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COMMISSION

THE TASKS AND THE AIMS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY IN AFRICA

by

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European Economic Community

Directorate-General of Overseas Countries and Territories

Lecture

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Ladies and Gentlemen,

The honour of giving the major address in the series "Countries of the franc area south of the Sahara", at this year's Africa Day during the German Industries Fair in Hanover, is one which I accepted in full awareness of the difficulty presented by the assignment. The economic and political development of these countries has of recent years been moving so fast that it has not been easy for an observer — especially if he is a foreigner — to keep himself up to date. The two journeys which I have recently made as Director-General for Associated Countries and Territories in the European Economic Community — journeys which took me to such places as Madagascar, Somaliland and the countries of the former French West Africa — have only made it more obvious to me what immense tasks face these countries, and today I am less able than ever to see clearly what Europe's economic policy in Africa should be, or how we should shape our future relations with the dark continent. You should therefore not expect from me more than a brief résumé of the most important political and economic data, a statement of the importance, the possibilities and the purpose of associating the overseas countries with the EEC, and an indication of some principles which I consider should be followed by the countries of western Europe, and in particular by the Federal Republic, in their economic relations with these territories if a useful contribution is to be made to the development of the continent of Africa, and so to the development of relations between Europe and Africa *and* of relations between the West and the world of young nations.

Allow me to begin with a brief review of political and administrative developments in the relations between France and the African territories linked with France. The institutions set up by the "loi-cadre" of 23 June 1956 had hardly been installed before they were replaced or at least altered by the organizational forms of the France-African Community which emerged from the referendum of 28 September last. Guinea left the Union and chose independence, while Madagascar and the countries of the former French West African and French Equatorial African Territories became 12 "quasi autonomous" republics in accordance with the opportunities afforded by the constitution of the Republic. At this point it is perhaps of some interest to give the official French designations of these countries; they are:

République Malgache,
République Soudanaise,
République du Sénégal,
République Islamique de Mauritanie,
République Gabonaise,
République du Tchad,
République du Congo,
République Centre-africaine,
République de Côte-d'Ivoire,
République de Haute-Volta,
République du Niger,
République du Dahomey.

All of these are united in the "Communauté franco-africaine" at the head of which stands a Ministerial or Executive Council with four Special Committees (for Economic and Social Affairs, for Communications, for Legal Matters and for Higher Education) and a Senate of 284 members. This Executive, which met for the first time at the beginning of March, is presided over by the President of the French Republic.

As part of the change, the former Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer has been abolished and its competence divided up between the institutions of the Community and other ministries in France. Inevitably, such a political and administrative recasting of the relations between France and its overseas territories lead at first to uncertainties over questions of competence, etc.; these have naturally not been without effect on the shaping of European relations with these territories or the "Communauté franco-africaine", and they have slowed down the progress of our work. It seems however that this transitional period will soon be over.

When we turn to the economic situation of the African countries in the franc area we find that it is dominated by two factors known to you: first, by the closeness of the links between the economy of these countries and the Metropolis, France; and secondly, by the fact that they are without exception countries in the course of development.

I would like to illustrate the economic interdependence of the franc area by some figures: in 1957 — and in this glance into the past Guinea is of course included — 75 % of the exports and 74 % of the imports of the overseas countries of which we are speaking took place *within* the franc area; France itself received 24 % of its imports from the overseas territories and dispatched to them 35 % of its total exports.

And now a question about the phrase "a country in the course of development". What do we understand by this phrase, which has replaced "under-developed" or "backward" countries? (It is, incidentally, possible to learn a great deal about the change in attitude towards this problem from this change of terminology.) A uniform and clear definition does not and probably cannot exist. The characteristic features include the national assets, the coefficient of savings or investment, the level of imports of capital, the output per head of certain primary products, and also the educational level or the economic system. Another criterion is that the average annual income per head in a country in the course of development does not exceed \$ US 100. Often too there is a further characteristic which is particularly noticeable in the areas with which we are dealing: this is the negative balance-of-payments situation produced by the rising demand for imported goods, especially industrial products, which cannot be balanced by the export of native products. The deficit of the overseas territories of the franc area in 1957, for instance, was \$ 160 million. I believe that this situation, which was at least in part due to the general economic crisis in the franc area, will improve greatly as a result of the latest commercial measures and, even more, the monetary measures taken by the French Government, *i. e.* the 15 % devaluation of the franc and the establishment of convertibility for non-residents. These measures may prove to be a major step towards the recovery of the franc and so to a possible expansion of trade.

The currency differences between France and the overseas territories have not been eliminated. As you know, the currency used in all African Member States of the Community is the special CFA-franc with a nominal value twice as high as that of the French franc, *i. e.* 1 CFA franc = 2 (metropolitan) francs. This colonial franc was created in December 1945 in order, so it was stated in the official explanation, to prevent the overseas territories being involved in the general devaluation of the French franc; how far its exchange rate is justified today, and whether its existence is not a factor restricting the much desired flow of investment capital from abroad — these are questions which the French Government and the Executive Council of the Franco-African Community must presumably one day examine thoroughly.

Despite many currency and commercial difficulties, trade between the African countries of the franc area and third countries has continued to develop in recent years. It was assumed that the reductions in foreign currency available to the African countries of the franc area because of the falling prices of primary products would mean reductions in exports from the industrialized countries, but such has not proved to be the case. This however was *only* made possible, as is evident from what I said earlier, through the action taken by France to counterbalance the deficit; France in turn was able to, and in fact had to, fall back on support and credits from the former European Payments Union, the International Monetary Fund and the United States. The imports of the overseas territories of the franc zone — including those outside Africa — rose from 218,000 million French francs in 1956 to 256,000 million in 1957. For these two years the export figures were 147,000 million francs and 153,000 million francs. As you see, we have a sharp rise in imports accompanied by only a slight increase in the level of exports. The situation varies, however, considerably from one country to another: Tunisia, the countries of French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar and New Caledonia achieved export surpluses in 1957, while in Morocco, Algeria and West Africa imports exceeded exports.

If my remarks concerning the economic situation in the African countries of the franc area have so far referred to the past, *i. e.* the period 1956/57 — the last for which reliable figures are at present available — the question may be asked what will be the effect on trade with these territories of the establishment of the Common Market, which began on 1 January 1959.

As you know, the extra-European countries and territories having special relations with Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands are not full members of EEC but are associated with it. The looser form of association and the limiting of the Convention to five years were chosen, first to take account of the degree of economic development of these countries, secondly, because their political development is in flux — it is known for instance that Togoland, Cameroon and Italian Somaliland will become independent next year — and also because their own long-term decision for or against close relationships with the Six could not and should not be prejudged.

The purpose of the association is to further the economic and social development of the countries and territories and to establish close economic relations between them and the Community as a whole. It must in the first place permit the furthering of the interests and prosperity of the inhabitants of these countries in such a manner as to contribute efficaciously to the economic, social and cultural development which they are seeking. With this end in view the Treaty of Rome contains three concrete proposals, which it will now be necessary to test in practice:

1) The opening of markets by reduction of customs duties and elimination of all remaining import quotas;
2) The Development Fund;
3) The right of establishment; to this should be added the employment of Africans in the administrative organs of EEC, a measure decided upon by the European Commission.

To begin with point (1): what changes have taken place since 1 January 1959 in the fields of duties and tariffs?

Reduction of customs duties in the overseas territories

All associated overseas territories which have customs preferences for imports from the motherland have reduced their customs duties vis-à-vis

Member States by 10 %. In Africa, this means the former administrative unit of French West Africa with the exception of Guinea, which became an independent republic after the referendum of 28 September 1958. This reduction in duties was carried out lineally, *i. e.* for all products without exception, since fortunately none of these territories has taken advantage of the provision of Article 133 § 3, according to which the overseas territories may levy customs duties which correspond to the needs of their development and to the requirements of their industrialization. On the other hand no changes have been made in customs duties in the former administrative territory of French Equatorial Africa, since a non-discriminatory customs tariff is applied there and French goods are in no more favourable position from a customs point of view than products from the other Member States of the Community.

Increase of quotas in the overseas territories

The quotas which, under the bilateral agreements with France, were formerly open to the Federal Republic, Italy and the Benelux countries for their exports to the French overseas territories have been consolidated into global quotas and these are now available for imports from the Community, the mother country naturally excepted. It should be noted that the quotas have at the same time been increased by a percentage equivalent to the French currency devaluation of 29 December 1958. When the global quota for a non-liberalized product calculated in this fashion was *less* than 7 % of the total imports into an overseas territory, the quota to be opened on 1 January 1959 was fixed at 7 % of the total imports of the product in question. The global quotas open for imports from the Community are of the order of 22,000 million French francs. Half of this amount has already been made available to the overseas territories. A large part consists of goods whose quotas have been calculated according to the 7 % rule. Among the most important products which benefit by this increase in quotas are pharmaceuticals, motor-car tyres, iron and steel products (with the exception of those which come under the ECSC Treaty), paper and paper-board, clothing, electro-technical products, motor-cycles and bicycles, passenger cars and trucks. For a certain number of non-liberalized products, for which there has been no possibility of import to date, the Commission will decide on the quotas to be opened.

Reduction of customs duties in the Member States

Under the terms of the Treaty, the Member States are required to abolish, step by step, and in accordance with the same rules as apply for the reduction of customs duties *within* the Common Market, duties on the import of goods from the associated territories. All the Member States fulfilled this obligation on 1 January of this year, so that the 10 % reduction in customs duties which came into force on 1 January 1959 benefits the products of the overseas territories in general. If the overseas territories could thus expect to enjoy a 10 % tariff preference within the Community from that time onwards, it must be noted that in practice this preferential treatment has not always occurred. In fact there are various cases in which the customs duties applied to third countries by some Member States do *not* differ from those in force within the Community. This is explained first by the fact that some Member States — the Federal Republic of Germany in particular — made an autonomous reduction in duties between 1 January 1957 (reference date for the initial duties) and 1 January 1959, thus fulfilling before the due date the Treaty obligation to reduce duties by 10 % with effect from 1 January 1959. A further reason for the lack of a preferential margin must be added: in December of last year the Community declared its readiness, in the absence of a solution of the problem of the free trade area, to reduce duties vis-à-vis third countries independently (for industrial products in general, if the duties being applied are higher than the rates of the future common customs tariff, and for at least those agricultural products which are not liberalized). Finally, there are also some cases in which a Member State — to be precise, the Federal Republic of Germany — by reason of early introduction of the rates of the common customs tariff in accordance with Article 24 of the Treaty, and more rapid reduction of internal duties in accordance with Article 15 of the

Treaty, applies the same rate of duty to non-member and to Member countries. This is the position in Germany for imports of coffee, tea and cocoa. Even if, from the strictly legal point of view, there can hardly be any objection to these measures, the question nevertheless arises — and it has been put to me with great emphasis in all coffee-producing territories of the franc area — whether such a procedure is compatible with the spirit of the Association, as the privileged position intended for the associated countries does not in these circumstances become a reality. What is more, the Federal Republic has balanced the lowering of the import duty by making an equivalent increase in the excise tax. This means that an effective stimulant for increasing the consumption of these products is lost, as there is no change in the actual price to the consumer.

Increase of quotas in the Member States

In all Member States the majority of tropical products can be imported according to the liberalized procedure, *i. e.* without any quantitative restrictions. Where, in individual cases, tropical products have not yet been liberalized in the Member States, the previous import quotas have also been consolidated into a global quota and enlarged by 20 % in accordance with the Treaty.

Problems which arise in the field of trade

You see therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, that in the field of customs duties and quotas the Treaty contains numerous provisions for the mutual opening of markets between the Member States and the associated overseas territories. But these administrative measures alone do not provide a solution; further efforts are doubtless necessary in other fields in order to bring about the desired increase of mutual trade. In saying this I am thinking chiefly of the marketing of the typical tropical products such as oil-seeds, coffee, cocoa, cotton, bananas, hard fibres, woods and unrefined sugar.

We have already taken a step in this direction in that we are at present examining the market and price structure for these products. This will show for which products there is a world-wide crisis for which the solution is not to be found in measures applying to the associated producing countries alone. This is particularly the case for coffee, but there are other products for which the marketing difficulties predominantly concern the associated territories *e. g.* groundnuts) and for which we must find a solution alone. The problem here will be to examine prices more thoroughly in their effects on marketing. We are thinking primarily of the problem of charges — doubtless a source of income which public budgets in the associated territories would find it very hard to forego, but also, in some cases, a heavy burden on the selling price of the products. The possibility is not excluded that this source of income may be removed from the customs sector, *i. e.* from the export duties, to the tax sector, so that this burden no longer weighs on the market prices of the products in question.

The first thing is to examine whether improvements are possible under the heading of cost prices. It cannot be denied that overseas producers do not work to the same close calculations as are taken for granted today in the highly industrialized countries.

In the production and conditioning of goods, their transport and their "marketing" in the strict sense, further economies could certainly be suggested which could contribute to making the delivery price more competitive. Nor should marketing itself be neglected. There are sufficient examples showing how the sales of a product as such, and not of any particular brand, can be appreciably improved by a big campaign of propaganda and advertisement. In this connection I am thinking of citrus fruit from the South African Union.

Finally, our enquiries will also reveal whether we are dealing with a genuine world market price, so that in principle the associated producer countries can be expected to adapt their price structure to the world market. Where we are obliged to note that competition on the world market is being distorted through monopolistic influences, the adoption of special measures to meet this world situation will perhaps be unavoidable.

In its effort to contribute to the solution of the above-mentioned difficulties, the European Commission finds itself confronted by a further problem: consideration for the interests of non-member countries, which have repeatedly and justifiably insisted that the economic re-organization of Europe and of its relations with the associated overseas territories must not be undertaken at their expense nor result in the drying up of traditional streams of trade.

As M. Rey, who is responsible in the European Commission for the external relations of the Community, recently explained,

"One of the greatest difficulties at present facing the Common Market is the uneasiness which it has caused in non-member countries.

If ever the Europeans should have had any doubts about the importance and scope of their enterprise, these have been swept away by the great echo evoked in all parts of the world by the establishment of the Common Market.

Many wise and responsible people outside the Common Market who take a long view of developments fully realize that the creation of a great competitive market, with 160 million potential consumers and inspired by a genuine creative dynamism, must be regarded as a historical event offering advantages not only to the inhabitants of the Community but also to the population of non-member countries.

In the short run, however, things look different. Traditional currents of trade are impaired through the establishment of the Common Market; several States are asking in particular whether the association of the overseas territories will not lead to a shrinkage of their exports to the Community or whether the financial help which they have so far been obtaining will not in the future go primarily to the economic expansion of the less developed countries associated with the Community."

In reply to such comments it should be noted that the commercial policy favouring products from the associated territories by the reduction of customs duties and the abolition of quotas within the Common Market, and by the gradual introduction of a common external tariff, will take effect only *very* gradually. For various products no customs preferences yet exist and the share of the associated territories in German imports is very small. Even if it should double in the course of time there will certainly remain a sufficient margin for imports from non-member countries, since even in the long run the associated territories will not be in a position to cover the requirements of the Community which, it is assumed, will increase continuously. It is to be hoped that it is not erroneous to suppose that the national product in the different Member States will not only grow at the rate which might be expected in the light of domestic conditions but at a more rapid speed determined by the dynamic force of the Common Market.

In this way the cake to be divided between the associated territories and non-member countries will be greater every year, so that a sufficiently large piece should be available for all concerned.

To this must be added that the Community, as it has repeatedly emphasized, is far from intending to cut itself off from the outside world. Non-member countries wishing to enjoy the same advantages inside the Common Market as the associated territories are completely free to propose the conclusion of a treaty of association if they are prepared to assume the obligations laid down in the Treaty of Rome.

Where this is not possible or appears inadvisable for political or other reasons, the attempt must be made to reach an understanding in bilateral or multilateral negotiations. One possibility seems to me to lie in agreement on tariff quotas if the common customs tariff should prove too prohibitive in particular cases. I would like to recall that this possibility has been made use of in the Treaty itself, which grants the Federal Republic tariff quotas for bananas. In the same way, tariff quotas for unroasted coffee have been granted to Italy and Benelux. Finally, there is the possibility of agreement on reductions in the rates of the common customs tariff of the Community in eventual customs negotiations within GATT in return for concessions of equal value by non-member countries.

So much for trade between the Community and the overseas countries and territories associated with it.

The establishment of the Development Fund is the second cornerstone of the association provisions. For this purpose all the Member States of the European Economic Community provide an agreed amount from their budget funds — by 1962, a total of 581,000,000 EPU units of account (1 EPU unit of account = $ US 1) — in order, by financing social and economic investment in the associated countries and territories, to make an effective and lasting contribution to the economic, financial, and social stability of the overseas partners of the European Economic Community. Of the first annual tranche, equivalent to approximately $58,000,000, the Council of Ministers has made an overall allocation of 2/3 to social, and 1/3 to economic projects. Since however this decision was made subject to possible amendment in the light of experience, and as the Council will soon have to consider the overall allocations for the following budget years, it is possible that the decision made in respect of the 1958 fiscal year may be revised. It is a known fact that social investments normally produce no profits but rather mean a more or less heavy drain on local budget funds to keep the projects going, whereas economic projects mostly relieve budgets. It would thus indeed seem doubtful whether the allocation of too large a share of the overall funds to social investment would be to the purpose.

On 7 April, the European Economic Community and the Government of Belgium signed the first finance agreements of the Development Fund for the benefit of the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. These agreements, of which there were three, relate to four social projects in the Belgian Congo and four projects in Ruanda-Urundi — three economic and one social.

Since these eight projects together show a good cross-section of the operations which the Development Fund may carry out, I should like at this point to recall the details:

In the Belgian Congo, 400,000 units of account are being made available for the construction of a hospital, 654,000 to fight soil erosion, and a total of 1,000,000 for development work in the native suburbs of Elisabethville and Stanleyville. In Ruanda-Urundi, which has the highest density of population in all Africa, 500,000 are being made available to study the possibilities of agricultural development for an area of 200,000 ha. Also in Ruanda-Urundi, 440,000 units of account are being allocated to the construction of a road between the capital of Urundi, Kitega, which is a coffee-growing centre, and Usambura, the main port and the seat of the Government. Together with the all-weather road from Bugarama to Usambura, financed by the World Bank, this project will allow a considerable lowering of the cost of goods transport in both directions. The Fund is further providing 120,000 units of account for the construction of a simple track in the

Kitega and Mosso area, and another 336,000 for the introduction of tea-growing in the north of Ruanda-Urundi and the construction of a model tea-processing plant. Tea-growing having already been taken up in this area by European planters, it is the purpose of this project to popularize it among the native population.

The extensive administrative preparations required to ensure the proper and efficient use of the funds, and even more the fact that the projects worked out by the associated partners have been coming in regularly and in increasing numbers only since February of this year, have caused us to fall behind a little in the allocation of funds. Though by no means all problems have been solved — for instance, the shortage of staff resulting from the budget cuts ordered by the Council is having a very unfortunate effect — I none the less confidently hope that the projects planned in the French areas will now really get under way.

By 31 March 1959, the applications for financial support submitted to the Development Fund already numbered 202, involving a total amount of approximately 167 million units of account. In other words, the total cost of these applications already comes to about 35 % of all the funds available. It must however be underlined that an examination of these projects by the Fund will probably mean that a number of applications will be rejected because they are too ambitious or too limited, because they do not fall within the terms of reference of the

Fund, or for some other reason. Our task is, after all, not only to spend money, which is not a difficult matter, but to invest it in accordance with the letter, and especially with the spirit, of the Treaty. In other words, it is not desirable that this very substantial sum, provided by the tax-payers of the six European countries — the Federal Republic alone has contributed DM 840,000,000 — should "evaporate"; it should rather help to create a permanent basis for future co-operation between *Europe* and Africa. It is expressly laid down in the Treaty that the jointly financed overseas investments of the Member States of the EEC are not to take the place of the services planned by the mother countries. In particular France has of recent years provided most impressive assistance in the development field through the "Fonds d'investissement pour le développement économique et social de la France d'Outre-Mer", of which you have certainly heard and which is commonly known as FIDES. This work France intends to continue.

Let me give you a few figures: public investments carried out by the French Republic in the countries and territories associated with the EEC between 1946 and 1957 amount to an annual average of $210,000,000. Whereas therefore French bilateral assistance from 1958 to 1962, the period during which the Development Fund will operate, is likely to amount to some $1,000,000,000, the same countries and territories will at the same time receive in addition 88 % of the Development Fund, *i. e.* $511,000,000. In this way the European Development Fund will increase public investment in these areas by about 50 %.

It is more difficult to make a comparison in the case of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, because the methods of investment are different there. It can nevertheless be said that public investment in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi at present comes to $110,000,000 per annum under the 10-year plans drawn up by the Belgian Government. Compared with that, the Development Fund's contribution — a total of 30,000,000, spread over five years — is not of as much consequence here as for investment planning in the French territories.

You probably know that all natural and juridical persons in the Member States may participate on equal terms in the tenders and supplies connected with investments financed by the Development Fund. You may be assured that we regard it as one of our foremost tasks to watch over the practical application of this provision. The financing agreements which we draw up therefore contain provisions which remove any discrimination that may exist. Tenders are published not only locally but in the Gazette of the European Communities and building supervision is wherever possible entrusted to consulting engineers or firms of international repute.

The third of the proposals on co-operation between Europe and Africa which I said was contained in the Rome Treaties is the introduction of a general right of establishment in the associated countries and territories for all juridical or natural persons of the Community on the same terms as apply to nationals of the mother countries. We have already drawn up proposals for the removal of any discrimination remaining in this field and our suggestions have since been unanimously approved by the Economic and Social Committee attached to the European Commission. Some of the comments asked for from Government and local authorities in Africa have not yet come in, but I hope that I am not being unduly optimistic when I say that the Council of Ministers will issue the pertinent directives in the course of *this* year.

As I have already pointed out, it has been decided that a large number of Africans are to be on the staff of the administration of the European Commission in Brussels. During my various visits in Africa I have accordingly discussed this with the Governments and I expect that the result will be the early appointment of Africans and Madagascans, especially in my Directorate-General. I very much hope that we shall reach this stage as soon as possible because I am convinced that thereby we will not only make a contribution to the training of young Africans and Madagascans, but that we ourselves depend to a large extent on their co-operation if we want to do our job actively and effectively throughout the associated countries and territories in the spirit of the Treaty of Rome.

This brings me to the end of what I have to say on the rules of the Association. I have told you something — I am afraid in far too much detail — about the technical basis of the Treaties of Rome and of the developments to which they may give rise. Yet I do not believe this to be in any way the essence of the new form of co-operation between Europe and Africa. If this Association is to lead to anything really sensible, then we must see in it much more than can be reflected in a recital of technical provisions — we must see in it something which I should like to describe in a French term as a new form of the "présence européenne" in Africa. As I see it, this term has nothing, really nothing whatever, in common with the old ideas of colonialism, and is not intended to make that out-moded concept respectable by internationalizing it. It simply gives expression to something that the Africans themselves have stressed often enough: the need for European help in Africa by lending technical, financial and moral support in order thus to come to fruitful co-operation. The EEC can however only fulfil its great task in this field if it succeeds in constituting itself as a genuinely *supranational* organization. Otherwise the Community will run the risk of being regarded in the associated countries and territories — and not only there — as an executive organ of the various Governments, and of finding that its efforts are discredited in advance when it endeavours to create, in close co-operation with these Governments, yet as an independent European body, something new which will continue to exist in its own right *beside* the immediate bonds which link the overseas territories to their mother countries.

If joint action of this type is really to prove successful, those taking part in the action must be agreed about their aims and general principles of policy vis-à-vis Africa and the countries in course of development must be worked out.

So far as the purely economic aspect of the problem is concerned, it can be said that the more wish to sell without being prepared at the same time to make economically sound investments will not lead to success in the countries undergoing development, and especially not in Africa. The essential pre-condition for increasing exports to these countries is to create purchasing power, and to this end extensive and effective investment of private foreign capital is an indispensable need, at least in the first phase. Adequate security for the capital investment as such, and for the transfer of interest and amortization, is just as obviously needed as a thorough familiarity with local conditions and the factors governing the Common Market and world markets, in order to avoid misdirected investments and prevent capital from being invested in the production of goods for which other countries can offer better conditions of production and supply.

Apart from these considerations I am convinced, however, that this development aid is primarily, and in the best sense of the term, a political and even humanitarian problem and that it is — to quote Minister Erhard — "a historic task of the West to help these countries in overcoming want and poverty". Yet, if I may be permitted to take this a step further, it is not only a question of lending a helping hand. Help is something which is not everywhere accepted gladly — neither amongst individuals nor amongst States — because it is a unilateral act and at the same time involves a certain degree of dependence on the part of the one to be helped. I think it is time this was said quite frankly, especially since in the post-war period numerous attempts have been made to put the relationship between the new nations and the States and groups of States in East and West on a new basis through aid. Many of these attempts have failed, not least because the recipients were left with something like a bad taste in their mouth. We should therefore perhaps also speak of the need to find ways of frank and sincere co-operation by joint endeavour, naturally carried out under conditions of complete equality. The hospitals, reservoirs, settlements and all the research work, etc., which we are financing with our Development Fund will very soon be forgotten unless we succeed in bringing them into the framework of this friendly co-operation between Europe and Africa. Above all, this requires a sincere endeavour to comprehend the mentality of these young nations, which frequently differs from ours, and at the same time to understand the feelings — even the bitter feelings — which they sometimes harbour towards Europe today. I cannot find that a close scrutiny of the last 100 years gives Europe the right to assume the role of governess vis-à-vis these countries. We are no pedagogues, and we should above all avoid any appearance of wishing to be pedagogues. We are men who, after all the dreadful experiences which our generation in particular has had to go through, have but the one wish to live in peace with the whole world, and who therefore want to seek ways and means, with all nations and especially with our neighbours, to achieve that aim. It is obvious that in this constantly shrinking world of ours Africa and Asia count among our neighbours. We wish to help and to mitigate want and poverty, but this help is not to be an end in itself — we want to look upon it as a means of attaining that relationship of mutual confidence between free and equal men and nations which is the foundation of a peaceful and happy future for us all.