost the Stabex resources.

(b) The usual method of calculating the equivalent of the transfer basis in ECU has been maintained in the new Convention, but there is an innovation consisting of a mechanism to correct the effects of applying the method where excessive exchange-rate fluctuations occur. The corrective mechanism is two-way; it works when the ACP State's currency is revalued or devalued vis-à-vis the ECU.

(c) The Convention contains clear rules for reducing transfers where funds prove insufficient to cover all acknowledged claims during a given year.

(d) Stricter administrative rules and improved guarantees that the use made of the funds conforms to the objectives of the system are the main innovations here. In the latter respect, discipline has been stepped up as regards subsequent reports on use. The possibility exists, should an ACP persist in defaulting, of deferring application of any new transfer decision.

Agricultural commodities: wider cooperation

The new Chapter on agricultural commodities confirms the extreme dependence of most ACP States on their export of such products and recognizes the need to make judicious use of all the instruments and resources that can be of service to the sector. A joint committee on agricultural commodities is being set up so that cooperation in this field can be monitored closely and constantly. There are to be exchanges of views be-

**Breakdown of resources
Lomé III Convention (1985-1990)**

in millions of ECU

Overall total = 8 500				
L* = 5 530				
EDF = 7 400			EIB = 1 100	art. 18 EIB = p.m.
L = 4 645			L = 685	L = 200
Stabex = 925	Sysmin = 415	Grants = 4 860	Special loans = 600	Risk capital = 600
L = 557	L = 282	L = 2 998	L = 524	L = 284
		Emergency aid/refugees = 290 (1)	Interest rate subsidies = 210	Other grants = 4 360
		L = 202	L = 175	L = 2 621
Regional cooperation (2) = 1 000 including desertification control.				(L = 631,5)

* L = Lomé II
 (1) Emergency aid 210; refugees 80
 (2) Of which CDI = 40 (L = 25)
 Regional trade promotion = 60 (L = 40)
 N.B. Financing activities Joint Assembly = 1

tween the Community and the ACP States when international agreements on such products are concluded or renewed.

**Mining cooperation:
a better defined Sysmin**

Whereas, hitherto, emphasis under the system was placed on maintaining production capacities, the prime objective under the new Convention is to help restore the viability of the mining industry in the ACP countries concerned (rehabilitation, maintenance, rationalization). Where this aim is found unattainable, the system may give backing to diversification measures.

The admissibility rules (dependence thresholds, criteria for bringing the system into operation) and the list of products covered remain unchanged, but, in addition to the cases already provided for, recourse to Sysmin will also be possible, by case-by-case derogation, where the mining industry plays an essential economic role in an ACP country because of its scale and its direct spin-off.

Sysmin aid is still in the form of contributions to clearly defined projects, such aid going to ACP countries dependent on their mining industries where

those industries are affected by serious unforeseen circumstances which are independent of the will of the States concerned.

A number of provisions have been adopted in order to speed up the appraisal of requests and the implementation of aid in order to coordinate such aid measures with other Convention instruments, for instance those of the EIB, that can be used to help the mining industry.

**A Chapter on investment:
unprecedented in the
context of the
North-South negotiations**

(a) The Chapter contains an acknowledgement by the two parties of the importance of private investment and an undertaking to promote it, a joint undertaking to accord investors fair and equitable treatment to encourage or create clear, stable conditions conducive to investment, a joint commitment to maintain a predictable, safe investment climate, a statement of willingness to negotiate agreements between states and an affirmation of the principle of non-discrimination when negotiating, applying and interpreting such agreements, this

principle being clearly set out in a joint declaration.

(b) The Chapter also contains an undertaking by the parties to examine the possibility of a joint ACP-EEC insurance and guarantee system to be complementary to the existing national systems, to study measures to facilitate and expand private capital flows to the ACP States (cofinancing, ACP access to international financial markets) and to seek technical and financial means of facilitating ACP exports and assisting national and regional financing institutions.

**Priority to agricultural
production and food security**

In the face of a food situation that is deteriorating rapidly in numerous ACP countries, often bringing tragedy, very special importance is being attached in the new Convention to cooperation in this area. The food strategies implemented in certain ACP States have been an enriching and stimulating experience. On the basis of this approach, all the resources available under the Convention for this purpose have been gathered together and coordinated so that extra support can be provided for the ACP States' policies and strategies. Also, food

aid and alternative operations and the supply of available agricultural products will be coordinated with structural measures to improve local production and ensure greater food security.

Particular note should be taken of the open attitude—after many years of reticence on the subject—to the question of supplying the ACP countries with the agricultural products available in the Community. There is now the possibility of longer-term advance fixing of refunds on exports to all ACP States and for a range of products established in accordance with the food needs expressed by the ACP States and the possibility of concluding specific agreements with those ACP States which so request in the context of their food security policies.

Transport and communications — shipping: a new heading

The objective as far as transport and communications in general are concerned is to create, repair, maintain and run rational systems that meet social and economic development requirements and suit users' needs and the overall economic situation of the States concerned. The aim is also to make systems more complementary, harmonize them and cut down the obstacles hampering interstate transport and communications. There are also provisions for operations involving satellite communications and observation of the earth by satellite in the spheres of meteorology and remote sensing.

In the field of shipping, particular attention has been paid to the Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences; there is an invitation to the EEC Member States and ACP States to accede to or ratify it as soon as possible. In the texts, the Community recognizes the ACP States' aspirations to participate to a greater degree in national shipping services, including bulk shipping, on an economic, commercial and competitive basis.

Cooperation is also intended to improve the ACP countries' shipping industries, safety of ships and crews and anti-pollution measures. A consultation mechanism has been set up to ensure that the rules agreed are implemented effectively.

More stimulating regional cooperation

Here it was a question mainly of consolidating and improving this relatively new cooperation instrument, the importance and utility of which was recognized by both sides. In Lomé III stress is

placed on the intensification of regional cooperation in order to step up, in addition, the ACP States' collective self-reliance and intra-ACP cooperation. The innovations include a clearer definition of the nature of regional operations and clarifications regarding financing requests which should facilitate practical application.

Cultural and social cooperation: a new dimension

This is a major innovation with far-reaching consequences and it will constitute a precedent. It reflects a development in relations between the Community and the ACP partners, placing cooperation in the context of the more self-reliant development of those States, focused on man as the ultimate beneficiary and rooted in the culture of each people. Operations and programmes have to be made to fit the needs and capabilities of the people for whom they are being carried out.

Through cooperation, support will thus be given to the ACP States' policies and measures in order to enhance their human resources, increase their own creative capacities and promote their cultural identities.

Lomé III emphasizes the role of women in development

Participation of the population in the design and implementation of development schemes is encouraged. Criteria have been laid down to ensure that the cultural and social dimension is taken into account more fully in projects and programmes in the various areas of cooperation.

Note also the declaration on ACP students and migrant workers in the Community: after long years of discussion, there now exists a right to refer matters concerning them to the ACP-EEC Council.

Institutions

A new parliamentary body called the Joint Assembly has been created; it replaces the present Consultative Assembly and Joint Committee. The guiding political role of the Council of Ministers has been reinforced and improved mechanisms for consulting and interpreting the Convention have been established.

The contacts between the ACP-EEC Council, the two sides of industry and the Joint Assembly have been organized on a firmer footing... all these are innovations which are aimed at achieving, via the institutions as well, the general objective of greater effectiveness in ACP-EEC cooperation. o

Structure of the ACP-EEC negotiations

Opened in Luxembourg on 6 October 1983, the negotiations for a new ACP-EEC Convention ended in Brussels on 22 November 1984. In the year intervening, three plenary ministerial meetings were held, in Brussels (9/10 February), Suva (2-5 May) and Luxembourg (28-30 June). A restricted ministerial meeting was held in Brussels from 9-13 October.

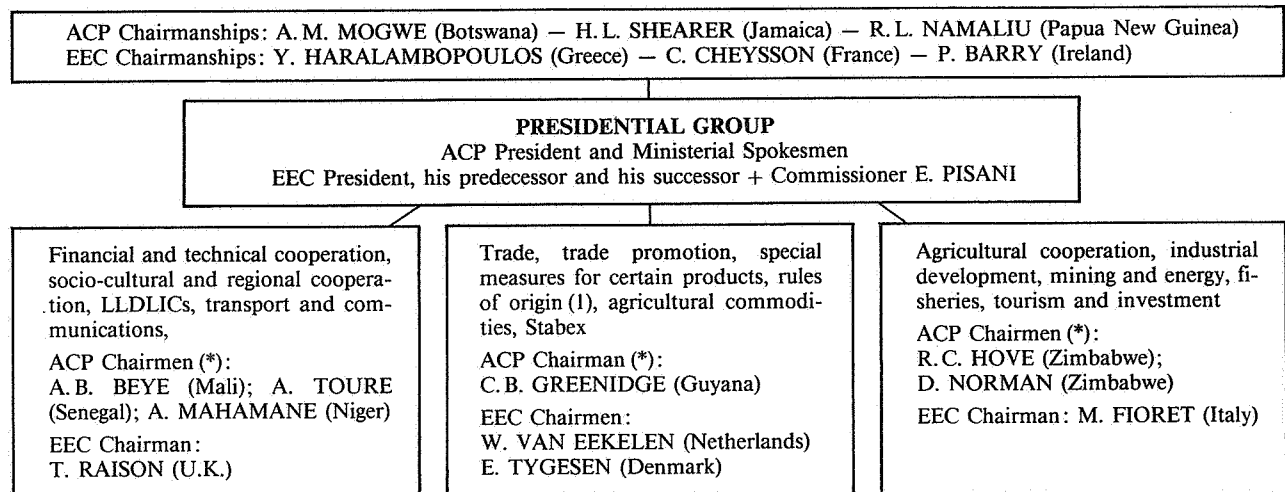
The structure of the negotiations given below operated in this complete form twice, in Suva in May and in Luxembourg in June.

At the opening session, there were no negotiating groups. At the next session, in Brussels, only two ministerial groups were established, one for financial

and technical cooperation and agricultural matters, chaired by A. Mertes (FRG) and by R. C. Hove (Zimbabwe); the second for the socio-cultural aspects of development, trade, customs, industry, mining and energy, chaired by E. Tygesen (Denmark) and N. Deerpalsingh (Mauritius).

The ACPs formed negotiating groups for each area of negotiation, each chaired by a ministerial spokesman, seconded by an Ambassador responsible for negotiations with the Commission. Each Ambassador acting as spokesman was further assisted by two deputies, also Ambassadors.

A. Ministerial level



(*) The ACP Chairmen were assisted by the other ACP ministerial spokesmen.

(1) At the Luxembourg session (28-30 June), rules of origin were treated by a separate ministerial group.

LIST OF ACP MINISTERIAL SPOKESMEN

Agriculture: R. C. Hove, Minister of Trade and Commerce (Zimbabwe)

Senator D. Norman — Minister of Agriculture (Zimbabwe) (Luxembourg meeting only)

Trade: Carl B. Greenidge, Minister of Economic Planning and Finance (Guyana)

Commodities and Stabex: J. Daouda, Minister of Planning and Land Use (Cameroon)

Mineral Resources, Energy and Sysmin: Mrs. G. T. K. Chiepe, Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs (Botswana)

assisted by: Lendema D. J. Makanga, Secretary of State for National Cooperation (Zaire)

Industrial Development and Technology: N. Deerpalsingh, Minister for Agriculture, Natural Resources, Fisheries and Cooperatives (Mauritius)

Fisheries Resources Development, Tourism: R. L. Namaliu, Minister for Foreign Affairs (PNG)

Financial and Technical Cooperation: A. Touré, Minister of Commerce (Senegal)

A. B. Beye, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mali) — Fiji only
 A. Mahamane, Minister of State (Planning) (Niger) — Luxembourg only

Customs Cooperation and Rules of Origin: Bernard St. John — Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism (Barbados)

LLDLICs: J. Mavoa, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism (Fiji)

Social Conditions, Research, Training: Lendema D. J. Makanga, Secretary of State for National Cooperation (Zaire)

Regional cooperation: A. S. Ahmed, Minister of Trade Cooperation (Sudan)

Institutional and Legal Matters: F. M. Camara, Minister of International Cooperation (Guinea)

B. ACP Ambassadors-Commission level

PLENARY GROUP

- aims, purpose and methods
- steering of discussions in specific fields.
- synthesis

ACP: successively J. CAVALEVU (Fiji); S. KAZUNGA (Zambia); F. OKELO (Uganda); Y. DIARRA (Mali).

EEC: D. FRISCH, Director-General for Development

Institutional and legal matters

ACP: S. O. SY (Senegal)

EEC: D. FRISCH

- Trade, commodities and Stabex
ACP: Y. ADODO (Togo)
- Customs cooperation, rules of origin
ACP: P. AFOLABI (Nigeria), then V.C. TUHO (Ivory Coast)
- Development of Mineral Resources, Energy and System
ACP: S. J. KAZUNGA (Zambia), then S. MAHAKA (Zimbabwe)

- Industrial development, development of fisheries resources, technology and tourism
ACP: O. JACKMAN (Barbados), then M. O. St. John (Trinidad & Tobago)

EEC: for all these fields, M. FOLEY, Deputy Director-General for Development, assisted by F. VAN HOEK, Director

- Financial and technical cooperation, investment promotion
ACP: G. BERHANE (Ethiopia); B.R. KUWANI (Zambia) for investment promotion

- LLDLICs, transport and communications
ACP: P. I. PEIPUL (PNG)

- Agricultural cooperation, integrated rural development, self-sufficiency in food and security of food supplies
ACP: C. MBONIMPA (Burundi)

- Cultural cooperation, regional and intra-ACP cooperation
ACP: R. CHASLE (Mauritius)

EEC: for all these fields: M. HAUSWIRTH, Deputy Director-General for Development, assisted by E. WIRSING and A. AUCLERT, Directors

Sequence of events in the ACP-EEC negotiations

6/7 October 1983: Official opening of the negotiations (1st Ministerial Conference, Luxembourg)

8/9 November 1983: 1st meeting of the central negotiating group (Commission/ACP Ambassadors), Brussels

9/10 February 1984: 2nd Ministerial Negotiating Conference, Brussels

1/5 May 1984: 3rd Ministerial Negotiating Conference, Suva, Fiji

29/30 June 1984: 4th Ministerial Negotiating Conference, Luxembourg

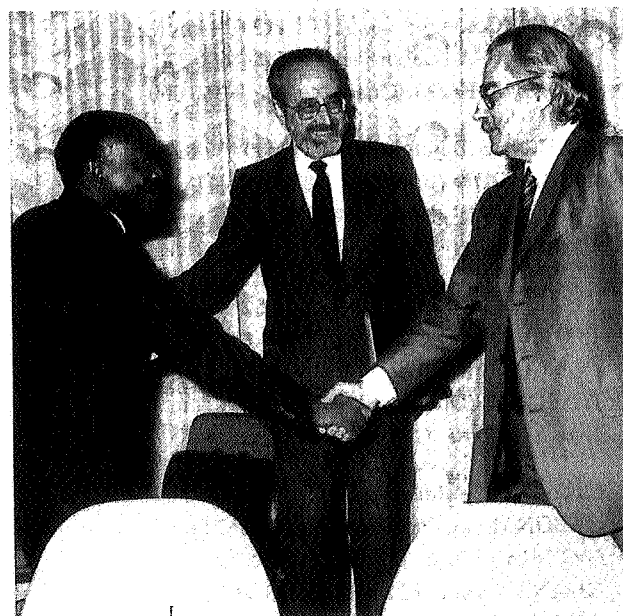
9/12 October 1984: Restricted Ministerial negotiating meeting, Brussels

22/26 October 1984: Final phase of negotiations at Commission/ACP Ambassadorial level, Brussels

22 November 1984: Final meeting between ACP and EEC cō-Presidents

15/28 November 1984: Revision of texts by ACP-EEC jurist-linguists

8 December 1984: Signing of the Convention in Lomé (Togo)



Luxembourg, 6 October 1983: the formal opening of ACP-EEC negotiations with (from left to right) A. Mogwe (Botswana), then ACP President, E. Pisani, then Development Commissioner, and Y. Haralambopoulos (Greece), then EEC Council President. These negotiations led to the signing of the Lomé III Convention on 8 December 1984, after 113 "formal" negotiating meetings...

Profiles of the ACP States and of the Member States of the European Community

Between them, the 65 ACP States and the 10 Member States of the European Community account for 16.6% of the world's surface and 12.7% of its total population. Together they represent almost half the member countries of the United Nations.

Brief outlines of the ACP and Community countries are given in the following pages. The capital of each country, together with its population and area, is given in the profiles for each of the African, Caribbean and Pacific regions and for the Community. Population figures for the

ACP States are for 1982 and, for the Community, for 1981 (Source: Eurostat). The total population of the 10 EEC Member States is 271 million; that of the ACP States, 368 million.

It should be noted that the maps used come from a variety of sources and are not on the same scale (*)

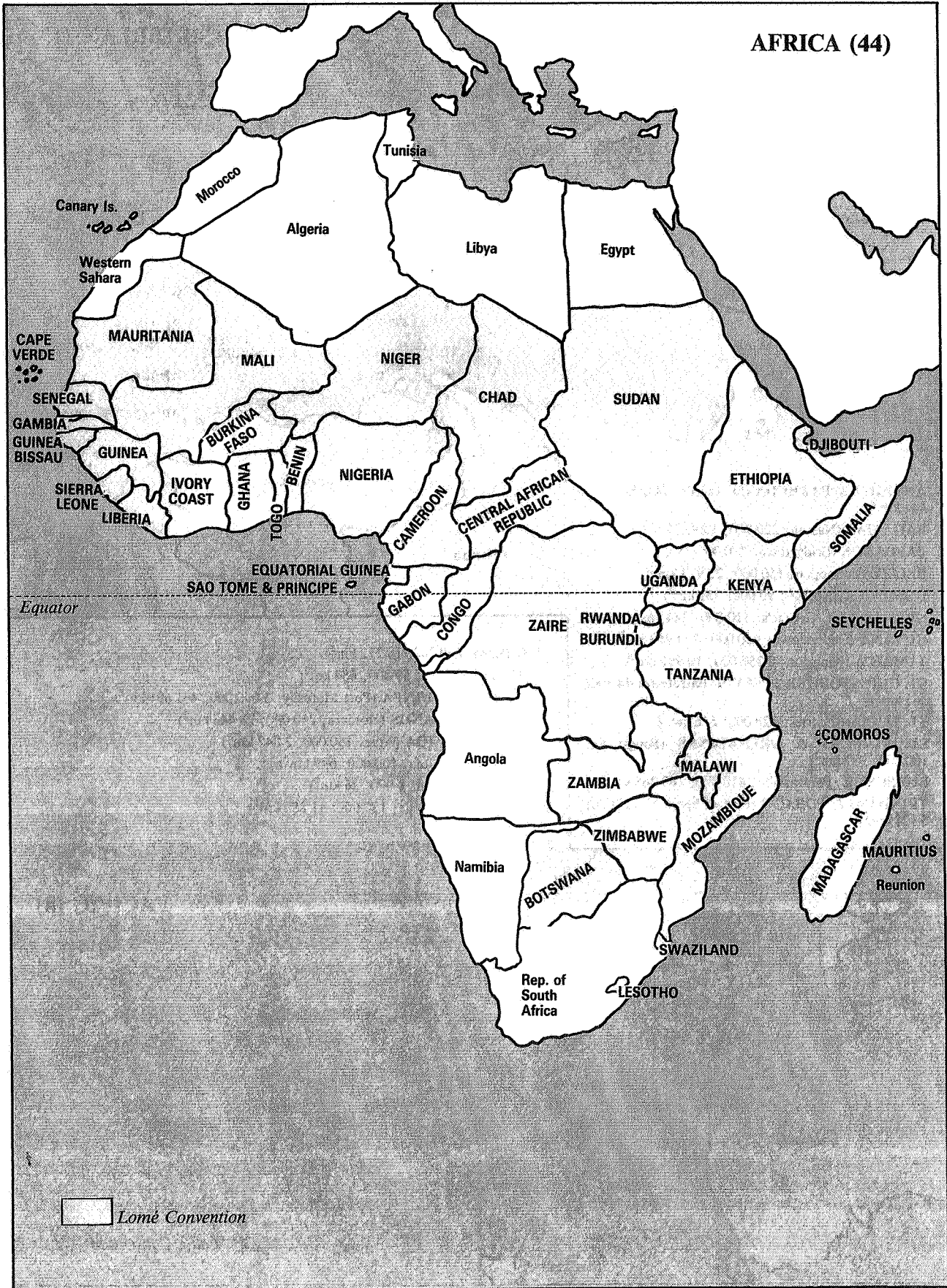
(*) Their use does not imply recognition of any particular boundaries nor does it prejudice the status of any state or territory.

AFRICA (44)

(capital; population; area)

BENIN (Cotonou; 3 620 000; 112 622 km ²)	LIBERIA (Monrovia; 2 110 000; 111 369 km ²)
BOTSWANA (Gaborone; 860 000; 600 372 km ²)	MADAGASCAR (Antananarivo; 9 230 000; 587 041 km ²)
BURKINA FASO (Ouagadougou; 6 360 000; 274 200 km ²)	MALAWI (Lilongwe; 6 270 000; 118 484 km ²)
BURUNDI (Bujumbura; 4 460 000; 27 834 km ²)	MALI (Bamako; 7 340 000; 1 240 000 km ²)
CAMEROON (Yaoundé; 8 870 000; 475 442 km ²)	MAURITANIA (Nouakchott; 1 730 000; 1 030 700 km ²)
CAPE VERDE (Praia; 340 000; 4 033 km ²)	MAURITIUS (Port Louis; 950 000; 2 045 km ²)
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Bangui; 2 410 000; 622 984 km ²)	MOZAMBIQUE (Maputo; 11 050 000; 783 030 km ²)
CHAD (N'Djamena; 4 640 000; 1 284 000 km ²)	NIGER (Niamey; 5 650 000; 1 267 000 km ²)
COMOROS (Moroni; 380 000; 2 171 km ²)	NIGERIA (Lagos; 82 390 000; 932 768 km ²)
CONGO (Brazzaville; 1 620 000; 342 000 km ²)	RWANDA (Kigali; 5 280 000; 26 338 km ²)
DJIBOUTI (Djibouti; 110 000; 22 000 km ²)	SÃO TOMÉ & PRÍNCÍPE (São Tomé; 90 000; 964 km ²)
EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Malabo; 380 000; 23 051 km ²)	SENEGAL (Dakar; 5 970 000; 196 192 km ²)
ETHIOPIA (Addis Ababa; 32 780 000; 1 221 900 km ²)	SEYCHELLES (Port Victoria; 60 000; 444 km ²)
GABON (Libreville; 560 000; 267 667 km ²)	SIERRA LEONE (Freetown; 3 670 000; 71 740 km ²)
GAMBIA (Banjul; 640 000; 11 295 km ²)	SOMALIA (Mogadiscio; 5 120 000; 637 657 km ²)
GHANA (Accra; 12 240 000; 238 537 km ²)	SUDAN (Khartoum; 19 450 000; 2 505 813 km ²)
GUINEA (Conakry; 5 290 000; 245 857 km ²)	SWAZILAND (Mbabane; 590 000; 17 363 km ²)
GUINEA BISSAU (Bissau; 590 000; 36 125 km ²)	TANZANIA (Dar es Salaam; 19 110 000; 945 087 km ²)
IVORY COAST (Abidjan; 8 570 000; 322 462 km ²)	TOGO (Lomé; 2 750 000; 56 000 km ²)
KENYA (Nairobi; 17 860 000; 582 646 km ²)	UGANDA (Kampala; 14 060 000; 236 036 km ²)
LESOTHO (Maseru; 1 410 000; 30 355 km ²)	ZAIRE (Kinshasa; 27 400 000; 2 345 409 km ²)
	ZAMBIA (Lusaka; 6 160 000; 752 614 km ²)
	ZIMBABWE (Harare; 7 540 000; 391 109 km ²)

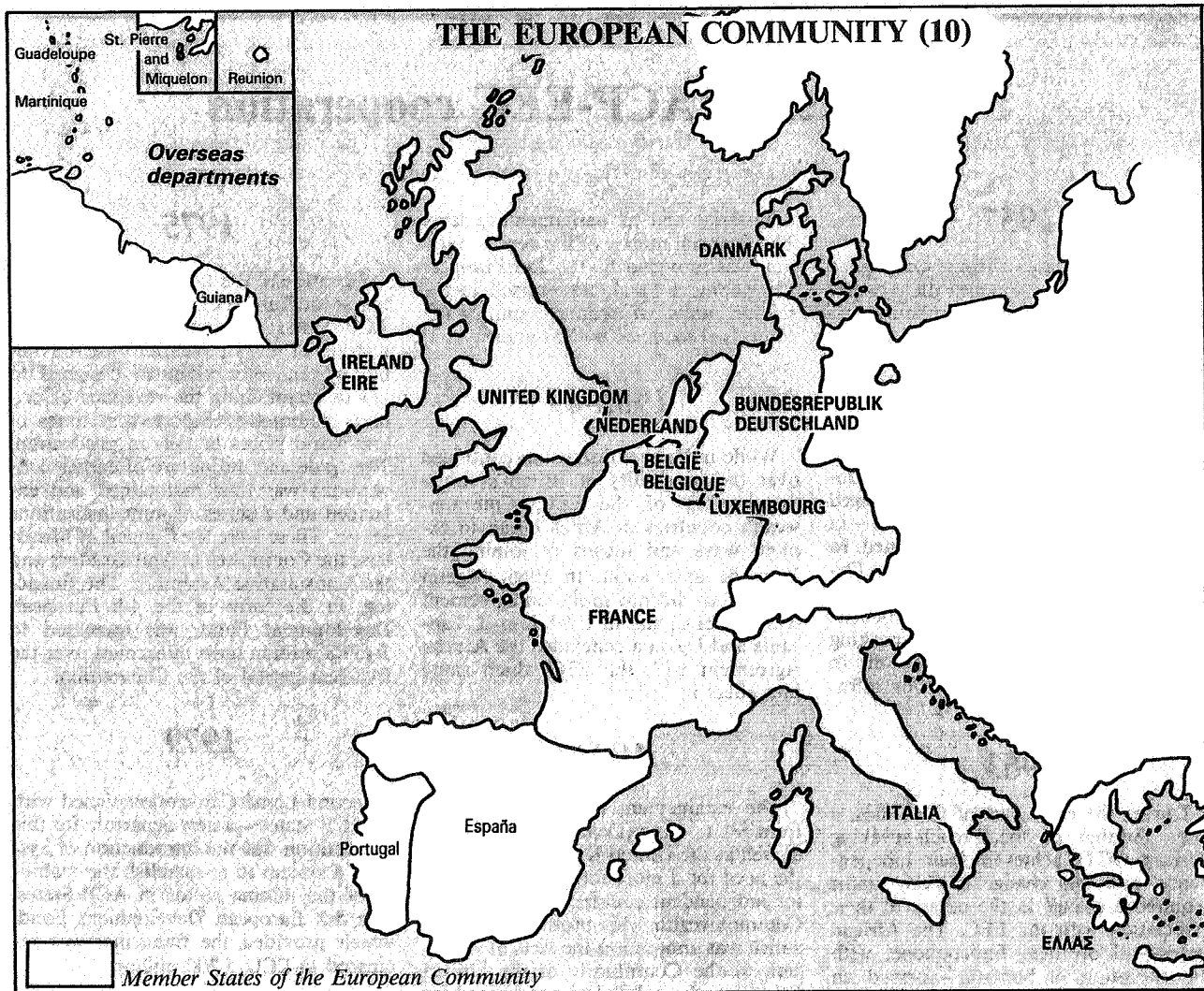
AFRICA (44)





ANTIGUA & BARBUDA (St. John's; 74 000; 441 km²)
 BAHAMAS (Nassau; 220 000; 13 935 km²)
 BARBADOS (Bridgetown; 270 000; 431 km²)
 BELIZE (Belmopan; 150 000; 22 973 km²)
 DOMINICA (Roseau; 90 000; 751 km²)
 GRENADA (St. George's; 110 000; 344 km²)
 GUYANA (Georgetown; 920 000; 214 969 km²)
 JAMAICA (Kingston; 2 250 000; 10 991 km²)
 ST. CHRISTOPHER & NEVIS (Basseterre; 44 300; 265 km²)
 ST. LUCIA (Castries; 120 000; 616 km²)
 ST. VINCENT & GRENADINES (Kingstown; 100 000; 389 km²)
 SURINAME (Paramaribo; 410 000; 163 265 km²)
 TRINIDAD & TOBAGO (Port of Spain; 1 200 000; 5 128 km²)

FIJI (Suva; 660 000; 18 272 km²)
 KIRIBATI (Ba'raiki; 59 000; 684 km²)
 PAPUA NEW GUINEA (Port Moresby; 3 090 000; 461 691 km²)
 SOLOMON ISLANDS (Honiara; 250 000; 28 446 km²)
 WESTERN SAMOA (Apia; 160 000; 2 842 km²)
 TONGA (Nuku'alofa; 100 000; 699 km²)
 TUVALU (Funafuti; 8 000; 26 km²)
 VANUATU (Port Vila; 130 000; 11 880 km²)



Overseas departments, countries and territories

DENMARK (overseas territory)

- Greenland

FRANCE (overseas departments)

- Guadeloupe
- Guiana
- Martinique
- Reunion
- St Pierre and Miquelon

(overseas territories)

- Mayotte
- New Caledonia and dependencies
- French Polynesia
- French Southern and Antarctic Territories
- Wallis and Futuna Islands

NETHERLANDS (overseas countries)

- Netherlands Antilles (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, St Martin, Saba, St Eustatius)

UNITED KINGDOM (overseas countries and territories)

- Anguilla
- British Antarctic Territory
- British Indian Ocean Territory
- British Virgin Islands
- Cayman Islands
- Falkland Islands and dependencies
- Montserrat
- Pitcairn Island
- St Helena and dependencies
- Turks and Caicos Islands

This list does not prejudice the status of these countries and territories now or in the future.

EUROPE OF THE TEN

(capital; population; area)

BELGIUM (Brussels; 9 852 000; 30 500 km²)

DENMARK (Copenhagen; 5 122 000; 43 100 km²)

FRANCE (Paris; 53 963 000; 544 000 km²)

GERMANY (Federal Republic) (Bonn; 61 682 000; 248 700 km²)

GREECE (Athens; 9 730 000; 132 000 km²)

IRELAND (Dublin; 3 440 000; 70 300 km²)

ITALY (Rome; 56 231 000; 301 300 km²)

LUXEMBOURG (Luxembourg; 364 000; 2 600 km²)

NETHERLANDS (The Hague; 14 247 000; 41 200 km²)

UNITED KINGDOM (London; 56 020 000; 244 100 km²)

Milestones in ACP-EEC cooperation

1957

When the Treaty of Rome was signed between Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, Italy and The Netherlands, creating the European Economic Community (EEC) an Implementing Convention was added to the Treaty. This provided for a system of association of a unilateral nature between the Community and its Member States' Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs). The association envisaged two major areas—aid and trade—in which relations would be maintained. In the following year, the 1st European Development Fund was set up, totalling 581 million units of account. The beneficiaries were mainly French-speaking African OCTs, and the money, all in grant form, was used largely for infrastructure projects.

1963

During the early part of the 1960s, a large number of the French-speaking African OCTs achieved their independence, and this change in their status required a change in the nature of their association with the EEC. The African states—all of them francophone, with the exception of Somalia—formed an association for the purpose of the negotiation, which was called the AASM—the Associated States of Africa and Madagascar. These newly-independent countries were anxious to preserve the benefits of their association with Europe—privileged access to the European market, especially of primary commodities, and the financial aid which was especially necessary in the early days of independence. In July 1963, these 18 states negotiated the first Convention with the six Member States of the EEC.

This convention, named the Yaoundé Convention after the capital where signature took place, foreshadowed the development of ACP-EEC cooperation in a number of ways. First, it was a bilateral negotiation, concluded between two groups of like-thinking countries; next it was concluded for a period of five years; third, its provisions included preferential trade agreements as well as technical and financial aid; and finally, it provided for the establishment of joint institutions at

ministerial and at parliamentary level. The financial muscle of the new Convention was provided by the 2nd European Development Fund, now raised to 800 million units of account, and which comprised loans as well as grants.

1966-69

While in Europe discussion continued over the possibility of Britain's future membership of the EEC, Commonwealth countries in Africa began to explore ways and means of joining the Yaoundé association. In 1966, Nigeria signed, but did not ratify, an agreement with the EEC, and in 1969, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda concluded the Arusha Agreement with the EEC which came into effect in 1971.

1973

The enlargement of the Community from Six to Nine (Denmark and Ireland as well as the United Kingdom) signalled the need for a more formal arrangement for independent countries of the British Commonwealth. In protocol no. 22, which was annexed to the Acts of Accession to the Community of the United Kingdom, the possibility was opened for 20 Commonwealth countries to negotiate their future relations with the EEC. This offer was further extended to independent states in Africa which were neither in the Commonwealth nor in the AASM grouping which had negotiated the first (1963) and second (1969) Yaoundé Conventions.

A year of negotiations followed between the various states and groupings. The choices before the 43 countries were as follows: they could join in the renegotiation of a Yaoundé-type convention; they could negotiate Arusha-type preferential trade agreements; or they could negotiate ordinary trade agreements. And there were further questions, too. Would the English- and French-speaking blocs negotiate separately or together? Would Nigeria, the richest and most populous African state join in? In the end, the African, Caribbean and Pacific states decided on a joint approach with no exceptions, and to build on the foundations laid at Yaoundé.

1975

Signature of the Lomé Convention between the Europe of the Nine and the 46 ACP States: among the revolutionary features of this Convention was the Stabex system, a mechanism designed to aid in maintaining the revenues of primary commodity exporters in times of low world prices or falls in production. The trade and aid nature of earlier conventions was thus maintained and enhanced and a series of joint institutions set up. These were the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors and the Consultative Assembly. The financing, in the form of the 4th European Development Fund, was increased to 3 457.8 million units of account over the five-year period of the Convention.

1979

Second Lomé Convention signed with 57 ACP States—a new departure for this Convention was the introduction of Sysmin, a system to re-establish the viability of the mining sector in ACP States. The 5th European Development Fund, which provided the financing, was increased to ECU 5 700 million.

1984

Third Lomé Convention signed between Europe of the Ten (Greece joined the Nine in 1981) and the ACP Group, now consisting of 65 countries.

The principal innovations of this Convention are as follows: the accent is placed on more autonomous, self-reliant development in ACP States, the search for increased effectiveness of Community aid, notably by means of the programming exercise; thematic actions to preserve the wider natural balance, in particular the fight against drought and desertification; increased openings for private investment; expansion of the fisheries and shipping sectors; cultural and social cooperation, and the placing of man, and respect for human dignity, at the centre of all development efforts and activities. The financial package of the 6th European Fund is increased to ECU 7 400 million. ○

DELEGATIONS OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN THE ACP STATES

Barbados

Sunjet House, Fairchild Street
P.O. Box 654 C, Bridgetown. — Tel. 427-4362/429-7103
Telex 2327 DELEGFED WB — BRIDGETOWN

Benin

Avenue Roume, Bâtiment administratif
B.P. 910, Cotonou — Tel. 31 26 84/31 26 17
Telex 5257 DELEGFED — COTONOU

Botswana

P.O. Box 1253
Gaborone, Botswana — Tel. 55599
Telex 2403 DECEC GABORONE

Burkina Faso

B.P. 352
Ouagadougou — Tel. 336 346/336 348
Telex 5242 DELEGFED UV — OUAGADOUGOU

Burundi

Avenue P. Lumumba 52
B.P. 103, Bujumbura — Tel. 23426/23892
Telex 31 FED BDI — BUJUMBURA

Cameroon

Quartier Bastos
B.P. 847, Yaoundé — Tel. 22 13 87/22 33 67/22 21 49
Telex DELEGFED 8298 KN
YAOUNDE — CAMEROON

Central African Republic

Rue de Flandre
B.P. 1298, Bangui — Tel. 61 30 53/61 01 13
Telex 5231 RC DELEGFED — BANGUI

Chad

Concession SETUBA S.A. Route de Farcha
BP 552, N'Djamena — Tel. 22 74/22 76
Telex DELEGFED 5245 KD — N'DJAMENA CHAD

Congo

Av. Lyautey, near Hotel Meridien
B.P. 2149, Brazzaville — Tel. 81 38 78/81 37 00
Telex 5257 KG DELEGFED — BRAZZAVILLE

Ethiopia

Tedia Desta Building
Africa Avenue (Bole Road) 1st Floor
P.O. Box 5570, Addis Ababa — Tel. 15 25 11
Telex 21135 DELEGEUR — ADDIS ABABA

Gabon

Quartier Batterie IV
Lotissement des Cocotiers
B.P. 321, Libreville — Tel. 73 22 50
Telex DELEGFED 5511 GO — LIBREVILLE

Gambia

10 Cameron Street
P.O. Box 512, Banjul — Tel. 777 — 87 69
Telex 2233 DELCOM GV — BANJUL

Ghana

The Round House - 65 Cantonments Road,
Cantonments, Accra — Tel. 74 201 - 74 202
Telex 2069 DELCOM — ACCRA

Guinea

Commission — Central Mail Department
(Diplomatic Bag Section — B 1/123)
Rue de la Loi 200, 1049 Bruxelles
Tel. 46 13 25/46 13 82 — (Conakry/Guinea)
Telex 628 DELEUR CKY

Guinea-Bissau

Rua Eduardo Mandlana 29
Caixa Postal 359, Bissau — Tel. 21 33 60/21 28 78
Telex 264 DELCOM BI

Guyana

64 B Middle Street South Cummingsburg
P.O. Box 10847, Georgetown
Tel. 63 963 — 62 615 — 64 004 — 65 424
Telex 2258 DELEG GY — GEORGETOWN

Ivory Coast

Immeuble "AZUR" Bd. Crozet, 18
B.P. 1821, Abidjan 01 — Tel. 32.24.28 — 33 29 28
Telex 3729 DELCEE — ABIDJAN

Jamaica

Mutual Life Center, 2nd Floor
Oxford Rd/Old Hope Rd — P.O. Box 435, Kingston 5
Tel. 92 - 93030/92 - 93031/92 - 93032
Telex 2391 DELEGEK KINGSTON 5

Kenya

National Bank Building, Harambee Avenue
P.O. Box 45119, Nairobi — Tel 33 35 92
Telex 22302 DELEGFED — NAIROBI

Lesotho

P.O. Box MS 518
Maseru, 100, Lesotho — Tel. 313 726
Telex 351 bb DELEGEUR — MASERU

Liberia

34 Payne Avenue Sinkor
P.O. Box 3049, Monrovia — Tel. 26 22 78
Telex 4358 DELEGFED LI — MONROVIA

Madagascar

Immeuble Ny Havana - 67 hectares
B.P. 746, Antananarivo — Tel. 242 16
Telex 22327 DELFED MG — ANTANANARIVO

Malawi

Lingadzi House
P.O. Box 30102, Capital City
Lilongwe 3 — Tel. 73 02 55/73 01 73/73 05 93
Telex 4260 DELEGEUR MI — LILONGWE

Mali

Rue Guégaou - Badalabougou
B.P. 115 Bamako — Tel. 22 23 56/22 20 65
Telex 526 DELEGFED — BAMAKO

Mauritania

Ilôt V, Lot 24
B.P. 213, Nouakchott — Tel. 527 24/527 32
Telex 549 DELEG MTN — NOUAKCHOTT

Mauritius

61/63 route Floreal Vacoas
P.O. Box 10 Vacoas — Tel. 86 50 61/86 50 62/86 50 63
Telex 4282 DELCEC IW VACOAS

Netherlands Antilles

Mgr Kieckensweg 24 — P.O. Box 822
Willemstad, Curaçao — Tel. 6250 84 — 6264 33
Telex 1089 DELEG NA — WILLEMSTAD

Niger

B.P. 10388, Niamey — Tel. 73 23 60/73 27 73/73 48 32
Telex 5267 NI DELEGFED — NIAMEY

Nigeria

13, Karimu Kotun St. Victoria Island
PM Bag 12767, Lagos — Tel. 61 78 52/61 08 57
Telex 21868 DELCOM NG LAGOS — NIGERIA

Pacific (Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu)

Dominion House, 3rd Floor — Private Mail Bag, GPO
Suva, Fiji — Tel. 31 36 33
Telex 2311 DELECOM FJ — SUVA

Papua New Guinea

Pacific view apartments, 8th Floor
Pruth Street, Korobosea — Tel. 25 92 22
Telex NE 22307 DELEUR — PORT MORESBY

Rwanda

Avenue Député Kamuzinzi, 14
B.P. 515, Kigali — Tel 55 86/55 89
Telex 515 DELCOMEUR RW KIGALI

Solomon Islands

P.O. Box 844 — Honiara — Tel. 765
Telex 66370 — DELEGS

Senegal

Avenue Albert Sarraut 57 (2^e étage)
B.P. 3345, Dakar — Tel. 21 13 24/21 57 77/21 79 75
Telex 440 DELEGSE — DAKAR

Sierra Leone

2 Lamina Sankoh Street
P.O. Box 1399, Freetown — Tel. 239 75 — 230 25
Telex 3203 DELEFED SL — FREETOWN

Somalia

Via Makka Al Mukarram
n^o Z-A6/17
P.O. Box 943, Mogadiscio — Tel. 21 118/21 049/811 18
Telex 628 FED MOG SM — MOGADISCIO

Sudan

11, Street No 13, New Extension, — Khartoum
Tel. 444 85/445 10/449 10/412 43
Telex 24054 DELSU SD
KHARTOUM

Suriname

Dr S. Redmondstraat 239
P.O. Box 484, Paramaribo — Tel. 993 22
Telex 192 DELEGFED SN

Swaziland

P.O. Box A.36
Mbabane, Swaziland — Tel 42908/42018
Telex 2133 WD — DELEGFED MBABANE

Tanzania

Extelcoms House, 9th Floor, Samora Avenue
P.O. Box 9514, Dar es Salaam — Tel. 311 51/311 52
Telex 41353 DELCOMEUR — DAR ES SALAAM

Togo

Rue de Calais 22
B.P. 1657, Lomé — Tel. 21 36 62/21 08 32
Telex 5267 DELEFEDTO-LOMÉ

Trinidad and Tobago

2, Champs Elysées,
Long Circular, Maraval
P.O. Box 1144, Port of Spain
Tel. 62-26628/62-20591/62-20465
Telex 22421 DELFED WG — PORT OF SPAIN

Uganda

Uganda Commercial Bank Building, Plot 12
Kampala Road, 5th Floor
P.O. Box 5244, Kampala — Tel. 33 303/4/5
Telex 61139 DELEUR — UGA — KAMPALA

Zaire

71, Av. des Trois Z
B.P. 2000, Kinshasa — Tel. 327 18
Telex 21560 DECEKIN ZR KINSHASA

Zambia

P.O. Box 34871 — Plot 4899
Brentwood drive, Lusaka
Tel. 25 09 06 - 25 07 11 - 25 11 40
Telex 40440 DECEC ZA — LUSAKA

Zimbabwe

P.O. Box 4252
Stability House (9th Floor)
65 Samora Machel Ave., Harare
Tel. 70.7 1.20/39/40/43
Telex 4.811 ZW HARARE

THE COURIER

AFRICA - CARIBBEAN - PACIFIC
— EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

PUBLISHER

Dieter Frisch

Commission
of the European Communities

200, rue de la Loi
1049-BRUSSELS
(Belgium)

Tel. 235 11 11 (switchboard)
Telex COMEURBRU 21877

EDITOR

Fernand Thurmes

DEPUTY EDITOR

Lucien Pagni

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Roger De Backer
Amadou Traoré
Augustine Oyowe
Myfanwy van de Velde
Thomas Glaser

Secretariat

Colette Grelet (235 47 84)
Mary Beatty (235 75 87)

Circulation

Margriet van der Werf (235 76 39)