

# ACP - EEC CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

## JOINT COMMITTEE

Statement by

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General Rapporteur,  
to the ACP/EEC Joint Committee  
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles.

2. The second part is a list of dates.

LOME II AND BEYOND

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Representatives  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

1. Thank you for the privilege and honour you have conferred on me by appointing me General Rapporteur this year. It is on behalf of my country, Fiji, my region, the Pacific, and my group, the ACP, that I have accepted this honour and I hope that such contribution as I may be able to bring may add one step towards the desired common objectives of our great ACP/EEC Convention.
2. Before going any further, Mr. Chairman, I must immediately acknowledge the tremendous debt which I owe to my predecessors, Mr. Guillabert, Madame Focke, Ex-Ambassador Insanally and Mr. Vergeer. Without the outstanding work which they had undertaken, my task today would have been virtually impossible. I therefore do wish to extend my deepest thanks to them.
3. Similarly, I am most grateful for the views and encouragement I received from members of this Committee and from many other distinguished personalities who have so kindly shared their views with me.
4. As you know, the Report of the ACP/EEC Council of Ministers for 1982 is not yet ready and I have therefore not been able to see it, I am however most grateful to the Co-Secretariats for their guidance thus far.
5. As regards my task Mr. Chairman, a review of the state and a look at the future of an ACP/EEC Convention, everyone has acknowledge that while there were clearly certain benefits of the Lomé Convention, there were also many shortcomings and disappointments with some of the results, with the manner of implementation of the Convention and with some of its emphases.
6. There is therefore a need for a diagnosis of the problems, the identification of their root causes and for a frank exchange on the appropriate corrective approach to be adopted.
7. Finally, I ask that you kindly forgive me today if at times I speak to you as a Fijian. It is simply that I am better able to explain things if I talk about what is familiar to me.

8. Mr. Chairman, the world does not stand still, it keeps on changing for good or for worse; the only constant in this life is the process of change itself. But things cannot change for better if the people concerned are indifferent. It is for this reason that we cannot afford to be indifferent. We must care !

#### General Background

9. After nearly a decade of ACP/EEC cooperation, we have now undoubtedly come to the crossroads of our relations. It is time for us to "stop", "look" and "listen". The problems are many. And it is important that we realise that the decisions made in our Convention affect the lives of 600,000,000 people living in Europe and in our ACP countries.

10. We all acknowledge that the times are hard. More than ever, therefore, we need vision, imagination and hard work. And above all we need strong mutual political will and a measure of goodwill to take the right steps.

11. The real problems of the world are not so much armaments, "zero option" or desertification in the Sub-Sahara, they are more the lack of vision and the desertification of the human heart which has grown hard so that the more it accumulates the more it covets. And by doing so, it becomes oblivious to the needs of others and without intention it withholds assistance from those in real need of it.

12. But we must never allow ourselves to forget that where there is no vision the people will perish. And, in the end, history will not judge us by how much we have given out, but by what we have retained which we could have given.

13. The opening statement of the Memorandum on the Community's Development Policy states that development is a cornerstone of European integration.

14. Your General Rapporteur sees merit in many aspects of the main thrust of the Memorandum although I must hasten to warn that there are details which need to be more fully explained if we are to really understand them. I hope, however, that we as men of goodwill can consider it with open minds and arrive at mutually acceptable solutions.

15. So if today I seem frank and at times critical of our ACP/EEC relations I do so in my role as Rapporteur and in the belief that any positive steps taken by the Community to alleviate the worries and fears of the ACP Group of States will inevitably contribute to its own development and welfare.
16. And if my comments hurt anyone, I can assure you that they hurt me first.
17. When we look at the world's present environment we are immediately gripped by the problems of economic recession, super-power confrontations, regional armed conflicts, social unrest and consequent political instability.
18. In the industrialised countries of the North, the economy is shrinking and unemployment is increasing, and although those Governments are paying heavier and heavier social benefits bills the people are generally reasonably well-off.
19. But in developing ACP countries, many people do not even have their basic needs satisfied in terms of food, shelter and water. There is growing hunger and starvation, a decline in living standards already below subsistence level, income from exports is falling while the cost of manufactured imports keeps on rising.
20. A continuously increasing share of their foreign exchange earnings is used up to buy food and fuel and on debt servicing. This leads to many investment projects having to be abandoned. As a result, there is further reliance on imports with diminishing capacity to pay for them. We are caught in a very vicious circle.
21. Throughout the world we have political instability. There is turmoil everywhere. Moreover, it seems that in trying to solve some of our problems in a purely technological way, we have created more problems for ourselves.
22. Somehow it seems that people, including those in the industrialized countries, are beginning to feel disillusioned. They are beginning to realise that man's life is not measured by the abundance of material possessions but by the human and spiritual quality of life they allow him to enjoy.

23. If we listen carefully to the people, and perhaps we need to relearn how to listen - and not simply to look - many seem to want change.

24. Emphasis on economic development and commercial interests has created wide gaps, not only between different societies, but between peoples within societies. The universal over-emphasis on the GNP as a yardstick of human well-being has led "aid donors" to a misinterpretation of the real facts of life in many of our societies. As a result, this century will pass on without many societies realising their development hopes.

25. Some countries apply their aid resources to buy influence and give such assistance only to those who favour their policies. Such actions often lead to conflicts and instability which militate against cooperation and development efforts.

26. Some countries of the world now have all the sophisticated capabilities and tools to study, determine and even predict from the heavens what is in the skies, on the earth or in the sea throughout the entire planet. But many of them seem to have lost touch with people, with their real worries and anxieties, and consequently fail to make adequate use of such technology in the service of man.

#### One world to share

27. Now, Mr. Chairman, it has been said that there are three basic philosophies of life :

28. The first belongs to the exploiters or the aggressors who say "what is yours is mine if I can get it".

29. The second is that of unenlightened self-interest, which says "what is mine is mine if I can keep it".

30. The third is that of the Good Samaritan who saw the man in his need and did something about it saying "what is mine is yours because I can share it".

31. Many of those who got rich have come to realise that the most valuable things in life are those which money cannot buy; that peace, harmony and satisfaction are more precious than houses or gold.

32. Many democratic Governments therefore redistribute the fruit of national production, commercial cooperation and free competition to uplift the general state of well-being in their countries. This is the life which is based on the philosophy of "share and care".

#### Basic needs

33. This same way of life exists in many traditional societies. But today because of the orientation towards the money economy, many people are more in need of the basic things of life like food, shelter, health and clothing, etc. They want to enhance their own personal security and that of their children through better education. Then those people too find other needs follow - the need to be recognised and respected, to live in harmony with others, and to participate in decisions which affect their lives. In short, they know that money, though an important means to development, is not everything. Moreover, it is no substitute for their dignity and self-respect.

34. At home in their villages they aspire to live in harmony with the physical and human elements in their environment. But they need suitable technology to more effectively utilise their resources and to improve the quality of their economic and social life. And in looking beyond their own country, they are proud to welcome people from outside to share with them whatever little they have and to make them feel at home.

35. Ultimately, with their own sense of identity strong within them, they want to feel that they can stand on their own and can work with other peoples outside of their little corner of the world on an equal basis and in the spirit of partnership. They live the truth that mankind has but one world to share !

#### The Pre-independence era :

36. The industrial revolution in the North led to the discovery, exploration and utilisation of the resources of the South. But there were other serious effects on those populations. Traditional cultures were changed. Languages, education, customs, economic and religious systems were "westernized" in a manner completely alien to the traditional ones. Education was geared more to administration; people lost their traditional skills.

All this change disrupted the local systems, but did not adequately replace them.

37. Independence found the local people in a situation of having lost their traditional art and skills including in some cases that of building their traditional homes. At the same time, they had hardly acquired appropriate modern means of replacing these.

38. The world-wide drift of populations into urban areas, congesting the limited facilities in the cities, is directly related to the historical centralisation of commerce, communications, educational and administrative facilities in these urban areas and the deprivation of the rural people of these facilities.

39. Also the meteoric rise of the urban populations, doubling every ten years, and the developmental problems to which it has given rise are strongly reflected in both the memorandum on the Community's Development Policy and the World Bank Report on Sub-Saharan Africa.

40. However neither the Community's Memorandum nor the World Bank's report on Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa concern themselves with the question of preparing most of the developing countries for the responsibilities of independence which they assumed in the postwar period. Both reports have, however, shared the general conclusion that, so far, the two UN Development Decades have been a failure.

41. The question which in our view seems to emerge is whether, given the limited extent to which many of the states were assisted in getting ready for independence and thus the social and economic infrastructure with which they had to enter into independence, could any development policies have been successful in the first two decades of their independence?

42. Secondly, should the EEC and the international community not begin to ask themselves whether many of the intransigent problems now being faced by these states do not have their origin in this period of pre-independence neglect and inappropriate policy directions?

43. Furthermore many post-independence developments such as the introduction of Western television with its heavy commercial emphasis have perverted priorities in these societies and have sparked off unrealistic aspirations which are in any case inimical to the real social and economic development of these states.

#### The ACP/EEC Convention

44. The Lomé Convention was built by men of vision who saw it as a means of bringing the long-standing relationship between Europe and the regions of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific to a new type of partnership based on equality.

45. We welcomed it for what it was : a political consensus by statesmen on both sides to build upon the ties of history and commerce a new relationship that was meant to form an exemplary dynamic model for the rest of the world.

46. But today the reality of power is still very much in the hands of the Community where there continues to be strong resistance to change although Conventions have come and gone. Thus in the implementation of the Convention the Community has often failed to negotiate and consult where required. And it has tended to impose its own solutions without recognizing the development aspirations of its partners.

47. The Community must play its full part to ensure that the ACP/EEC Convention is seen to practise what it preaches if that Convention is to maintain its international uniqueness and credibility and if it is to justify its political existence in Europe, in the ACP countries and in the wider international community.

#### What does the Convention mean to the People ?

48. Mr. Chairman, when we talk about the Lomé Convention, we talk about our peoples. When I arrived in this beautiful island of Jamaica last Saturday, I found myself with a nostalgic feeling of home, for Fiji, and especially for my own village of Nabukelevu on Cape Washington, whose beaches are washed directly by the waves of that part of the deep blue Pacific Ocean which separates Fiji from New Zealand.

49. I thought to myself : "Here I am, a Fijian, away from home and my people all because of the Lomé Convention". Then I wondered : "what do my people know about this Convention? What does it mean to them or to our friends here in Jamaica? Or to anyone in any of our ACP or, for that matter, EEC States?"

50. I found out, one day, that my own Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, one of the architects of the Lomé Convention, had named his new boat which takes him around the islands, "Lomé". It certainly brought home to me what my Prime Minister thinks about our ACP/EEC Convention !

51. Also, as a Government Officer, after the severe hurricanes of 1979, my special task was to implement the decisions of the Prime Minister and his Hurricane Relief Committee in the work of relief and reconstruction.

52. I ensured that the affected people in the villages, including my own, received relief food. On each package there was a clear label "Gift from the People of the European Communities". I also rebuilt more than 2 000 homes, schools, buildings and dormitories, all with the Community's assistance. Our people surely appreciated it.

53. So to my people, our ACP/EEC cooperation has meant food and shelter and a lot more.

54. I then wonder what the people in Europe think about Lomé? Do they know about it? Does it have any benefit for the man in the street or on the farm or in the factory? Or does it mean to him only paying more taxes to provide more aid for so-called developing countries? Or do your people think that the Lomé Convention is doing a good job of helping people to develop? Will they vote for it?

55. I know that my own village will vote for Lomé. And this will not be so just because I am Fiji's representative to the EEC ! You may recall that in 1977 my Government hosted the Second ACP/EEC Council of Ministers. We felt in Fiji that it was a most rewarding exercise. My Government has therefore invited the ACP/EEC Council to meet in Fiji once more in 1984. We are hopeful that both ACP and EEC would be able to accept our humble invitation.

### Mutual Benefit of the Convention

56. Mr. Chairman, looked at in economic terms, it can be said that through the Lomé Convention, the goods of the ACP Group of States enjoy free access to the Community's market. The scheme for stabilisation of our export earnings has become popular. Financial and technical cooperation has helped to build infrastructure, to develop agricultural projects, telecommunications, to train manpower and so on. The guaranteed price of ACP sugar under the Sugar Protocol has helped "buffer" economic shocks. And I have already indicated how this cooperation reached right down to the village level.

57. There is no doubt also that the European Community in its turn benefits a great deal from this association, both in the visible and invisible forms. There is the access to the rich store of ACP raw materials and the accruing added value from the processing of much of these in the EEC economies. There is also entry to valuable markets in the sixty-three ACP States for European manufactured export goods and the security along the main sea trading routes through the ACP States. All are valuable to the economy of the EEC.

58. These and other elements clearly show that both ACP and EEC need each other and benefit mutually from this cooperation.

### The International Image of Lomé

59. Seen from the international point of view, the Lomé Convention is the only example that exists of a model of cooperation forged between a grouping of industrialised countries and a number of developing ones.

60. As such, we as a Group are justly proud of many aspects of this arrangement. And in a spirit of solidarity, we, the ACP and EEC, have from time to time jointly sought to defend and justify its existence in international fora like GATT. We do so because we believe in its intrinsic value.

### Shortcomings of the Convention

61. Notwithstanding, as I have said before, there are many real shortcomings. Allow me to tell you some of them. But first let me tell you that I am aware that some in the Community have said that the ACP Group is too demanding,

it constantly criticises the Lomé arrangements and the Community unnecessarily and for no good reason, making the Community the scapegoat for a decline which is really caused by the world's economic crisis. I do not share this view.

62. In my view, the problems lie in the following main areas:

- (i) failure in the implementation of the instruments
- (ii) the functioning of the organs of the Convention
- (iii) undefined policies

63. I will deal with these one by one somewhat subjectively, even if it is purely to expose the problems and point to general directions.

(i) Failure in the Implementation of Instruments

Trade Cooperation

64. In spite of the liberal terms of entry of ACP goods into the Community market, the use of restrictive rules of origin, voluntary export restraints, and other non-tariff barriers still restrict trade flows from ACP States.

65. The prices of the ACP exports of commodities have been falling and the cost of ACP imports of Community-manufactured goods and machinery have been increasing. Despite the Stabex system, ACP countries had to increase the volume of their exports to maintain the same level of earnings.

Increasingly it takes more and more tons of sisal to buy a tractor !

66. Despite the provisions relating to the development of maritime transport all ACP goods cross the oceans and are transported CIF to their destination in foreign bottoms, whereas manufactured goods are freighted FOB to ACP ports. It seems that the ACP countries are financing the freight carriers of the world ! There is a pressing need to consider this element of freight cost, which is a serious burden on ACP states as producers and as consumers !

67. In disposing of its exports in the Community market, the ACP states, despite the Convention, are still exposed to the action of multinationals which can undercut the prices at which the ACP States can sell their products profitably. There is no better assistance that the EEC can give developing countries than to ensure that they obtain a fair price for their products. For thus the ACP can feel that it is earning its own development. It is a matter of self-respect - and of mutual respect !

#### Stabex

68. For the first five years, the scheme, through generally rising international commodity prices, avoided displaying its congenital weakness of inadequate resources. In this period, due to the ease of transfers, the scheme enjoyed a certain measure of popularity among the ACP States. But when commodity prices generally declined, as they did in 1980, the congenital weakness was exposed and the scheme, like a very sick patient, was brought to virtual collapse. Thus, while the principle and the system, including the notion of replenishment remain sound and welcome, realistic financial resources need to be provided if there is to be any future for this important mechanism.

#### Financial and Technical Cooperation

69. The implementation of the Title of the Convention "Financial and Technical Cooperation" is quite unsatisfactory. In particular, disbursements are extremely slow thereby eroding the value of the resources. Furthermore, the situation is aggravated by the unwillingness of the Community to countenance the involvement of the ACP Group in the management of the fund. If this Title is ever to operate smoothly, then the ACP Group would have to be involved fully in every aspect of decision-making.

70. The Article 108 Ministerial Committee has met once in the last two years of its institution. And though its work seems promising, no-one is as yet sure what it has achieved. Maybe, rather than giving it the responsibility to improve implementation it should perhaps be involved in taking decisions on projects in line with the spirit of "equality between the partners" outlined in Article 108.

71. Regional difference and problems are not adequately taken into account, and the tied nature of aid reduces its value, especially for States far away from the Community markets.

72. The whole liberal spirit of the Convention can be undermined by non-participation of the ACP in joint management of the financial resources and by the very bureaucratic method of implementing programmes. Equally, narrow vision on the part of ACP countries can deny them the technical assistance and expertise which would enable them to make the fullest and best use of the resources available through the Convention.

#### Sugar

73. The main problem in the very important Sugar Protocol remains the unwillingness of the Community to fix the price by proper negotiations as is required by the Protocol. This is a breach of the protocol by the Community and leaves the ACP group gravely disappointed and disillusioned. The main threat to ACP sugar in the Community markets and in the wider international market is the Community's continued massive over-production. We sincerely hope that the Community would soon accept the discipline of the International Sugar Agreement and accede to it.

#### Industrial Cooperation

74. The long and short of the Title Industrial Cooperation is that not one ACP country has yet emerged as a newly industrialised country. The one or two which may have been on the verge of it have been hampered by Community imposed voluntary export restraints and by threats relating to the use of the safeguard clause.

75. Very little effort has been made towards the greater processing of ACP raw materials within the ACP countries to secure higher value-added from the products within the ACP States themselves. As a result, for example, exporters of coffee get the benefit of only 32% of the final value of the product, of sugar about 30% and of groundnut oil about 45%.

76. There is a need to direct the thrust of the Centre for Industrial Development specifically towards ways and means of processing in ACP of ACP raw materials with a view to their benefitting from higher value-added.

77. Your rapporteur is, however, not intending to deal comprehensively with this subject, for as you know, my friend the Ambassador of Nigeria, H.E. Chief Peter Afolabi, is heading a special working party, with Mr Gerard Fuchs as Rapporteur, on this vital subject. I will therefore content myself

by reminding all of us, especially the ACP, that when we send our raw materials out of our countries we are thereby exporting employment and income.

#### Least Developed, Landlocked and Island Countries

78. Matters relating to the solutions of needs of the large group of ACP least developed, landlocked and island countries are mentioned in too general terms and dispersed throughout the Convention to make it possible for any one, including the countries themselves, to identify quickly and clearly what is being provided for them. Cognisant of their special handicaps, a more specific and positive approach would be necessary to deal effectively with this group of countries.

79. In conclusion, therefore, in addition to their individual deficiencies, the instruments for implementation of the Convention do not appear to have an overall logical organic linkage. The result is that despite the proliferation - indeed at times duplication - of effort over a wide area, there is lacking a certain effective thrust. In fact, some of the instruments have created a mirage, making promises which have not eventuated.

80. It therefore seems clearly necessary to re-examine the nature of many of the instruments, the interrelationship between them and the way in which they are organised in relation to the policies they are designed to implement.

#### (ii) The Functioning of the Organs of the Convention

##### The Council of Ministers

81. The Council of Ministers has degenerated to a "super committee of ambassadors" because a sufficient number of Ministers do not attend meetings. The ACP Ministers having travelled great distances to Europe for meetings have often encountered situations where EEC Ministers are either not available or cannot take the necessary time to properly discuss the issues. As a result, the Council has tended to become a forum for a mere hurried exchange of views. This has caused a lack of interest on the ACP side in attending.

82. Also, certain issues have remained on the agenda without progress for so long - some for almost as long as the ACP/EEC Convention has been there, for example, the question of supply of available agricultural products - that ACP Representatives have become disillusioned. As someone said, there seem to be more cases of indecision than decision. This obviously cannot go on in our model Convention.

## The Consultative Assembly

83. The Consultative Assembly and the Joint Committee appear to duplicate each other's functions. Many ACP countries, some of which lack Parliaments, often do not send parliamentarians to have a frank exchange of views with their European counterparts, thereby denying the essential parliamentary nature of this institution. Instead, ACP Ambassadors, a good number of whom already stand-in for their Ministers at the ACP/EEC Council, also stand-in as Parliamentarians.

84. A system needs to be worked out to encourage a more healthy parliamentary debate by representatives of the people, who are acquainted at first-hand with problems on the ground.

85. There might even be a place for representatives of social partners and investors - if only as observers, in the Joint Committee.

86. The greatest danger of all, however, seems to be in the process of continuous resolution-passing without resolution-implementing.

87. A quick analysis of resolutions concerning some selected major instruments dealt with by the Consultative Assembly in the last four years, reveal a most disturbing picture. There have been about 312 resolutions considered by the Consultative Assembly over that period. Many of them are "hardy annuals". Following are some examples.

88. On Trade the unsatisfactory trading position of the ACP Group has been stressed by all four rapporteurs.

89. The liberal access offered by the Community to ACP goods has been ineffective and insufficient and the root causes of the meagre results should be investigated.

90. The danger of protectionism, restraint from use of the safeguard clause and the need for effective trade promotion have been in the resolutions for three years. Despite all of these, nothing positive has really happened. Indeed increased protection levies have recently been imposed on some of our exports to the Community.

91. On Stabex the same manner, for four years a call has been made for involvement in the Common fund for two years an inveighing against the inadequacy of Stabex funds and for three years emphasising the need to extend the range of products covered by the scheme.

92. On industrial cooperation there has been, for four years, a call for speedier arrangements to fulfill the objectives of industrialisation, stressing that the programme has been ineffective needing mobilisation of additional funds, private and public capital for the industrialisation of ACP States; observing that no significant results have been achieved as a result of lack of clear industrial policies in Europe and in the ACP countries.

93. For three years, the importance of consultation with economic and social partners has been highlighted in determining industrial restructuring measures in the Community. As is well-known, up to now, the Community has not even agreed to discuss much less to do anything serious about this question of restructuring.

94. On Sugar the lack of joint negotiations on the fixing of the sugar price, taking into account the economic factors including freight, etc. has been continually condemned, for every year since about 1977.

95. For more than three years now, there has been a call on the Community to avoid the problem of building up surpluses of beet sugar which is affecting the price for ACP cane sugar.

96. In this connection it is instructive to note the little known fact of the helpful attitude of New Zealand in discouraging beet production in that country, to the benefit of cane sugar producers.

97. On agricultural cooperation for two years, special attention has been drawn to the need to increase assistance to be granted to ACP countries hit by drought.

98. Self-sufficiency food and agricultural problems have been discussed for three years with a view to creating awareness of their importance. And here I must pause to commend Commissioner Pisani for having manfully taken up this challenge. Together with him we are determined to give it a go.

99. Distinguished Representatives will draw their own conclusions and ask why so many of the problems have remained unresolved.

100. The above problems are but a small selection of what has been discussed and rediscussed at all levels of the institutions of the ACP/EEC Conventions and many powerful resolutions adopted.

Your Rapporteur hesitates to add more resolutions this year. It is solutions we are looking for.

#### ACP/EEC Committee of Ambassadors

101. The Committee of Ambassadors has been steadily becoming more and more confrontational, indecisive, preoccupied with formalities rather than substance and, even sometimes at variance with the direction of the Council of Ministers.

102. Many people I have spoken to dread the approach of the next negotiations if the present "hard line" attitude is allowed to continue.

103. Looking at the record of its performance, it appears clear that there is need for greater political intervention in certain aspects of ACP/EEC relations in order to lift matters out of the present "doldrums".

#### Centre for Industrial Development

104. The Centre for Industrial Development is still to prove effective. Its funds are inadequate and its role thereby limited. Some have already begun to say that it is a "public relations exercise" and not an institution for achieving concrete results.

105. We of the ACP cannot afford, however, after decades of cooperation with the EEC to end up merely as "has been" providers of raw materials for European industry. We too must industrialise. And for this an effective centre for industrial development is necessary. Let us make it so.

### Information - the ACP/EEC Courier

106. At the basis of all successful institutions and policies is usually a programme of effective information. Within the ACP/EEC cooperation it is strongly felt by the ACP that while much may be written on and of the ACP in their joint information instrument - The ACP/EEC Courier, not enough of it reflects the ACP's point of view, and too much of it seems to project the views of the Community.

107. This is part of a general Third World problem which our model Convention has unfortunately not escaped. This must be corrected.

108. In reflecting on this question, and that of a redesigned Centre for Industrial Development, is there not a need to consider instituting one Centre for Development which can promote, integrate and develop joint programmes on industry, agriculture, investment, information, marketing, cultural exchange etc., rather than a multiplicity of different centres, as now threatens to be the case? This is something we should think about !

### Undefined Policies

109. Policies are based on philosophies which essentially embody the manner in which a people conduct their lives in order to adjust to and overcome the problems of living within their own environment.

110. At this point in time the Memorandum on the Community's Development Policy, probably for the first time, while not openly calling into question its own past policies, has now tried to define new policies in terms of approach, method and means.

111. The ACP Group, on the other hand, has not come up with any similar set of policies deriving from their national and regional strategies.

112. This lack of orientation has led in the past to confusion, lack of clarity etc., in terms of the articles of the various instruments of the Convention. People have therefore built up hopes in the instruments of the Convention and have been disappointed because their hopes have not been realised.

113. At the end of the day, the Convention is not an end in itself. It is an instrument - a legally binding agreement - designed to help those party to it who wish to develop themselves. But the onus must fall on the various countries to decide on their own strategies and plans to which the Convention must bring assistance.

114. Your Rapporteur, Mr. Chairman, recognises that there is a diversity of levels of development and needs existing within the various states party to the Convention.

115. And it is precisely mainly for this reason that each state must develop its own position at local, national, regional and global (ACP and EEC) level before participating in the negotiating of the Convention. Key areas needing development (self-sufficiency in food, energy, commerce, etc.) should be clearly elaborated at all levels first. All this requires thorough preparation.

116. Also in the past, negotiations had been bogged-down because little or no broad political consensus, regarding the objectives, was reached before they started. If such consensus is first agreed, it should avoid some of the "impasses" experienced in the past.

117. Such a meeting of minds at political level is very very vital to the success and improvement of the third ACP/EEC Convention. To rush into negotiations without taking that step is like putting the cart before the horse and simply making Lomé II into Lomé III. The Rapporteur hopes that this will be taken into account by the Community and the ACP between this Meeting and the 1st September.

#### CONCLUSION

##### Convention must foster ACP Self-Reliance

118. Mr Chairman, I said at the beginning that we have come to the crossroads of our ACP/EEC relations. We have stopped; we have looked at some important aspects of our relations and we have listened.

119. We hope that the step we are about to take towards our next Convention would be the wisest one and in the best interest of all of our people.

120. Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, having considered the title "Lomé II and Beyond", your Rapporteur wishes to suggest for your consideration an approach to "Beyond Lomé II" by making the following general conclusions:

"An Approach to Beyond Lomé II"

121. The Convention must foster Self-Reliance

The experience of the ACP States so far with the Lomé arrangements reveal a certain need to enshrine more firmly and to reflect more comprehensively throughout any future Convention as its first and most basic objective the fostering of the self-reliant development of the ACP contracting parties.

122. This should give due weight to economic as well as to the cultural dimension which against the background of the self-reliance policy of the ACP at national and regional levels promotes self-sufficiency as well as preserving cultural identities.

123. For whatever else they may achieve, if these Conventions were to leave the ACP States more, rather than less dependent on the Community and on such arrangements in the future, then in a very real sense the peoples and societies of the ACP would not have achieved that most vital of goals for which they seek - their social, cultural and economic development.

Convention as an Adjunct to ACP National and Regional Plans

124. Secondly, that same experience points to the need to set out equally clearly the role of the Convention. This role must certainly be as a supplement to the domestic and national plans and programmes of the ACP States. It is only in this way that the Convention would find the organic linkages which it now evidently seems to lack. Let us therefore look at our Lagos Plan of Action, our CARICOM Programmes, and our Pacific Programmes to find the basic philosophies on which we build our new relationship.

Convention must further North/South Dialogue

125. The first ACP/EEC Convention in early 1975 took a positive lead in charting a path to a more desirable and more just approach to international economic cooperation between developed and developing countries. This international objective has since been relegated to a lower priority because one or two powerful nations are not prepared to contemplate sharing our one world more equitable with the developing countries. Lomé II failed to match its predecessor in this regard.

126. The ACP and the EEC surely realise that they cannot carry the whole burden of the development dialogue on their "shoulders" and that there is need for progress at the global level for issues such as the Common Fund. They must realise, however, that as one half of the world community of nations no small part of that task rests firmly at their door. No successor arrangement therefore which does not make a significant contribution to world progress in this field can justify its existence. For it is eventually on this that the world will evaluate our performance.

127. Convention must be built and sustained on the concept of "Equality between Partners"

Our ACP/EEC relationship is founded in the spirit of equality and partnership; both of these principles must be animated, invigorated and sustained in the next arrangement if our Convention is to retain its uniqueness and attain its objectives.

Mr Chairman I thank you.