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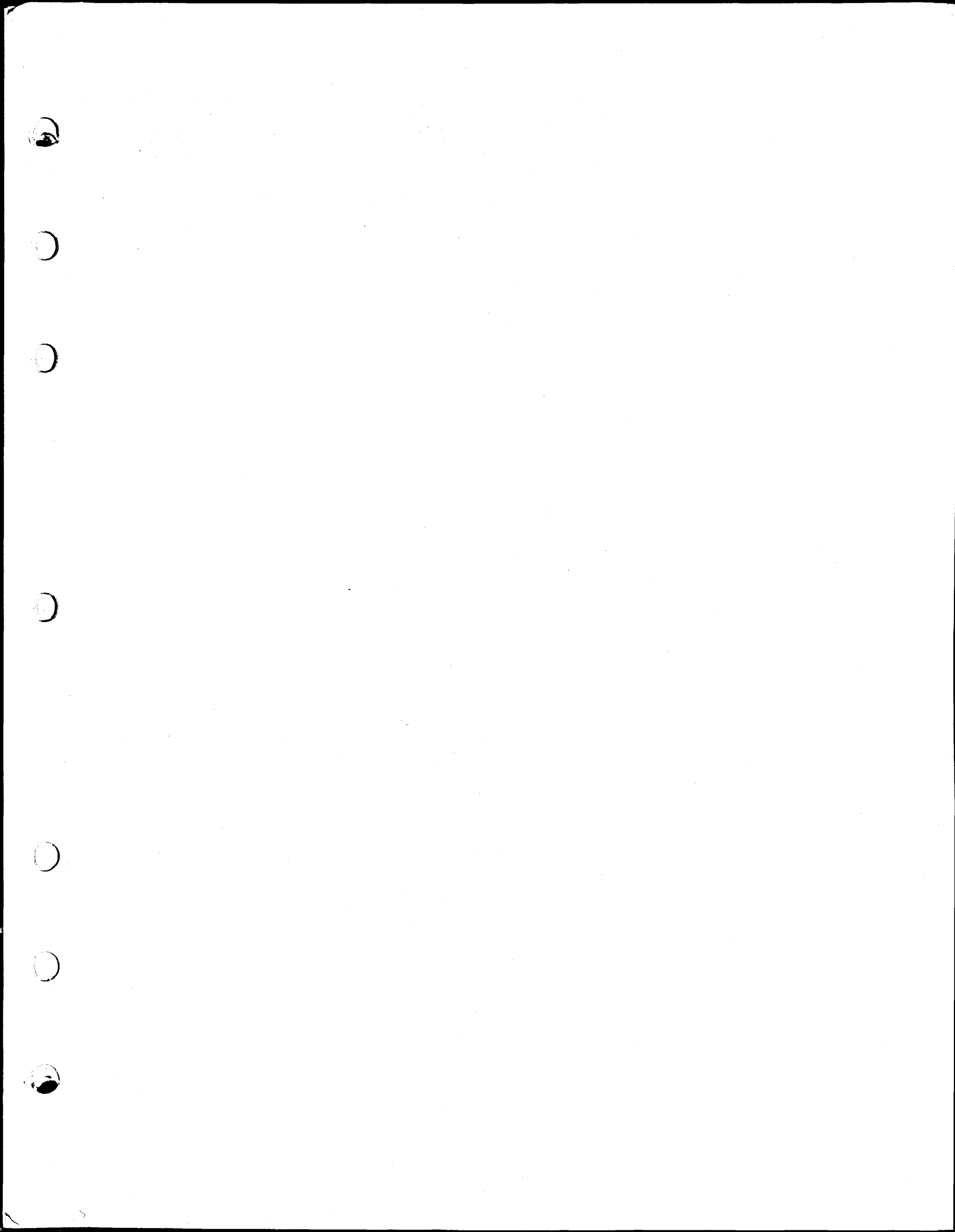
I N D E X

- 18. Apr. 15 ✓ Sons of Italy Society, Ottawa E "CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH ITALY"
- 19. Apr. 21 ✓ Commonwealth Correspondents Assoc. "CANADA AND BRITAIN IN A
London, England CHANGING COMMONWEALTH"
- 20. Apr. 26 ✓ Blaustein Lecture, Columbia University "CANADA'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING
New York UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING
EFFORTS"
- 21. Apr. 27 ✓ Blaustein Lecture, Columbia University "CANADA'S APPROACH TO THE
New York VIETNAM CONFLICT"
- 22. Apr. 28 ✓ Blaustein Lecture, Columbia University "CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO
New York ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE
LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES"
- 23. May 1 ✓ Noranda Lectures, Expo, Montreal
- 24. May 3 ✓ Speech City View Kiwanis Club Ottawa - E
- 24. May 5 ✓ Attocation - Ottawa, AUPELF - F
- 24. May 11 ✓ Notes - on occasion of signature of Min. des Affaires étrangères
Extradition Treaty between Canada and
Austria E
- 25. May 14 ✓ Association for Victims of Nazi
Oppression, Montreal
- 26. May 15 ✓ Economic Club of Detroit, Montreal "INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS AND
COOPERATION"
- 27. May 16 ✓ University of New Brunswick, Encaenia, "NEW DIMENSIONS IN CANADIAN
Fredericton E FOREIGN POLICY"
- 28. May 22 ✓ Congres International France-Amerique, "RELATIONS FRANCE-CANADA"
Montreal F
- 29. May 22 ✓ Speech - Waterloo Lutheran University - E "PRINCIPLES CANADIAN FOREIGN P"
- 29. May 25 ✓ Negev Dinner in honor of Lazarus "THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE
Phillips, Montreal E EAST"
- 29. May 23 Text, in the House of Commons - E
- 30. May 31 ✓ Canadian Inter-American Association "CANADA AND LATIN AMERICA"
Dinner, Ottawa
- 31 June 4 ✓ Hotel Dieu Hospital's School of "CANADA'S MEDICAL AID PRO-
Nursing, Windsor GRAMMES IN THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES"
- June 15 Address, Paris Press E&F
- 32. June 9 ✓ District Convention of Rotary Clubs "CANADIANISM"
Calgary (Delivered by Donald Mac-
Donald, M.P.) E
- June 15 ✓ Address - a ceremony held at House for Canadian Students in Paris E&F
- 33. June 23 ✓ Speech to Fifth Emergency Special "MIDDLE EAST QUESTION"
Session of the United Nations General
Assembly

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34. July 31 ✓ Remarks at unveiling of Ukrainian Centennial Plaque, National Library, Ottawa
35. Aug. 13 ✓ Remarks at opening of Jay Centennial Celebrations, Hamilton F "CANADA'S CENTENNIAL AND NATIONAL UNITY"
36. Aug. 14 ✓ Speech at opening of International Seminar of Rendez-vous '67 (Cent. Project of Can. Red Cross) Ottawa "RED CROSS YOUTH AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS"
37. Aug. 25 Speech to final meeting of Briefing Conference for External Aid Teachers, Ottawa "NEW PERSPECTIVES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE"
38. Aug. 26 ✓ Speech at luncheon of Directors of Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto "CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT"



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

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Notes for use by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
at the 60th Annual Banquet of the Sons
of Italy Society, Ottawa, April 15, 1967,
7:00 p.m.

"CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH ITALY"

It is a privilege for me to be here tonight as your guest and a pleasure to be able to speak to you.

May I first offer my warm congratulations on this anniversary of your Society. The formation of your Society sixty years ago was a happy event that augured well for the continuing development of our country. In this centennial year all Canadians will feel pride in the thought that the Sons of Italy Society is today celebrating a Diamond Jubilee.

As Secretary of State for External Affairs, I, for my part, am particularly conscious of the debt we owe both to ancient Rome and to modern Italy -- a debt based, first, on the heritage of lawmaking, language and art and, secondly, on the creative and civilizing impulses of a country which has been forging ahead in such diverse realms as industry, style, and culture.

This is why I am particularly happy at our increasing ties with your mother country. Canada's links with Italy today -- in politics, trade, immigration and culture -- are many and varied. The atmosphere surrounding our relations is most cordial and our human ties are growing deeper year by year.

In the political sphere, consultations between Canada and Italy are close and frequent. Our history and circumstances differ, but we have much in common in our views on the nature of international collaboration and on the methods which should be used to solve current world problems. As a result, we naturally work together in international organizations such as the United Nations and within the Atlantic Alliance.

Equally important, we undertake visits with a view to deepening existing opportunities for political and other exchanges. Last November I made an official trip to Rome during the course of which I met and talked with President Saragat, Prime Minister Moro and Foreign Minister Fanfani. (As you know I also had a long talk with His Holiness the Pope). In September President Saragat himself will pay us a state visit to which we are very much looking forward.

While in Montreal, President Saragat will, of course, visit the Italian pavilion at Expo 67, a striking edifice that mirrors all that modern Italy has to offer in the way of spiritual values and practical accomplishments.

Italy's material accomplishments and our own provide the basis for expanding trade. Commercial relations between our two countries have, as you know, become much closer during the last few years. In 1966 Canada imported over \$86 million dollars worth of Italian agricultural products, consumer goods and industrial equipment; we exported goods worth \$114 million, including both bulk foodstuffs and raw materials and sophisticated manufactured goods.

Thousands of Canadian tourists visit Italy each year. We hope to encourage more Italians to make the trip here, and to this end the Canadian Government Travel Bureau plans to open an office in Italy, probably in Rome.

But the most intimate link between Canada and Italy, as you well know, flows from family ties. There are well over 500,000 persons of Italian descent in Canada today. Immigration has increased steadily in recent years, from 14,200 in 1961 to

26,000 in 1965. Of 194,000 immigrants in 1966, almost 34,000 were Italians, and Italy is now second only to Britain as a source of immigrants. The Italian influence has greatly increased the colour of the Canadian scene, and we all count on Italian qualities continuing to enrich Canada to an increasing extent.

This is not a one-way street. Our growing ties with Italy were reflected in the shock felt by all Canadians last November when disastrous floods ravaged almost one-third of the Italian peninsula. Aid from private Canadian sources has been substantial, and the federal government has allocated half a million dollars to a flood relief programme. At the explicit request of the Italian government, we decided to devote a large part of this sum to assisting in the reconstitution of Italian livestock herds depleted by the floods. Under this Canadian government programme, breeding herds of quality registered cattle valued at approximately \$400,000 are due to arrive in Genoa around the middle of May, and a further \$100,000 will be applied to a broader programme which may include art restoration work.

One final -- and very important -- example of increasing links with Italy is our collaboration in culture. During my visit to Rome last year, Foreign Minister Fanfani and I concluded an exchange of letters setting up the Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome. The Institute's activities will include the fostering of Canadian cultural events in Italy and assistance to Canadian scholars and artists to study there. Foreign Minister Fanfani and I also agreed that discussions should begin on a general agreement covering the full range of cultural and artistic events.

These, then, are some examples of our growing ties with Italy. They are only a beginning but we are progressing steadily, and I know that the Sons of Italy Society is playing an important part.



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Speech by the Secretary of State

for External Affairs,

the Honourable Paul Martin,

to the

Commonwealth Correspondents Association,

London,

April 21, 1967 at 1 p.m. GMT

CANADA AND BRITAIN IN A CHANGING COMMONWEALTH

This is the first time I have made a speech in London since I became Secretary of State for External Affairs. It is, I think, appropriate that I should be speaking to an audience drawn from all parts of the Commonwealth. This great city is many things, but its role as centre of our world-wide Commonwealth Association is undoubtedly one of the most important.

Over the years, the Commonwealth ability to adapt to changing circumstances has perhaps been its greatest source of continuing strength and usefulness.

The centennial of Canadian confederation has provided a useful opportunity for Canadians to reflect on our country's future as well as its past. We have become increasingly conscious of the changes taking place both within our country, and in our relations with other countries.

In recent years there has been a "great debate" about the development of the Canadian confederation. We have, of course, an especially complex form of government in our federal system, in which power is divided between the federal and provincial levels. We have also two major languages, and a population drawn from many countries. As our economy grows, and our society evolves, I think it is to be expected that there will be some signs of strain. But I think it would be very wrong to view these strains as more than growing pains, as Canadians engage in the common effort of building a better and greater country.

In a few days, Expo 67 will be opening in Montreal. Thousands of people from all parts of Canada, from other parts of North America, from Europe and countries throughout the world will travel to Montreal to see this

world exhibition which has risen, almost literally, from the waters of the traditional gateway to Canada, the St. Lawrence River. To Canadians, Expo 67 in our centenary year represents not only a birthday celebration: it is a statement of faith in Canada, and its future.

Preoccupied as we understandably are with our own prospects and problems, we Canadians are aware of the sweeping and far-reaching changes taking place in Britain, and in Britain's relations with the world. We have, of course, been influenced by those distinctively British contributions to modern culture, the Beatles and mod styles. It is refreshing in a way to have British patterns invading North America. We continue to share a wide range of common interests in international affairs, a range of interests that becomes ever broader as the world grows more complex and interdependent.

In these changing circumstances it will, I believe, be most important for both Canada and Britain to make a special effort to understand the factors shaping each other's foreign policy: only in this way can we maintain and enhance our traditional, intimate relationship, which we value so highly.

We have just concluded the first meeting of the newly-established Canada-United Kingdom Ministerial Committee. The desirability of a forum of this nature was felt as a result of the increasingly complex and broad range of essentially bilateral matters of concern to the British and Canadian governments. Far from supplanting our traditional Commonwealth channels, I regard meetings of this sort as a valuable means of supplementing and extending our relationship.

The enormous changes taking place in the Commonwealth have affected the very nature of the association. Without wishing to underestimate the more traditional values of the Commonwealth, it is, I think, in the search for a practicable formula for building confidence among the various races of the human family that the modern Commonwealth has its greatest relevance to us today. The fact that the Commonwealth embraces so many differing races, in countries which nevertheless share, at least to some extent, a common language and elements of a common culture, gives it a great potential for contributing to international peace and understanding. It affords perhaps the most important political institution today for communication between the white "have" countries and the non-white "have-nots" and it has a major role to play in overcoming the division between the less-developed countries and the industrialized countries.

We see the Commonwealth Secretariat as one means of strengthening the Commonwealth in its role as an important link between countries with differing backgrounds and racial composition. By providing machinery to facilitate a broad range of contacts between Commonwealth countries, the Secretariat is making a contribution towards increasing the value of the Commonwealth association. The Commonwealth Foundation, the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, and the various organizations of a specialized sort which bring together men with common interests have a similar, valuable function. The Canadian Economic Aid Programme is oriented to a considerable extent towards the Commonwealth Colombo Plan, the special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme and our Caribbean Programme -- and our programmes of

assistance in military training are addressed to the Commonwealth. Such endeavours on our part, and the various large ways in which Britain assists Commonwealth countries, afford concrete attractions to the less-developed members to maintain the political association. It would appear desirable to continue and extend such measures. Canada, as befits its cultural heritage, is now making a comparable effort in the aid field towards the French-speaking states of Africa and elsewhere.

The Commonwealth has not been regarded as an exclusive organization. Its members have many interests which are reflected in the non-Commonwealth groupings and organizations to which they belong. For example, we understand and appreciate Britain's desire to play her full part in Europe, and we have been most interested to have a first-hand account from Prime Minister Wilson of his recent discussions with leaders of the six. The decision whether to apply is, of course, one for the British Government to make, in light of all the relevant considerations.

It is only fair to point out that Canada has important political and economic interests in the kind of arrangements which Britain's membership in the common market might entail. We have had an opportunity of discussing these interests with British ministers during the last two days at the meeting of the Anglo-Canadian Committee. However should Britain decide to seek entry, it would be possible to determine precisely what the effect upon trade between our two countries would be only when the terms for British entry were known. The outcome of the current Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations is another relevant factor.

Although our geography gives us a somewhat different perspective, Canada has, like Britain, a considerable direct interest in development in the continent of Europe. Simply stated, our interest lies in a stable Europe, whose internal difficulties do not constitute a threat to the peace of the world. Ultimately, this will require, among other things, a German peace settlement, and an end to the present division of Europe.

Apart from the vital questions of international peace and security, Canada also has interests in Europe arising from the fact that it is the source of so much of Canada's cultural heritage. In this respect, I think particularly of France, a country which is recognized by Canadians like Britain, as one of our founding nations.

Sharing as it does in the great traditions of French language and culture, Canada is determined to play its full part in the development of these special ties among the French-speaking countries of the world. In this endeavour, we are guided by considerations related to those which determine our attitude towards the Commonwealth, we seek to preserve, deepen, and apply, to the broad purposes of our external policy, traditional attitudes which are particularly meaningful to Canadians. It may well be that the experience, particularly in the cultural field, which we have gained in the Commonwealth will be of use in developing these new Canadian interests in relations with the French-speaking countries. The institutions which give continuous practical expression to the Commonwealth, such as the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, can perhaps serve as examples of ways in which the bonds between French-speaking countries can be strengthened. Indeed,

plans are already being made to hold a meeting of parliamentarians from French-speaking countries. In this way, Canada believes that its relations with the Commonwealth and with the French-speaking world can enrich and strengthen each other.

Until five years ago, Canada was the only independent Commonwealth country in the Western hemisphere. Now there are five, and, in addition, six Commonwealth islands in the Caribbean have, or are about to achieve, a new "associate" status which gives them a measure of independence.

Because of geographical proximity, and other factors, Canadians have long had a special sense of affection for their West Indian neighbours, and we are confident that our long-standing relationship will become more meaningful, and of greater mutual benefit, in this new era of independence. An important, practical step in this direction was taken last year, with the convening in Ottawa of the Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference, which was attended by the Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers of all the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, and presided over by our own Prime Minister, as head of the host government.

We recently experienced a deep loss, when one of the most distinguished leaders of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Sir Donald Sangster, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, passed away. Sir Donald was a good friend of Canada, and was known by many Canadians: he was also a strong believer in the Commonwealth, and what it stands for in the world today.

I have been speaking of the changing nature of our Commonwealth association, particularly as it affects Canada. The conflict in Vietnam, while not a Commonwealth problem, is of great concern to countries of the Commonwealth.

It might be noted that Britain, as one of the co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, has a special responsibility with respect to Vietnam, as have India and Canada, as two of the three members of the international commission set up to supervise the cease-fire arrived at in 1954. Two other members of the Commonwealth, Australia and New Zealand, both situated in the area of conflict, are contributing forces for the defence of South Vietnam.

Canada has of course no direct national interest to assert or maintain in South East Asia. We have been drawn into that part of the world as citizens of the wider world community, and we have endeavoured, both through the commission and in other ways, to use our influence in promoting the cause of peace in Vietnam.

It has been our position all along that a settlement of the conflict in Vietnam will require concessions on both sides. We would certainly like to see the bombing of North Vietnam stopped, but we would also like to see the infiltration of the south stopped, and we would like to see negotiations looking towards the peaceful solution of the conflict begun, for only through negotiations do we believe that a genuine solution can be found.

The situation in Southern Africa is also a matter of concern to the countries of the Commonwealth. The illegal regime in Rhodesia represents a grave problem for Britain and a serious challenge to the principles of racial co-operation to which the Commonwealth is committed. Indeed, it has been the dominant theme at three of the last four meetings of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

The Canadian Government, together with the rest of the Commonwealth, finds any regime representing a racial minority to be unacceptable as a partner

in the Commonwealth, or in the world at large. This is why the Canadian Government, with the support of the Canadian parliament, has been among the foremost in the application of sanctions against the illegal regime.

I have endeavoured to touch briefly on some of the major issues facing Canada and the Commonwealth in the world today.

In the midst of rapid change the established and traditional relationships among nations have a special value. But it would be a serious mistake to allow tradition to blind us to present realities, for the importance of traditional relationships rests not on what they once represented, but on the ways in which they can be made to serve our present and future needs.

I am convinced that the Commonwealth, so rich in tradition, must be seen in this light. The Commonwealth in its present form far from being out of date, has a very vital role to play in our modern world, by bringing many nations, each with its own distinctive personality, closer together. We must ensure that no opportunity to have it play this role, for which it is uniquely well-suited is overlooked.

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Discours prononcé par M. Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
devant l'Association des Correspondants du
Commonwealth à Londres, le 21 avril 1967,
à une heure de l'après-midi, GMT.

Je suis très honoré de l'occasion qui m'est donnée de m'adresser à l'Association des Correspondants du Commonwealth et ses invités.

C'est la première fois que je prononce un discours à Londres depuis que j'occupe le poste de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures. Je suis particulièrement heureux du fait que mon auditoire compte des représentants de toutes les parties du Commonwealth. Londres a plusieurs cordes à son arc: la moindre n'est pas le rôle que joue cette grande ville comme centre de notre association mondiale du Commonwealth.

Au cours des années, la faculté du Commonwealth de s'adapter aux circonstances changeantes a peut-être été sa plus grande source de force et de continuité.

Le centenaire de la confédération offre aux Canadiens l'occasion de s'interroger sur l'avenir aussi bien que sur le passé de leur pays. Ils se rendent de mieux en mieux compte des changements qui surviennent tant chez eux que dans leurs rapports avec les autres pays.

Un grand débat s'est amorcé au Canada au cours des dernières années sur l'avenir de la confédération canadienne. Bien entendu, notre régime fédératif de gouvernement, caractérisé par la répartition des pouvoirs entre les juridictions fédérale et provinciales, est particulièrement complexe. Nous avons aussi deux langues principales et notre population est formée d'éléments venus de nombreux pays.

A mesure que notre économie progresse et que notre société devient plus complexe, il est normal qu'apparaissent certains signes de tension. On aurait grandement tort, cependant à mon avis, d'y voir plus que le signe d'une simple crise de croissance, car les Canadiens savent unir leurs efforts pour édifier un Canada meilleur et plus fort.

Expo 67 ouvrira ses portes dans quelques jours à Montréal. Des milliers de gens de toutes les parties du Canada, d'autres parties de l'Amérique du nord, de l'Europe et de tous les coins du monde viendront à Montréal visiter cette exposition universelle dont on peut dire littéralement qu'elle a surgi des eaux du Saint-Laurent, voie d'accès traditionnelle du Canada. Pour les Canadiens, Expo 67 ne célèbre pas seulement un grand anniversaire: c'est un acte de foi dans le Canada et son avenir.

Tout préoccupés qu'ils soient de leur propre avenir et de leurs propres problèmes, les Canadiens sont aussi au courant des bouleversements et des transformations en voie de s'opérer en Grande-Bretagne aussi bien que dans les relations de la Grande-Bretagne avec les autres pays. Bien entendu, nous avons subi l'influence des Beatles et du style "Mod" contributions typiquement britanniques qui pénètrent maintenant en Amérique du Nord. Sur un plan plus sérieux, à l'échelon international, nos intérêts communs, dont l'éventail s'élargit à mesure que la situation internationale se complique, continuent d'être nombreux.

Dans ce décor changeant, il est de première importance, je pense, que le Canada et la Grande-Bretagne fassent un effort particulier pour comprendre les éléments qui façonnent la politique étrangère des deux pays: ce n'est que par ce moyen que nous pourrons maintenir et resserrer nos liens traditionnels étroits auxquels nous attachons tant de prix.

La première réunion du nouveau comité ministériel Canada-Royaume-Uni vient à peine de prendre fin. L'utilité d'un tel organe s'est fait sentir en raison de la gamme de plus en plus complexe et de plus en plus étendue des problèmes bilatéraux qui préoccupent à la fois les gouvernements britannique et canadien. Loin de se substituer à nos relations traditionnelles au sein du Commonwealth, ces réunions, à mon avis, en constituent un précieux complément, un heureux prolongement.

Les grandes transformations qui s'opèrent au sein du Commonwealth ont modifié la nature même de l'association. Sans vouloir sous-estimer les valeurs traditionnelles du Commonwealth, je pense que son rôle le plus utile à l'heure actuelle doit consister à rechercher des formules pratiques qui peuvent inspirer confiance aux diverses races qui composent la famille humaine. La possibilité pour le Commonwealth de contribuer à la paix et à la compréhension entre les nations est d'autant plus grande qu'il se compose de nombreuses races et de nombreux pays qui, au moins dans une certaine mesure, ont une langue commune et participent à une même culture. Le Commonwealth est peut-être à l'heure actuelle la plus importante institution politique qui assure la communication entre les pays "bien pourvus" de race blanche, et les pays "mal pourvus" d'autres races: il peut jouer un rôle de premier plan en vue de rétrécir l'écart entre les nations moins développées et les pays industrialisés.

Le secrétariat du Commonwealth nous apparaît comme un moyen de renforcer le rôle du Commonwealth en tant que lien entre pays dont le passé et la composition ethnique sont différents. En fournissant un moyen de faciliter une gamme étendue de contacts entre les pays du Commonwealth, le secrétariat contribue à accroître l'utilité de l'Association du Commonwealth. La fondation du Commonwealth, le plan des bourses d'étude du Commonwealth et les divers organismes spécialisés qui groupent des membres aux intérêts communs rendent, eux aussi, de précieux services. Le programme canadien d'assistance économique est dans une large mesure axé sur le Commonwealth (plan de Colombo, le programme spécial du Commonwealth pour l'aide à l'Afrique et le programme canadien d'assistance aux Antilles) nos programmes d'assistance en matière d'instruction militaire sont aussi orientés vers le Commonwealth. Ces entreprises de notre part, et les autres programmes généreux d'aide britannique aux pays du Commonwealth, sont des moyens tangibles d'amener les pays moins développés à conserver leur association politique. Il semble opportun de maintenir et d'amplifier ces mesures. Le Canada, fidèle à son patrimoine culturel, fait en ce moment un

effort comparable dans le domaine de l'assistance aux états de langue française de l'Afrique et d'ailleurs.

Le Commonwealth n'a jamais été considéré comme un organisme fermé. Ses membres ont de multiples intérêts qui s'expriment par leur appartenance à des groupements et organismes extérieurs au Commonwealth. Nous comprenons et apprécions à sa juste valeur, par exemple, le fait que la Grande-Bretagne veuille jouer pleinement son rôle en Europe. Nous avons été très intéressés par le rapport personnel que nous a donné le premier ministre Wilson de ses échanges de vues récents avec les dirigeants des six du marché commun. Bien entendu, c'est au gouvernement britannique qu'il appartiendra de prendre une décision relative à son éventuelle participation à la communauté européenne en tenant compte de toutes les données du problème.

Par ailleurs, il n'est que juste de signaler que les ententes que pourra comporter l'adhésion de la Grande-Bretagne au marché commun mettent en jeu des intérêts canadiens importants sur les plans politique et économique. Nous avons eu l'occasion de faire valoir ces intérêts auprès des ministres britanniques au cours des deux derniers jours. Si la Grande-Bretagne décidait de présenter une demande, il ne sera possible d'en déterminer les effets sur le commerce entre nos deux pays qu'au moment où les conditions de son adhésion seront connues. Les résultats des négociations sur les droits douaniers, dans les cadres du Kennedy Round, sont un autre facteur qui entre en ligne de compte.

Bien que le Canada, de par sa situation géographique, voie les choses sous un angle quelque peu différent, il est très directement intéressé, tout comme la Grande-Bretagne, à ce qui se passe en Europe. En un mot, notre intérêt réside dans une Europe

stable, une Europe dont les difficultés internes ne constituent pas une menace pour la paix du monde. En définitive, il faudra, entre autres choses, que le problème allemand soit réglé et qu'on mette fin à la division actuelle de l'Europe.

A part la question capitale du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité dans le monde, le Canada a, en Europe, d'autres intérêts du fait que ce continent lui a légué une part si importante de son patrimoine culturel. A cet égard, je songe en particulier à la France qui est, tout comme la Grande-Bretagne, une de nos mères-patrie.

Héritier des grandes traditions de la langue et de la culture françaises, le Canada est déterminé à contribuer pleinement à l'établissement de liens spéciaux entre les pays de langue française. Dans cette entreprise, nous nous inspirons de principes analogues à ceux qui ont déterminé notre attitude vis-à-vis du Commonwealth: nous voulons préserver et resserrer des liens traditionnels particulièrement chers aux Canadiens et les adapter aux grands objectifs de notre politique extérieure.

Il se peut fort bien que l'expérience que nous avons acquise au sein du Commonwealth, notamment dans le domaine culturel, puisse nous guider dans l'établissement de ces nouveaux liens avec les pays francophones. Les institutions par lesquelles le caractère permanent du Commonwealth s'exprime sur le plan concret, par exemple, la fondation du Commonwealth et l'association parlementaire du Commonwealth, pourraient peut-être servir de modèle en vue du resserrement des relations entre les pays de langue française. On est précisément en train de dresser les plans d'une réunion de parlementaires des pays d'expression française. Le Canada estime

que ses relations avec le Commonwealth et le monde francophone peuvent ainsi se compléter et se renforcer les unes les autres. Il y a cinq ans à peine, le Canada était le seul pays indépendant de l'hémisphère occidental à faire partie du Commonwealth. Il y en a maintenant cinq de plus, six îles des Antilles ont déjà, ou sont sur le point d'avoir, un nouveau statut d'associé qui leur assurera un certain degré d'indépendance.

A cause de la proximité géographique et d'autres facteurs, les Canadiens éprouvent depuis longtemps une affection spéciale pour leurs voisins des Antilles occidentales. Nous avons confiance que, dans cette ère nouvelle d'indépendance, cette amitié de longue date deviendra plus profonde, à notre avantage mutuel. On a franchi un pas important et concret dans cette voie l'an dernier en convoquant à Ottawa la Conférence Canada-Antilles du Commonwealth à laquelle ont assisté les chefs de gouvernement et les principaux ministres de tous les pays antillais du Commonwealth et qu'a présidée notre propre premier ministre, en sa qualité de chef de gouvernement hôte.

Récemment, la mort de Sir Donald Sangster, ancien premier ministre de la Jamaïque et l'un des chefs les plus éminents des pays antillais du Commonwealth, a été pour nous une lourde perte. Sir Donald était un excellent ami du Canada: beaucoup de Canadiens le connaissaient. Il avait une foi inébranlable dans le Commonwealth et dans ce qu'il incarne dans le monde actuel.

Je vous ai entretenus de l'évolution du Commonwealth, je vous ai parlé en particulier des éléments qui intéressent davantage le Canada. Le conflit du Viet-nam, bien qu'il ne soit pas un problème du Commonwealth, préoccupe beaucoup les pays du Commonwealth- je voudrais m'y arrêter pendant quelques instants.

Rappelons que la Grande-Bretagne, à titre de co-présidente de la Conférence de Genève de 1954, a des responsabilités particulières vis-à-vis du Viet-nam, tout comme l'Inde et le Canada, deux des trois membres de la Commission internationale établie pour la surveillance du cessez-le-feu conclu en 1954. Deux autres membres du Commonwealth, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, situés tous les deux dans la zone du conflit, ont envoyé des forces armées pour la défense du Viet-nam-sud.

Evidemment, le Canada n'a pas intérêt national direct à affirmer ou à défendre dans le sud-est de l'Asie. Nous avons été amenés dans cette partie du globe à titre de citoyens de la grande communauté des nations et nous nous sommes efforcés, par l'entremise de la Commission et par d'autres moyens, d'user de notre influence pour favoriser la cause de la paix au Viet-nam.

Nous avons toujours soutenu qu'un règlement du conflit vietnamien exigera des concessions des deux côtés. Nous aimerions certes que les bombardements du viet-nam-nord cessent mais nous voudrions que cesse en même temps l'infiltration du sud. Nous serions heureux que des négociations soient amorcées en vue de la solution pacifique du conflit car, à notre avis, seules les négociations peuvent aboutir à une solution véritable.

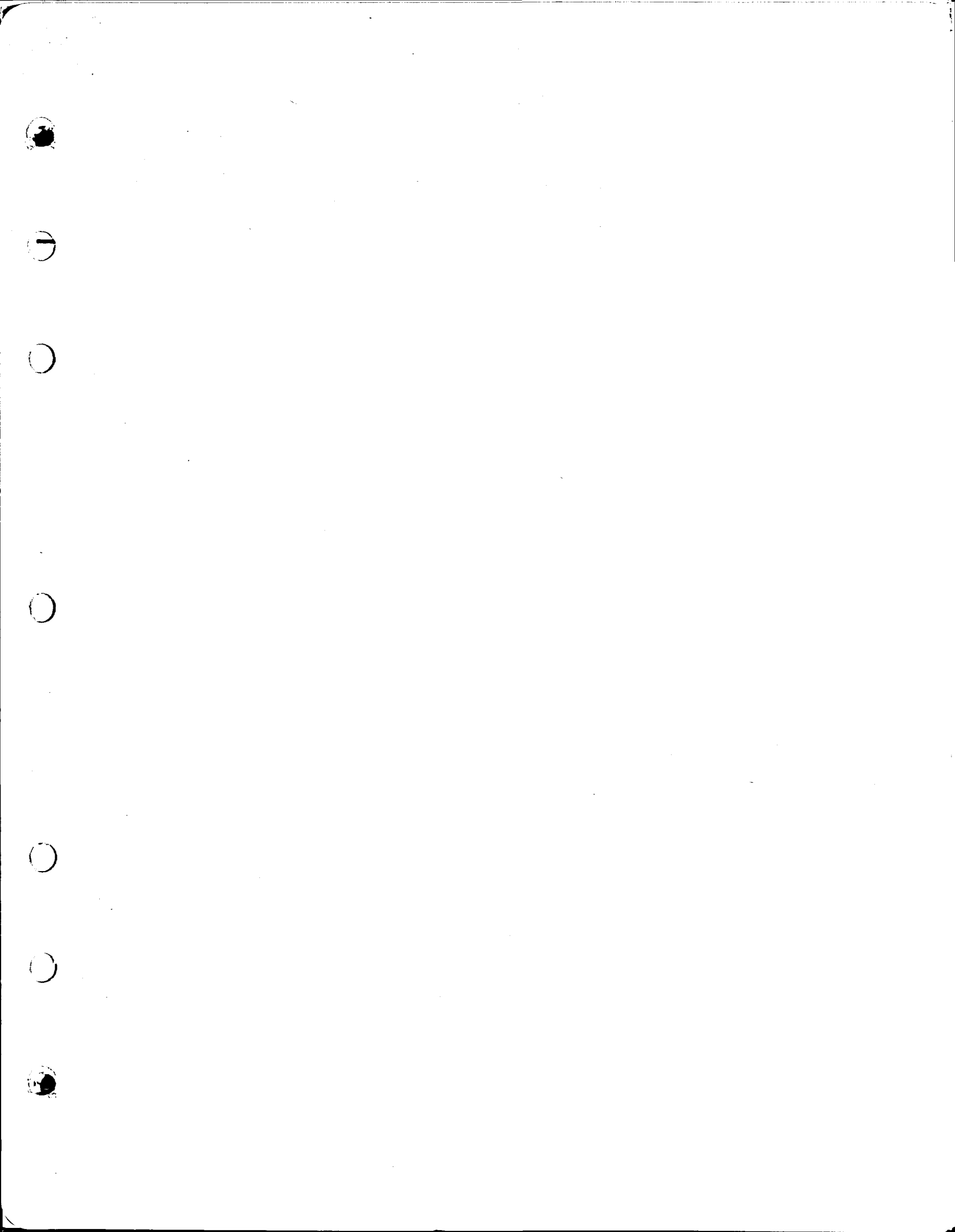
La situation dans le sud de l'Afrique préoccupe également les pays du Commonwealth. Le régime illégal de la Rhodésie pose un grave problème à la Grande-Bretagne et présente un véritable défi aux principes de la collaboration inter-raciale qu'incarne le Commonwealth. De fait, ce problème a été le thème dominant de trois des quatre dernières réunions des premiers ministres du Commonwealth.

Comme les autres pays du Commonwealth, le Canada estime que tout régime qui repose sur une minorité raciale est inacceptable tant au sein du Commonwealth que dans la communauté des nations. C'est pourquoi le gouvernement du Canada, fort de l'appui unanime du Parlement, a été parmi les premiers à appliquer des sanctions contre le régime illégal.

Je me suis efforcé de traiter brièvement de quelques-uns des principaux problèmes qui se posent au Canada et au Commonwealth à l'heure actuelle.

Dans un monde en pleine évolution, les relations établies et traditionnelles entre les nations sont particulièrement utiles. Ce serait, toutefois, une grave erreur, que de laisser la tradition nous aveugler sur la réalité, car l'importance des liens traditionnels repose non pas sur ce qu'ils ont pu représenter autrefois mais sur les moyens qu'ils nous offrent de satisfaire à nos besoins présents et futurs.

Je suis convaincu que c'est dans cette optique qu'il faut envisager le Commonwealth, si riche de traditions. Loin d'être dépassé, il a un rôle décisif à jouer dans le monde actuel, celui de rapprocher de nombreuses nations sans qu'elles perdent pour autant leur individualité. Nous devons faire en sorte qu'il ne laisse échapper aucune occasion de jouer ce rôle pour lequel il est si merveilleusement adapté.



PRESS RELEASE



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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Lecture given by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
in the first series of the Jacob Blaustein
Lectures at Columbia University, New York,
on April 26, 1967, at 8:30 p.m.

"CANADA'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING UNITED NATIONS
PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS"

It is appropriate to begin this series of lectures with the subject of Canada's role in supporting U.N. peacekeeping. Keeping the peace is the primary purpose of the United Nations and is therefore of great significance in itself. I have in mind more especially however that Canada's policies in support of peacekeeping are particularly relevant to an understanding of the Canadian outlook on the world. For reasons which have to do with our geography, our resources and our relatively recent development as an independent state, we have chosen, perhaps unconsciously, to concentrate a good deal of our foreign policy energies in the realm of international organization. It would not be fanciful to suggest that, having few illusions about the past to shape our conception of the national interest, we have tried to frame our policies more fully in terms of future international requirements and responsibilities. It so happens, as well, that to play our distinctive part in the building of international institutions corresponds to the Canadian urge to look outwards, to find, if we can, a counter-weight to the enormous if benign influence of our great neighbour. We have been fortunate moreover to have had some extra margin of wealth and stability to devote to these purposes. If my remarks suggest therefore that Canada's interests often coincide to a degree that is unusual with the efforts of the U.N. to keep the peace, I shall be well satisfied.

Some of you will be accustomed to reading in the press about stalemate, deadlock or failure at the U.N. on the subject of peacekeeping. These reports are, of course, discouraging. Yet they are also partial. They do not reflect the fact that while there is disagreement in New York there is

action in the Middle East, or in Cyprus, or in Africa which helps to preserve the peace. On the one hand, the General Assembly has not been able to reconcile the differences which divide member states over questions of principle, but on the other hand these same member states have responded to clear and urgent requirements to initiate and to keep in being U.N. forces and teams to patrol, to supervise and to conciliate.

The disagreements are hardly surprising. For the first time in human history something resembling a world community is emerging from the dissolution of empire and the simultaneous spread of technology. Everywhere men pursue the same goals. Yet few are able to measure significant progress in reaching them. Disparities in national wealth, the indignities of racial discrimination, the rivalries stimulated by artificial boundaries and uncertain loyalties, all of these generate tension and conflict on a scale which is world-wide. Yet if the complexities are greater, so is our determination to act together to find solutions.

If we do not act together then the dangers of losing control are all too familiar to our post-Hiroshima generation. Every schoolboy has heard the term "escalation" and knows immediately to what it refers. This too is a new phenomenon. In the past governments have been prepared to go to war if necessary to gain their ends or to defend their interests, knowing that defeat, while never expected, would not destroy the nation state itself. Today no government can take or contemplate military action, whatever the reason, without a strong sense of the limits beyond which all such action would be suicidal.

Thus on the one hand the conditions which make for conflict and the use of armed force in world affairs are of unprecedented scope. On the other hand the potential effects of modern weapons impose on the conduct of states and the calculations of statesmen unprecedented limits. In these circumstances

the U.N. is bound to be both a battlefield and a conference room. It must reflect as well as contain the impulse for change. It has served, in the words of one student of the subject, as the registrar of prudential pacifism.

The conditions I have just described were not all foreseen by the founders of the U.N. Certainly none would have imagined a membership of 122 states after only 22 years. Nor could they have anticipated that one of the major premises of the Charter would prove to be unworkable. This was the assumption that the Permanent Members of the Council would co-operate in order to maintain peace. True, the statesmen of 1945 were not so naive as to expect such co-operation to be automatic. But they did assume that without Great Power understanding the security system laid down in the Charter would not function. The governments which had won the war were quite naturally determined that it should not happen again and that the combined strength of China, France, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. should serve to deter any potential aggressor. If these powers could not agree, it was thought, then no security system could save the peace.

It was not until later that peacekeeping by consent, as we now understand it, and by the lesser powers, came to be regarded as the standard form of U.N. military action. It was this reversal, however, which enabled Canada to participate in peacekeeping in quite unexpected ways. Instead of the Great Powers banding together to threaten any aggressor with overwhelming force, the Middle and Small Powers were called upon to police situations which otherwise might have led to Great Power intervention.

Canada emerged from the Second World War with military capacities and economic strength second only to that of the Great Powers. She had developed close working relationships with the U.S.A. and British Governments,

and from an early stage was consulted about the post-war institutions and arrangements which were under discussion by these powers. She was aware, therefore, both of a new-found status in world affairs and anxious to enter into commitments which would satisfy this status. Bismark is said to have once remarked about a European rival that she had developed an appetite for power without the teeth. About Canada it might have been said after the war that she had developed both the appetite and the teeth for a new international role. This was in sharp contrast with Canada's pre-war policies which by and large had been directed to avoiding commitments and involvement in the affairs of the world even though she remained a member of the League of Nations.

At San Francisco, therefore, Canada directed her efforts towards strengthening the provisions of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in respect of the rights and responsibilities of the so-called middle powers. Canada pressed strongly for the adoption of qualifying rules for election to the Security Council which would recognize the contributions member states might make to the maintenance of international peace and security. This idea was incorporated into Article 23 of the Charter. Canada was also responsible for the adoption of what became Article 44 of the Charter providing for consultation between a member state and the Council before the latter called for the provision of that member's armed forces for enforcement action. The Prime Minister of Canada explained at the time that the imposition of sanctions would "raise especially difficult problems for secondary countries with wide international interests" because while the Great Powers would be able to prevent by the veto any decision to impose sanctions the so-called secondary countries would apparently not have any choice in the matter, despite the possibility they would be called upon to participate. Thirdly, Canada was responsible for the provision

of the Charter now incorporated in Article 24(3) which requires the Security Council to report periodically to the General Assembly. The purpose was to give the Assembly some sense of supervision of the Council's acts, although it has not turned out that way. On all these issues Canada pursued policies which were consistent with her wartime record and her post-war position as a leader of the secondary powers.

In subsequent years, Canada continued to look for and to follow policies which satisfied these general capacities and needs. We fully expected to play our proper part in the building of the collective security system sketched in Chapter VII of the Charter and we were alarmed and disappointed by the early signs of disunity in the Security Council and by the breakdown in 1947 of negotiations between the Permanent Members of the Council on the question of U.N. armed forces. We were obliged to turn elsewhere for the satisfaction of our security requirements. Yet even as we ratified the NATO Treaty in 1949 we did not despair of the U.N.'s capacity to fulfill its primary purpose. The present Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, said in Parliament at the time, for example, that "the North Atlantic Treaty will serve as an instrument which...will make it possible for (the free democracies) to use the U.N. with greater confidence and more hope of success."

The U.N. action in Korea was an apparent fulfillment of these hopes. Canada regarded it as the first effective attempt by the U.N. to organize an international force to stop aggression. We had contributed for the first time to a U.N. peacekeeping operation when military observers were sent to Kashmir in January 1949. We had also supported the Secretary-General's proposal for a U.N. Field Service. But it was not until 1950 and the opportunities provided by the decision to resist aggression in Korea that we began to organize the procedures and to think in the terms which we have followed since.

The Canadian Army Special Force, raised for service in Korea, would, we hoped, have a continuing function in carrying out Canada's obligations under the U.N. Charter. We urged other member states to earmark national contingents so as to be better prepared to resist aggression if and when called upon to do so by the U.N. We welcomed the establishment by the Assembly of a Collective Measures Committee to look into the details of joint military planning. We appointed a representative to a U.N. Panel of Military Experts. Yet once the Korean emergency had passed the U.N. was to hear little more of these bodies. For the members of the NATO Alliance, in particular, the strains and pressures arising from the military build-up in Europe soon pushed into the background the schemes for strengthening the U.N. Moreover, after 1955 the character of the U.N. began to change. New member states added their distinctive interests to the torrent of talk and paper. The Western members no longer enjoyed the influence they had been able to bring to bear five years before.

In 1956, however, the development of crisis conditions in the Middle East enabled the U.N. once again to take measures which revived Canada's interest in defining her contribution to collective security. It was the U.N. Emergency Force which was to be the fruitful precedent for the growth of the concept of peacekeeping. For the first time organized military forces were deployed and commanded without participation by the Permanent Members and outside the framework of the cold war. Canada made a special contribution to the ideas behind the new Force as well as providing its first Commander. On the one hand, it was a matter of urgent importance to us that some way should be found to bridge the gap which had opened up between our traditional European allies and the U.S.A. On the other hand, we saw in the situation an opportunity to implement the ideas we had put forward six years before at the time of Korea.

This is not the place to describe the characteristics of peacekeeping forces as they were defined by Mr. Hammarskjold in the light of the UNEF experience. What I wish to emphasize is that the lesson we drew from our participation in the Force was a further refinement of the earmarking idea. In addition to the desirability of governments themselves earmarking contingents for peacekeeping we concluded that the U.N. Secretariat must be enabled to plan ahead in advance of the next emergency. It was just 10 years ago that the present Prime Minister of Canada proposed in an article which appeared in Foreign Affairs that governments be invited to signify a willingness to contribute contingents to the U.N. for noncombatant purposes and that some central U.N. machinery be created to make advance arrangements and to direct future operations. Since 1957 Canada has herself made arrangements for units of her armed forces to be on standby duty for possible service with the U.N.

Canada still participates in the U.N. Emergency Force 10 years after its formation. The nature of our contribution has changed as the size of the Force has diminished. Yet the circumstances which brought about its despatch to the Middle East have not appreciably changed. Two questions arise. What have we learned about peacekeeping during these 10 years? If the U.N. is to stay in the peacekeeping business, and experience suggests it will, how is responsibility for this task to be shared amongst the member states?

Let me first try and summarize what we have learned, based not only on our participation in UNEF but on our subsequent participation in the Congo Force, the Cyprus Force and in a number of U.N. Observer Groups sent to patrol frontiers and supervise ceasefires. The first conclusion to be drawn is that each operation is different and that no standard political guidelines will serve to prepare for the next. In the Middle East, for example, we have been called upon to supply a variety of needs including administrative and

maintenance support, mobile ground reconnaissance, air reconnaissance, and air transport. In the Congo we were asked to provide signallers. In Cyprus the need was for an infantry battalion. Again the mandates of these various forces and groups have been different, ranging from defensive military action in the Congo to observation and reporting in the Yemen. The observers who went to Lebanon in 1958 did not have the same job as those in the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization who were already stationed on the borders of Israel.

In addition, the composition of each operation has varied with the political and social circumstances. Obviously, it is desirable, for example, that troops from African countries should be available for peacekeeping duties in Africa under U.N. auspices. In Cyprus it makes more sense for troops from Western countries, broadly speaking, to be doing the job. On the other hand, the U.N. cannot restrict itself to a regional pattern of composition, for by definition a U.N. force represents the Organization as a whole. The Canadian, Scandinavian and Irish troop contributions to the Congo Force demonstrated that non-regional assistance may be desirable not only for political reasons but for reasons of technical efficiency and experience. I would conclude, therefore, that ad hoc methods of raising forces and some improvisation in planning is an element of contemporary peacekeeping experience which we shall have to accept. This does not mean that planning cannot be done in advance and I shall make some suggestions in this respect. But we are right to be sceptical of schemes for elaborate staff work and standing forces. We are still at a stage in international military organization where the first priority must

be some agreement on the blueprints or master texts of peacekeeping procedures, these to be moulded to fit the individual circumstances of each operation. Even this measure of agreement has proved to be more difficult to accomplish than we expected 10 years ago.

I want to emphasize as well the importance of establishing clearly the terms of reference or mandate of a peacekeeping force or observer mission before it is authorized to begin its work. The degree of clarity of such terms of reference will depend to a large extent upon the degree of political consensus which prevails amongst the parties to the dispute and the other governments concerned. This will usually depend in turn on the nature of the dispute or situation. If the situation involves internal disorder it will be very difficult to lay down a clear-cut mandate. There will be other kinds of situations where the degree of consensus existing in the Council is so fragile that nothing can be agreed other than a general instruction to prevent conflict or to supervise a truce.

It may be that it will be clearly preferable for the U.N. to intervene in these circumstances than for some other organization or government to do so without reference to the U.N. We may have to accept that the Force Commander and the Secretary-General will have little guidance. However, we should only come to this conclusion, I believe, after having accepted the risk that inadequate terms of reference might do serious harm to the prestige of the U.N. and to its future effectiveness. There will be no easy answers. But the Canadian Government will be bound to give more searching examination to requests for assistance if it is not satisfied that the mandate provides sufficient guidance for the conduct of the troops on the ground.

There is a related point. Even if defined satisfactorily at the beginning of an operation, the mandate may be subject to interpretation or gradual erosion. Freedom of movement, for example, is particularly important for the carrying out of any mission which involves observation of frontiers or the supervision of a return to normal conditions. Generally, it will be in the interest of the Parties that such movement be as unrestricted as possible. But there will also be occasions when this is not so. It is now an accepted condition of peacekeeping that the host government consent to the operations and procedures followed by the U.N. Nor in principle must the U.N. interfere in the internal affairs of the host state. But it must be able to observe, to verify and where necessary to interpose. It will be the more difficult to carry out this task if there is not firm, consistent pressure on the Parties to co-operate. Who is to exercise this pressure? It is unfair to expect the Secretary-General to do the job alone. The Security Council must give him the backing he needs. If it cannot do so, then contributors may have no choice but to re-examine their decision to participate in the operation.

A third important conclusion we would draw from our experience is that peacekeeping is a beginning, not an end. Perhaps the day will come when the U.N. is able to provide for forces and to maintain bases around the world on a semi-permanent basis. But that day has not yet arrived. In the meantime contributions by governments of contingents of their forces for U.N. peacekeeping purposes will be based on the assumption that the Parties to the dispute will get on with the job of settling their differences or re-establishing order. The U.N. cannot and must not be responsible for one Party clearly gaining the advantage

over the other. As a general rule peacekeeping and mediation should proceed concurrently. The Security Council resolution which authorized the Cyprus Force for example also provided for the appointment of a mediator. His report was not acceptable to all the parties to the dispute. But if the latter do not soon find a solution by their own means then the process of mediation must begin again.

The financing of peacekeeping operations has been a continuing problem, climaxed by the deadlock which prevented the 19th session of the Assembly from functioning normally. We have concluded from that experience that collective responsibility for financing, even on the basis of a special assessment scale which would take into account the economic capacities of member states and other relevant considerations, is not a principle which in present circumstances will be enforced by the Assembly. It is naturally in the interests of the countries which contribute contingents to U.N. forces that the costs of these contingents should be equitably shared by all and there is no doubt in our minds that collective assessment based on a special scale is the most equitable method of meeting peacekeeping costs. It is now apparent however that such a method of financing will not be enforceable unless the Security Council so decides. What we would hope is that the Council would in fact decide on this method in most cases. If no agreement can be reached in the Council on that basis then the next most satisfactory method of financing, if conditions permit, is for the parties to the dispute to pay the costs. Voluntary contributions may always be solicited as an extra source of funds where the expenses are heavy and the Parties are unable to meet them. But in that case the members of the Council and particularly the Permanent Members should be

the first, in my view, to contribute their share. The Permanent Members cannot reasonably claim a preponderant voice in decisions to keep the peace if they will not help finance operations which they have authorized.

The final conclusion I would like to draw from Canadian experience with peacekeeping is that there is a very delicate balance between the requirements for efficiency and neutrality. In general, I would say, the more candidates for peacekeeping the better, even though this may mean some loss of efficiency. Over forty U.N. members have participated in one or more peacekeeping operations. I would hope that this number can be substantially increased. It is disappointing that only a few have informed the U.N. of the kinds of forces or services they might be able to provide if requested to do so. Peacekeeping ought not to be the business of any one group or of those who can best contribute the facilities and services required. Only when U.N. forces represent a wide spectrum of the U.N. membership can we be hopeful that the necessary political support will be forthcoming. All member states should be equally eligible, with two qualifications: the Great Powers should not usually be asked to participate nor should states with a direct or particular interest in the dispute or situation. Peacekeeping, after all, is not only a method of preventing or stopping conflict; it is an international experiment from which the peacekeepers themselves have much to learn and which could be a forcing house for international military co-operation with immense long-term benefits for world security.

I have spoken of the past and drawn some conclusions which point to the future. Let me now be more specific about how we might improve the U.N.'s capacity to keep the peace. At the last session of the General Assembly

Canada co-sponsored a Resolution which called for the adoption of a special scale for the financing of peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures, and recommended to the Security Council that it authorize a study of the methods of improving preparations for peacekeeping. The resolution also invited member states to communicate information to the U.N. about their own plans and capabilities.

Canada's financing proposals are modest. We accept the fact that where expenditures are more than, say, ten million dollars a year for any one operation special arrangements must be made to protect the interests of the developing states. We suggest that their share should be fixed at the level of 5% of the total, which is what they now pay for UNEF. This would mean that most member states would pay only nominal amounts and then only in cases when the Council recommended this method of financing. Naturally if they agreed to accept a larger share we would be delighted but we think 5% is a not unreasonable figure. The rest would be divided amongst the relatively wealthy states, with the Permanent Members paying the major part.

Financial problems were the superficial cause for the stalemate in the Assembly's proceedings of two years ago. Less was heard about the operational aspects of peacekeeping, which have been equally if not more controversial. I said earlier that elaborate planning machinery centred in the Secretariat and early agreement on a U.N. permanent force seems unlikely to be realized soon. We strongly believe, nevertheless, that important improvements can be made.

Let me give some examples. Co-ordinated planning needs to be done on such questions as standard operating procedures, training, logistics, and communications. Model principles might be drawn up for general application in status of forces agreements. The question of comparable standards of pay, leave and welfare for troops from different countries has not been studied. Governments with peacekeeping experience might consider providing staff courses for the training of officers from other interested countries. A standard training manual needs to be produced. We ought to consider whether at least some standardization of equipment would be possible and whether such equipment could be stockpiled for distribution as necessary. Communications equipment in particular makes a vital contribution to the success of a peacekeeping operation and standardization both of such equipment and communications procedures would be desirable. Air transport is equally relevant to the success of U.N. missions. Standby procedures and standardized load tables would be most useful. Military observers are usually available on fairly short notice from some countries, but as I have already emphasized, it is always helpful for the Secretary-General to be able to call upon as many governments as possible for assistance. Might it not be desirable, therefore, to outline the duties of a military observer and the kinds of abilities which a United Nations observer ought in theory to have?

Who is to make these studies? Objections are held by some member states to the Secretariat engaging in activities which it is said are the responsibility of the Military Staff Committee, that long neglected but still functioning body established by Article 47 of the Charter. As long

as these objections are pressed the Secretariat would not seem to be able to do the job properly. What then about the Military Staff Committee? Its function, as outlined in the Charter, is to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Council's requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security and the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal. It has failed to perform this function because after the war the U.S.S.R. was unable or unwilling to reach agreement with the other Permanent Members on the numbers and types of United Nations forces. At that time these forces were to be provided by the Permanent Members themselves and it was not surprising, given their very different experiences during the war, that they should find it impossible to agree on the contributions each should make to the United Nations.

The atmosphere of the cold war stifled any further work by the Military Staff Committee and its functions were afterwards executed by the Secretary-General. Now, however, the theory and practice of U.N. forces has changed. Their purpose has not been the enforcement of U.N. decisions against recalcitrant states but the supervision of agreed arrangements. The non-permanent members have become the major troop contributors. A good deal of experience is available for analysis. There may be some basis for believing therefore that the Military Staff Committee, enlarged by the addition of several non-permanent members as the U.S.S.R. has proposed, could work out some standard rules and regulations for peacekeeping.

Another possible answer to the question I have posed of who is to do the planning is that the governments chiefly concerned should do it

themselves independently of the United Nations. This is a possibility which Canada explored in 1964 when we convened a conference of military experts from 23 governments to consider the technical aspects of United Nations peacekeeping. Since that time a somewhat similar conference has been held in Oslo. For our part, we are ready to carry further this process of informal consultation outside the strict framework of the U.N. whenever circumstances appear to warrant it. We are ready as well to produce guide books and training manuals based on our own experience, and after consultation with other governments concerned, to make them available for the use of the United Nations or of any of its members.

In considering the alternative ways of military planning that I have just described Canada's principal concern will be the same now as in 1945; if we are to participate in United Nations police actions then we want to take part as well in the planning and decisions which will lead to those actions. An enlarged Military Staff Committee on which we would expect to be represented might be one convenient method of achieving these objectives. In any event, we are prepared to co-operate in whatever arrangements may be made, inside or outside the U.N., to improve the U.N.'s capacity to fit its peacekeeping services to the diversity of present world conditions.

I want to take up now the second question I have asked — how are member states to share the responsibility of peacekeeping? This question raises what is, in my view, the central problem of peacekeeping; the procedures of political authorization and control. The primary purpose

of the U.N. is to control conflict, by consent if possible, by enforcement action if necessary. The use of force or coercion is subject in principle to the agreement of the Permanent Members of the Council to its use. I say in principle because while it is clearly the sense of the Charter that coercive action cannot be taken by the U.N. without unanimous great power consent, it was also the expectation of the majority of governments at San Francisco that this consent would be forthcoming in cases of acts of aggression or flagrant breaches of the peace. When by 1950 this expectation had proved to be illusory, the Assembly asserted the right to make recommendations for the maintenance of peace and security, including the right to recommend the use of force to maintain or restore peace if there was a breach of the peace and the Council was prevented from taking appropriate action. Canada was a leading advocate of the Assembly's right to assert this residual power and has continued to be ever since, on the grounds that collective action to stop aggression is the overriding purpose of the organization and must not be frustrated by the abuse of the veto power.

We were confirmed in our opinion by the Assembly's role in the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force in 1956. It has been argued that the recommendation to establish the Force was ultra vires of the Assembly's authority because it is a military force with potential if not actual coercive functions. Whether or not the functions of the Force are defined as peacekeeping or enforcement action, and we have always thought it to be the former, seems to me however to be irrelevant to the point that the Assembly can make recommendations for action in the circumstances I have described and that such recommendations serve to implement the purposes of the U.N. if they obtain the required two-thirds majority.

The view is sometimes expressed that the expansion of the membership of the General Assembly has created a new situation and that peacekeeping operations might now be authorized which would ignore or defy the interests of important member states or even important groups of members. I think this is unlikely to happen because the Assembly is a political body and in politics it is not customary to take actions which are self-defeating. A veto in the Council is one thing. Opposition to U.N. action by a number of powerful states is another. I think it very improbable that the Assembly would recommend a peacekeeping operation without making some provision for its financing and without knowing whether sufficient personnel and logistic support would be available.

On the other hand, I also think it might not be a bad idea if we were to take another look at the voting procedures of the Assembly. It is now possible to adopt important recommendations by a substantial majority which are quite unrelated to the facts of power in the world. Such recommendations remain "on the books" but they have little or no effect. This is not a procedure calculated to expand the influence of the Assembly or to enhance the prestige of the organization. The Foreign Minister of Ireland proposed two years ago that the Assembly change its rules of procedure in order to increase the number of affirmative votes required for Assembly recommendations on peace and security questions. I believe this proposal deserves careful study.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of this question however the fact remains that the argument reflects a deep split between the Permanent Members of the Council about how to exercise control over peacekeeping and it has blocked any progress on financing and advance planning. As we all

know such concepts as aggression or threats to peace have always been extraordinarily difficult to define to everyone's satisfaction. They are doubly so today, the era of such phenomena as wars of liberation, subversion and neo-colonialism. Everywhere the status quo is under attack, often by violent means. The distinction between the internal and external affairs of states becomes blurred as does the very concept of the legitimacy of authority. The danger of great powers being drawn into local conflicts is increasing. It is understandable that these powers should wish to retain control over U.N. actions which are bound to affect their interests. It is difficult to agree however with the view of the U.S.S.R. that this control, including the detailed supervision of peacekeeping operations, be exercised exclusively by the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee. Even if there was a moratorium on the use of the veto, could we reasonably expect a committee of this membership to run peacekeeping operations without delay, disagreement or deadlock?

I do not think so. I believe the present system whereby the Secretary-General directs peacekeeping under the guidance of the Council is more in keeping with today's blend of political and military realities. No doubt this system might be improved. In particular the Military Staff Committee might be able to do some useful advance planning, including the preparation of a model agreement between the U.N. and contributing governments. It might possibly perform as well some advisory functions during the actual course of an operation. If this were to be done its membership would need to include the countries actually doing the peacekeeping at any one time.

Perhaps a compromise along these lines, coupled with a tacit understanding not to pursue the constitutional argument about the powers of the Assembly, might enable us to get ahead. It is futile, in any event, I believe, to insist on constitutional positions which cannot be implemented in practice unless we are to re-write the Charter. The fact is that interventions by the Assembly in the peacekeeping field have been exceptional. If the Permanent Members act responsibly it will not have cause to intervene again.

The aspects of peacekeeping I have been discussing relate by and large to Canada's view of the world from the gallery of the middle powers. I would be guilty of distortion however if I did not remind you that Canada is also a Western country with a point of view which is shaped by her alliance commitments and responsibilities. U.N. efforts to keep the peace, I have suggested, are and will be successful insofar as they serve the interests of the principal groups of members and especially the great powers. They must tend therefore towards neutrality and passivity. The participants as well as the Secretary-General must hope that the balance of interests which brought about the intervention in the first place will generate the pressures that bring a peaceful political settlement. Canada of course will exert what influence she can to obtain such settlements. But, unlike the U.N. as an organization, we cannot always be impartial towards the issues themselves. We must and do reserve the right to state our views on these issues in the framework of our foreign policy. If, in our judgment, the peacekeeping role in any particular case should not be consistent with our conception of a just or speedy settlement or with our national interests we would not hesitate to decline or to terminate

Canadian participation. If we do participate, it is because in all the circumstances we believe it to be the most appropriate and most helpful action for us to take.

We have taken that action each time we have been asked to do so. Our general view has been that the U.N. is the most suitable international instrument to keep the peace. It may not be the best or most efficient. Regional organizations have a prior claim under the terms of the Charter itself and the more disputes they can help to settle the less burdened will be the U.N.'s agenda. Other disputes do not appear on the agenda because one or more of the Parties are not U.N. members. The U.N. however is more likely to give a fair hearing to complaints and to provide a more generally acceptable procedure for saving face or gaining time. In Dag Hammarskjold's words: "The greatest need today is to blunt the edges of conflict among the nations, not to sharpen them. If properly used, the United Nations can serve a diplomacy of reconciliation better than other instruments available to the member states." Canadians like to think that they serve themselves when they serve the U.N.

PRESS RELEASE



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Conférence prononcée par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,

dans le cadre de la première série de

Conférences Jacob Blaustein,

à l'Université Columbia de New York,

le 26 avril 1967 à 8 h.30

**"ROLE DU CANADA DANS LES EFFORTS DEPLOYES PAR
LES NATIONS UNIES POUR LE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX"**

Je crois qu'il convient de commencer cette série de conférences par un exposé sur le rôle du Canada dans les efforts déployés par les Nations Unies pour le maintien de la paix. Le maintien de la paix, voilà le premier but des Nations Unies; il revêt donc une grande importance. On ne saurait comprendre tout à fait l'attitude canadienne vis-à-vis les affaires internationales sans se pencher sur la signification de l'appui que donne notre pays aux activités de maintien de la paix. Pour des raisons qui se rattachent à notre géographie, à nos ressources et à notre accession relativement récente à l'indépendance, nous avons choisi, peut-être sans nous en rendre compte, de consacrer une grande partie de notre attention en matière de politique étrangère au domaine de l'organisation de la communauté internationale. L'histoire ne nous ayant laissé que peu d'illusions sur le concept exclusif de l'intérêt national, nous avons tenté de formuler nos politiques de manière à ce qu'elles soient le plus en accord possible avec les exigences et les responsabilités du domaine international. Il se trouve également que ce rôle particulier que nous avons joué dans la création d'institutions internationales répond à un besoin canadien de jeter les yeux vers le monde extérieur, de trouver, si la chose est possible, un contre-poids à l'influence énorme, même si elle est bienveillante, de notre grand voisin. Nous devons de plus nous compter chanceux de disposer d'un excédent de richesses et de stabilité qui nous permette d'atteindre ces buts. Si mes observations suggèrent la conclusion, dès lors, que les intérêts du Canada coïncident de manière inusitée avec les efforts déployés par les Nations Unies en faveur du maintien de la paix, j'en serai fort satisfait.

C'est devenu une habitude pour certains d'entre vous de lire dans les journaux que les Nations Unies sont en difficulté, traversent une impasse ou encore ont échoué dans leurs efforts de paix. Il va de soi que la lecture de ces comptes rendus porte au découragement. Convenons qu'ils ne contiennent qu'une part de vérité. Ils ne disent pas que lorsqu'il y a désaccord à New York, il y a du travail qui s'accomplit au Moyen-Orient, ou à Chypre ou en Afrique, des efforts qui s'exercent dans le sens de la paix. D'une part, s'il faut avouer que l'Assemblée générale n'a pu concilier les différences qui divisent les Etats membres sur les questions de principe, il faut dire d'autre part que ces mêmes Etats membres ont répondu par l'affirmative aux demandes précises et urgentes visant à établir et maintenir des forces et des équipes des Nations Unies pour effectuer un travail de reconnaissance, de surveillance et de conciliation.

Il ne faudrait pas se surprendre outre mesure de ces désaccords. Pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'homme, nous voyons quelque chose comme une communauté mondiale surgir de la dissolution des empires accompagnée de l'expansion de la technologie. Les hommes poursuivent partout les mêmes buts. On constate toutefois que très peu accomplissent un progrès notable à les atteindre. Les différences sur le plan de la richesse nationale, les indignités que provoquent les discriminations raciales, les rivalités suscitées par des frontières artificielles de même que par des alliances douteuses, tous ces facteurs engendrent des tensions et des conflits sur un plan à l'échelle du monde. Mais dans la mesure où s'accroît la complexité des problèmes, dans la même mesure grandit notre détermination de travailler ensemble à la recherche de solutions.

Si nous ne nous donnons pas la main, les dangers que représente une perte de contrôle sont tous très connus de la génération qui a suivi l'hécatombe d'Hiroshima. Tous les écoliers ont entendu l'expression "escalade" et chacun d'entre eux sait à quoi elle rime. Là encore nous sommes en face d'un nouveau phénomène. Dans le passé, les gouvernements se préparaient à la guerre au besoin pour obtenir gain de cause ou encore pour défendre leurs intérêts, sachant bien que la défaite, même si on la redoutait, ne détruirait pas le pays lui-même. A l'heure présente, aucun gouvernement ne saurait s'engager dans une action militaire ou y penser, quelle que soit la raison qui puisse le motiver d'agir ainsi, sans un sens profond des limites au-delà desquelles cette action elle-même se traduirait par un suicide.

Ainsi d'un côté les conditions prêtant à conflit et à l'emploi de forces armées dans les affaires mondiales sont d'envergure sans précédent, de l'autre, les effets possibles pouvant résulter de l'emploi des armes modernes impose des limites sans précédent dans la conduite des pays et les calculs des hommes d'Etat. Dans ces circonstances, les Nations Unies deviennent à la fois un champ de bataille et une salle de conférence. L'Organisation doit en même temps réfléchir et contenir les impulsions en vue du changement. Les Nations Unies remplissent le rôle, pour emprunter les mots d'un connaisseur du sujet, d'un registraire de pacifisme prudent.

Les conditions dont je viens de faire mention n'avaient pas toutes été prévues par les créateurs des Nations Unies. Chose sûre, nul d'entre eux n'aurait pu imaginer que l'Organisation

compterait, après 22 années d'existence, 122 Etats membres. Ces pionniers de l'Organisation n'auraient pu prévoir non plus que l'une des principales prémisses de la Charte se révélerait non applicable. C'était l'hypothèse que les membres permanents du Conseil coopéreraient pour le maintien de la paix. Il va de soi que les hommes d'Etat de 1945 ne poussaient pas la naïveté jusqu'à croire que cette coopération naîtrait d'elle-même. Ils avaient présumé toutefois que sans la compréhension des grandes puissances le système de sécurité incorporé dans les dispositions de la Charte ne pourrait fonctionner. Les gouvernements qui avaient gagné la guerre avaient fermement résolu que la chose ne se produirait pas de nouveau et que les forces combinées de la Chine, de la France, des Etats-Unis, de l'URSS et du Royaume-Uni devaient servir à décourager tout agresseur possible. Sans l'accord des grandes puissances, selon eux, aucun système de sécurité ne pourrait alors sauver la paix.

Ce n'est que plus tard que le maintien de la paix par consentement, de la manière que nous l'entendons présentement, et tel qu'agréé par les puissances moyennes, en vint à s'incarner comme la formule normale de l'action militaire des Nations Unies. Ce fut ce revirement, cependant, qui a permis au Canada de participer au maintien de la paix de façons tout à fait inattendues. Au lieu d'être en présence de grandes puissances s'unissant pour menacer tout agresseur avec une force redoutable, les petites et moyennes puissances ont été invitées à surveiller les situations qui autrement auraient amené l'intervention des grandes puissances.

Le Canada est sorti de la Seconde Guerre mondiale avec un potentiel militaire et une force économique qui ne le cèdent qu'à ceux des grandes puissances. Notre pays a développé des

relations de travail étroites avec les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne, et, dès le début, on l'a consulté concernant les institutions d'après-guerre qui faisaient l'objet d'étude par les grandes puissances. Le Canada était donc conscient de son nouveau statut dans les affaires mondiales et avait hâte de prendre des engagements pouvant satisfaire aux exigences de ce statut. On dit de Bismark qu'il avait un jour remarqué au sujet d'un rival européen qu'il avait cultivé un appétit pour le pouvoir sans avoir les dents requises. On pourrait dire du Canada que, une fois la guerre terminée, il avait développé à la fois l'appétit et les dents requis pour jouer un nouveau rôle sur le plan international. Voilà qui contraste carrément avec la ligne de conduite du Canada durant les années qui ont précédé la guerre, alors que sa politique générale était d'éviter ses engagements et sa participation dans les affaires mondiales, même si le pays demeurait membre de la Société des Nations.

A San Francisco donc, le Canada s'est exercé à renforcer les propositions de Dunbarton Oaks concernant les droits et les responsabilités des puissances dites moyennes. Notre pays s'est prononcé fortement en faveur de l'adoption des conditions d'admissibilité au Conseil de sécurité où il serait tenu compte des contributions que les Etats membres pourraient apporter au maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales. Cette idée a été incorporée dans l'article 23 de la Charte. C'est également au Canada que revient l'adoption de ce qui est devenu l'article 44 de la Charte prévoyant que le Conseil, lorsqu'il a décidé de recourir à la force doit, avant d'inviter un Etat membre à fournir des forces armées, convier ledit membre à participer aux décisions du Conseil de

sécurité touchant l'emploi de contingents des forces armées de ce membre. Le premier ministre du Canada a alors expliqué que l'imposition de sanctions soulèverait "des problèmes particulièrement difficiles pour les secondes puissances ayant de vastes intérêts internationaux", parce que, alors que les grandes puissances pourraient prévenir grâce au veto toute décision concernant l'imposition de sanctions, les pays dits secondes puissances n'auraient, semble-t-il, aucun choix dans la décision, bien qu'il soit possible qu'on leur demande de prendre part au conflit. Tertio, le Canada a été l'artisan de la disposition de la Charte maintenant incorporée dans l'article 24(3), aux termes duquel le Conseil de sécurité doit soumettre des rapports annuels à l'Assemblée générale. Il s'agissait en l'occurrence d'investir l'Assemblée d'un certain pouvoir de surveillance sur les actions du Conseil, bien que la chose ne se soit pas matérialisée. Dans toutes ces questions le Canada a poursuivi une politique s'inscrivant dans la logique de ses accomplissements durant la guerre et de sa position d'après-guerre, à titre de chef des secondes puissances.

Au cours des années qui ont suivi, le Canada a continué de rechercher et de suivre la ligne de conduite qui pouvait le mieux répondre à ses aptitudes et à ses besoins généraux. Nous comptons bien jouer le rôle qui nous revient dans l'édification d'un système de sécurité collective dont le Chapitre VII de la Charte donne un schéma. Nous avons remarqué avec regret et déception les premiers signes de désunité au sein du Conseil de sécurité et lors de la rupture des négociations en 1947 entre les membres permanents du Conseil touchant la question des forces armées des

Nations Unies. Il nous a fallu nous tourner ailleurs pour trouver une réponse à notre besoin de sécurité. Même lors de la ratification du Traité de l'OTAN en 1949, nous ne désespérions pas de la capacité des Nations Unies de remplir son premier but. Le premier ministre du Canada, M. Lester Pearson, s'adressant alors aux membres du Parlement, avait dit notamment que "le Traité de l'Atlantique nord servirait d'instrument qui ... rendra possible (pour les démocraties libres) l'emploi des Nations Unies avec plus de confiance et plus d'espoir de succès."

L'action des Nations Unies en Corée incarnait, semble-t-il, une réponse à ces espoirs. Le Canada a alors envisagé cette action comme la première mesure effective de la part des Nations Unies pour organiser une force internationale en vue d'arrêter une agression. Lorsque des observateurs militaires ont été envoyés au Cachemire en janvier 1949, c'était là notre première participation à une opération des Nations Unies pour le maintien de la paix. Nous avons également appuyé la proposition du secrétaire général relativement à un Service mobile des Nations Unies. Mais il a fallu attendre jusqu'en 1950, et ce n'est qu'au moment où la décision fut prise de résister à l'agression en Corée, que nous avons commencé l'examen et l'élaboration de la marche à suivre que nous avons fait nôtre depuis.

La Force spéciale de l'armée canadienne, mise sur pied pour servir en Corée, devait avoir - c'était là notre espoir - un rôle permanent à jouer dans le cadre des obligations du Canada aux termes de la Charte des Nations Unies. Nous avons demandé à d'autres Etats membres de désigner des contingents nationaux afin d'être mieux préparé à résister à une agression future au moment précis indiqué par les Nations Unies.

Nous savons gré à l'Assemblée d'avoir établi un Comité des mesures collectives chargé d'examiner les détails d'une planification militaire conjointe. Nous avons nommé un représentant auprès d'un groupe d'experts militaires des Nations Unies. Cependant, une fois l'urgence du conflit coréen passée, ces organismes ne devaient plus avoir que très peu d'écho au sein de l'Organisation. Quant aux membres de l'Alliance de l'OTAN, en particulier, les angoisses et les pressions découlant de l'escalade militaire en Europe devait reléguer à l'arrière-plan les projets de renforcement des Nations Unies. En outre, après 1955, le caractère des Nations Unies a commencé d'accuser un changement. De nouveaux Etats membres vinrent ajouter leurs intérêts propres au flot de pourparlers et de documents. Les membres des pays occidentaux n'avaient plus l'influence dont ils jouissaient cinq ans auparavant.

En 1956 cependant, le déroulement de la crise au Moyen-Orient a permis encore une fois aux Nations Unies de prendre des mesures propres à raviver l'intérêt du Canada et à préciser sa contribution à la sécurité collective. La Force d'urgence des Nations Unies devait se révéler le précédent heureux qui favoriserait l'épanouissement du concept du maintien de la paix. On a alors vu pour la première fois un déploiement des forces militaires des Nations Unies sans qu'il y ait participation des membres permanents et en dehors du cadre de la guerre froide. Le Canada apportait une contribution spéciale aux idées dont s'inspirait la nouvelle Force en plus d'en fournir le premier commandant. D'un côté, il était de première importance à nos yeux de trouver un moyen de combler l'abîme qui venait de se creuser entre nos alliés traditionnels de l'Europe et les Etats-Unis. D'autre part, nous étions

en face d'une situation permettant d'appliquer les idées dont nous nous étions faits les avocats six ans auparavant au moment du conflit de Corée.

Je n'ai pas l'intention de vous décrire les caractéristiques que comportent les forces désignées pour le maintien de la paix telles que les a définies M. Hammarskjold à la lumière de l'expérience de la FUNU. J'aimerais souligner cependant que la leçon que nous avons tirée de notre participation à la Force nous a permis d'épurer le concept d'un contingent affecté aux forces d'urgence. Nous avons déjà préconisé que les gouvernements eux-mêmes affectent certains contingents pour le maintien de la paix. Nous ajoutons que le Secrétariat des Nations Unies devait être en mesure de planifier à l'avance en anticipation du prochain état d'urgence. Il y a exactement 10 ans que le premier ministre actuel du Canada proposait dans un article paru dans la publication "Foreign Affairs" que les gouvernements soient invités à manifester leur volonté de fournir des contingents aux Nations Unies pour des fins non offensives et qu'un mécanisme central des Nations Unies soit créé pour conclure des arrangements au préalable et diriger les opérations futures. Depuis 1957 le Canada a pris certaines mesures en vue de disposer d'unités, dans le cadre de ses forces armées, qui seraient placées en état d'alerte en vue d'un service possible auprès des Nations Unies.

Le Canada a encore des unités au sein de la Force d'urgence des Nations Unies 10 ans après sa création. La nature

de notre contribution a changé avec la diminution des effectifs de la Force. Cependant les circonstances qui en ont motivé l'envoi au Moyen-Orient n'ont pas changé sensiblement. Deux questions se posent. Qu'avons-nous appris au sujet du maintien de la paix au cours des dix dernières années? Si les Nations Unies doivent conserver certaines fonctions dans le domaine du maintien de la paix, -- l'expérience nous dit qu'elles les conserveront -- comment faut-il partager cette responsabilité parmi les Etats membres?

Permettez-moi de résumer ce que nous avons appris. Je ne m'inspirerai pas pour cela de notre seule participation à la Force d'urgence des Nations Unies mais de notre participation subséquente à la Force du Congo, à la Force de Chypre et à notre participation dans nombre d'autres groupes d'observateurs des Nations Unies envoyés pour patrouiller les frontières et surveiller les cessez-le-feu. La première conclusion à tirer nous amène à souligner que chaque opération porte son caractère propre et exige chaque fois une ligne de conduite différente. Au Moyen-Orient par exemple, on nous a demandé de subvenir à toute une gamme de besoins, y compris des unités de support sur les plans administratif et entretien, des équipes mobiles de reconnaissance terrestre et de reconnaissance aérienne ainsi que des transports aériens. Au Congo, on nous avait demandé de fournir des signaleurs. A Chypre, on avait besoin d'un bataillon d'infanterie. Encore là, les mandats de ces diverses forces et groupes différaient, s'étendant d'une action militaire défensive au Congo aux unités d'observation et de rapport au Yémen. Les observateurs dépêchés au Liban en 1958 ont eu à remplir des fonctions qui différaient de celles que comportait l'organisme de surveillance de la trêve déjà en fonction sur les frontières d'Israël.

En outre, la composition de chaque opération varie selon les circonstances d'ordre politique et social. Il est souhaitable, la chose va de soi, que les troupes des pays africains soient disponibles pour les fonctions de maintien de la paix en Afrique sous les auspices des Nations Unies. A Chypre, il est plus sensé que le travail soit accompli, en règle générale, par les troupes des pays occidentaux. Pourtant, les Nations Unies ne sauraient se restreindre à une structure de composition régionale, étant donné que par définition une force des Nations Unies représente l'Organisation en général. Les troupes

canadienne, scandinave et irlandaise affectées à la Force du Congo ont démontré qu'une aide de caractère non régional peut être souhaitable non seulement pour des raisons d'ordre politique, mais pour des raisons d'efficacité technique et d'expérience. J'en viendrais donc à la conclusion que des méthodes "ad hoc" de recrutement de forces et une certaine improvisation dans la planification constituent un élément dans l'expérience contemporaine du maintien de la paix qu'il nous faut accepter. Il ne faut pas en déduire que la planification ne doit pas se faire au préalable et je me permettrai de formuler certaines recommandations à ce sujet. Nous sommes cependant en droit de nous interroger sérieusement devant certains projets visant à formuler des plans détaillés et des forces permanentes. Nous en sommes encore à un point dans le domaine de l'organisation militaire internationale où il faut d'abord en arriver à une entente portant sur les procédures les plus élémentaires relatives au maintien de la paix, ces procédures devant être adaptées aux circonstances particulières de chaque opération. Même cette mesure d'entente s'est révélée plus difficile à réaliser que nous ne l'avions espéré il y a dix ans.

Je voudrais aussi souligner l'importance de définir clairement les attributions ou le mandat d'une force de maintien de la paix ou d'une mission d'observation avant qu'elle ne soit autorisée à entreprendre ses travaux. Le mandat sera d'autant plus clair qu'il y aura une base d'accord politique au sein des parties en conflit et des autres gouvernements en question. Ceci dépendra ordinairement de la nature du conflit ou de la situation. Si la situation implique un désordre interne, il sera très difficile de définir le mandat de façon précise. Il se présentera d'autres situations où le degré de "consensus"

au sein du Conseil sera tellement faible que l'on ne pourra qu'adopter des instructions générales pour empêcher le conflit ou pour surveiller une trêve.

Il se peut qu'il soit nettement préférable que les Nations Unies interviennent dans ces circonstances plutôt que quelque'autre organisme ou gouvernement, agissant indépendamment des Nations Unies. Il nous faudra peut-être accepter que le commandant de la force et le secrétaire général ne puisse pas agir par manque de directives. Toutefois, il ne nous faudra venir à cette conclusion qu'après avoir accepté le risque qu'un mandat inadéquat puisse nuire de façon sérieuse au prestige des Nations Unies et à son efficacité future. La réponse n'est jamais facile. Le gouvernement canadien sera tenu d'examiner plus attentivement les demandes d'assistance si, selon lui, le mandat ne prévoit pas de mesures suffisantes pour la conduite des troupes sur place.

Il existe une question connexe. Même si le mandat est défini de façon satisfaisante au début d'une opération, il est sujet à une interprétation ou à une érosion progressive. La liberté d'action, par exemple, est particulièrement importante pour mener à bien une mission d'observation des frontières ou la surveillance d'un retour aux conditions normales. En général, il est dans l'intérêt des parties qu'un tel mouvement soit le plus libre possible. Mais il y aura aussi des occasions où il n'en sera pas ainsi. Il est actuellement convenu, comme condition de maintien de la paix, que le gouvernement hôte donne son consentement aux opérations et aux méthodes suivies par les Nations Unies. En principe, les Nations Unies ne doivent pas s'ingérer dans les affaires intérieures de l'Etat qui reçoit. Mais l'Organisation doit pouvoir observer, vérifier et quand c'est nécessaire s'interposer. Il sera plus difficile de

remplir cette fonction si une pression continue n'est pas exercée sur les parties en question en vue d'obtenir leur collaboration. Qui doit exercer cette pression? Il n'est pas juste de croire que le secrétaire général puisse remplir cette fonction seul. Le Conseil de sécurité doit l'appuyer. S'il ne le peut pas, alors les pays participants n'auront plus qu'à examiner de nouveau leur décision de participer à l'opération.

Une troisième conclusion importante que nous tirons de notre expérience est que le maintien de la paix est un commencement et non une fin. Le jour viendra peut être où les Nations Unies pourront fournir des forces et maintenir des bases autour du monde de façon semi-permanente. Mais ce jour n'est pas encore venu. En attendant, les gouvernements continueront à fournir des contingents pour les activités de maintien de la paix des Nations Unies en se fondant sur l'hypothèse que les parties du conflit déploieront des efforts voulus pour régler leurs différends ou pour rétablir l'ordre. Les Nations Unies ne doivent et ne peuvent être responsables de la victoire d'un parti sur l'autre. Comme règle générale, le maintien de la paix et la médiation doivent se poursuivre concurremment. La résolution du Conseil de sécurité qui mandatait la force de Chypre, par exemple, prévoyait aussi la nomination d'un médiateur. Son rapport n'a pas été accepté par toutes les parties en conflit. Cependant, si ces dernières n'en viennent pas bientôt à une solution de leur propre chef, alors tout le processus de médiation devra recommencer.

Le financement des opérations de maintien de la paix a toujours été un problème; le point culminant a été l'impasse qui a empêché la XIXe session de l'Assemblée de se dérouler normalement. Nous avons conclu de cette expérience que le financement collectif, même fondé sur une échelle spéciale de contribution qui tiendrait compte du potentiel économique des Etats membres et d'autres considérations pertinentes, n'est pas un principe qu'imposerait l'Assemblée dans

les circonstances actuelles. Il est naturellement dans l'intérêt des pays qui fournissent des contingents aux forces des Nations Unies que les frais de ces contingents soient assumés de façon équitable par tous et il est évident qu'une répartition collective fondée sur une échelle spéciale est la méthode la plus équitable de financement des opérations de maintien de la paix. Toutefois, il est maintenant manifeste qu'une telle méthode de financement ne puisse pas être mise en vigueur à moins d'une décision positive du Conseil de sécurité. Nous espérons que le Conseil adoptera, de fait, cette méthode dans la plupart des cas. Si le Conseil ne peut tomber d'accord sur ce point, la meilleure méthode de financement serait alors, si les conditions le permettent, que les parties en conflit assument les frais. On pourrait toujours solliciter des contributions volontaires comme sources additionnelles de fonds quand les dépenses seraient trop lourdes et que les parties ne pourraient les assumer. Mais dans ce cas, les membres du Conseil et particulièrement les membres permanents devraient être les premiers, à mon avis, à contribuer. Les membres permanents ne peuvent en toute justice se réclamer d'une voix prépondérante dans les décisions de maintien de la paix s'ils ne veulent aider au financement des opérations qu'ils ont autorisées.

La dernière conclusion que je voudrais tirer de l'expérience du Canada dans les opérations de maintien de la paix est qu'il y a un équilibre très délicat entre les exigences d'efficacité et de neutralité. En général, je dirais que plus il y aura de participants au maintien de la paix mieux ce sera, même si cela signifie une certaine perte d'efficacité. Plus de quarante Etats membres des Nations Unies ont participé à une ou à plusieurs opérations de maintien de la paix. J'espère que ce nombre pourra être accru de façon substantielle. Il est décevant de voir que seulement quelques pays ont fait connaître aux Nations Unies la nature des forces ou des services qu'ils sont en mesure de fournir sur demande. Le maintien de la paix ne doit pas être l'affaire d'un seul groupe ni

simplement de ceux qui sont le plus en mesure de fournir les installations et les services nécessaires. Ce n'est que lorsque les forces des Nations Unies représenteront un ample éventail des membres de l'Organisation que nous pourrons espérer obtenir l'appui politique nécessaire. Tous les Etats membres devraient être également éligibles, moyennant deux restrictions: les grandes puissances ne devraient habituellement pas être invitées à participer; de même les Etats intéressés directement ou particulièrement au conflit ou à la situation. Somme toute, le maintien de la paix n'est pas seulement une méthode de prévention ou d'arrêt du conflit; il s'agit d'une expérience internationale qui a beaucoup à apprendre aux gardiens de la paix eux-mêmes et qui pourrait se révéler une pépinière de collaboration militaire sur le plan international apportant aussi d'immenses avantages à long terme dans le domaine de la sécurité mondiale.

J'ai parlé du passé et j'ai tiré quelques conclusions pour l'avenir. Permettez-moi d'être plus précis sur les façons dont on peut améliorer le pouvoir de maintien de la paix des Nations Unies. A la dernière session de l'Assemblée générale, le Canada a coparrainé une résolution demandant l'adoption d'une échelle spéciale de financement des opérations de maintien de la paix entraînant de lourdes dépenses, et a recommandé au Conseil de sécurité d'autoriser une étude des moyens d'améliorer les préparatifs en vue d'opérations de maintien de la paix. La résolution invitait aussi les Etats membres à faire connaître à l'Organisation des Nations Unies leurs propres capacités dans ce domaine.

Les propositions de financement du Canada sont modestes. Nous acceptons que, lorsque les dépenses sont de plus de 10 millions de dollars par année pour une seule opération, des dispositions spéciales soient prises pour protéger les intérêts des pays en voie de développement. Nous

proposons que leur part soit fixée à 5 p. 100 du total, montant de leur contribution actuelle à la FUNU. C'est donc dire que la plupart des Etats membres ne paieraient que des montants nominaux, mais seulement dans les cas où le Conseil aurait recommandé cette méthode de financement. Naturellement, s'ils acceptent de défrayer une plus large part, nous ne nous opposerons pas, mais nous croyons que 5 p. 100 est un chiffre raisonnable. Le reste serait divisé parmi les Etats relativement riches, les membres permanents défrayant la plus large part.

Les problèmes financiers ont été la cause superficielle de l'impasse qui a entravé la marche ordinaire de l'Assemblée il y a deux ans. On a très peu parlé des aspects opérationnels du maintien de la paix qui ont été également sinon plus controversés. J'ai dit plus tôt qu'un système poussé de planification au sein du Secrétariat et qu'un accord portant sur une force permanente des Nations Unies ne seront probablement pas réalisés bientôt. Nous croyons fortement, néanmoins, que d'importantes améliorations puissent être faites.

Permettez-moi de donner quelques exemples. Une planification coordonnée doit être réalisée sur des questions, telle la marche ordinaire à suivre, l'entraînement, la logistique et les communications. Des principes standards peuvent être arrêtés en vue d'une application générale dans les accords portant sur le statut des forces. La question des normes comparables de salaires, de congés et de bien-être social pour les troupes de différents pays n'a pas été étudiée. Les gouvernements qui ont déjà travaillé au maintien de la paix pourraient donner des cours de formation aux officiers des autres pays intéressés. Un manuel de formation uniforme doit être rédigé. Nous devons étudier si une certaine uniformisation d'équipement est possible et si cet équipement peut être emmagasiné en vue de le distribuer selon les besoins. Le matériel de communication en particulier contribue de façon vitale au succès d'une opération de maintien de la paix et l'uniformisation de cet équipement et des systèmes de

communications est à souhaiter. Le transport aérien est également inhérent au succès des missions des Nations Unies. Des procédures de réserve et des tables uniformes de charge seraient très utiles. Certains pays délèguent habituellement des observateurs militaires à bref délai, mais comme je l'ai déjà souligné, il est toujours avantageux que le secrétaire général puisse faire appel au plus grand nombre de gouvernements possibles. Ne serait-il pas bon, par conséquent, de définir les fonctions d'un observateur militaire et la compétence que doit avoir en théorie un observateur des Nations Unies?

Qui doit mener ces études? Certains Etats membres se sont opposés à ce que le Secrétariat s'engage dans des activités qui, dit-on, relèvent du Comité d'état-major, cet organisme longtemps négligé mais toujours existant établi aux termes de l'article 47 de la Charte.

Tant que ces objections seraient formulées, le Secrétariat ne pourrait apparemment accomplir la tâche comme il convient. Et le Comité d'état-major? Son rôle, d'après la Charte, est de conseiller et d'aider le Conseil de sécurité sur toutes les questions qui se rattachent à ses fonctions de maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationale, ainsi qu'à l'utilisation et au commandement des forces dont il dispose. Il a manqué à cette tâche parce qu'après la guerre, l'URSS n'a pu ou n'a pas voulu se mettre d'accord avec les autres membres permanents sur l'effectif et la composition des forces des Nations Unies. A cette époque, les membres permanents devaient fournir eux-mêmes ces forces, et comme ils avaient eu chacun des expériences très différentes pendant la guerre, il n'était pas surprenant qu'ils fussent dans l'impossibilité de tomber d'accord sur les contributions que chacun devait fournir aux Nations Unies.

L'atmosphère de la guerre froide a paralysé tout nouvel effort du Comité d'état-major et ses fonctions ont été ensuite exercées par le secrétaire général. Mais la théorie et la pratique des forces des Nations Unies ont évolué. Leur but n'a pas été la mise en oeuvre des décisions des Nations Unies à l'égard d'Etats récalcitrants, mais la surveillance des ententes acceptées. Les membres non permanents fournissent maintenant une grande partie des contingents. L'expérience des opérations de maintien de la paix est maintenant assez longue pour que l'on procède à des analyses. Il y a peut-être raison de croire, par conséquent, que le Comité d'état-major, élargi par la présence de plusieurs membres non permanents conformément à la proposition soviétique, pourrait élaborer certaines règles en matière de maintien de la paix.

Une autre réponse possible à la question de savoir qui doit effectuer la planification est que les gouvernements principalement intéressés devraient se charger eux-mêmes de cette tâche indépendamment des Nations Unies. C'est une possibilité que le Canada a explorée en 1964 lorsqu'il a réuni une conférence d'experts militaires

de 23 pays pour l'étude des aspects techniques du maintien de la paix des Nations Unies. Une conférence de nature assez analogue a eu lieu depuis lors à Oslo. Nous sommes prêts pour notre part à continuer ce processus de consultations non officielles en dehors du cadre proprement dit des Nations Unies chaque fois que les circonstances semblent le justifier. Nous sommes prêts aussi à publier des guides et des manuels d'entraînement fondés sur notre expérience et, après des consultations avec les autres gouvernements intéressés, à les mettre à la disposition de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ou de l'un quelconque de ses membres.

En envisageant les autres solutions de planification militaire dont je viens de parler, le Canada se laissera guider par les mêmes préoccupations qu'en 1945; si nous devons participer aux interventions de maintien de l'ordre des Nations Unies, nous voulons nécessairement prendre part à la planification et aux décisions qui conduiront à ces actions. Un Comité d'état-major élargi auprès duquel nous comptons être représentés pourrait constituer un moyen commode d'atteindre ces objectifs. Nous sommes prêts en tout cas à collaborer à toute entente qui peut être conclue, à l'intérieur ou en dehors des Nations Unies, afin de rendre l'Organisation plus en mesure d'adapter ses moyens de maintien de la paix à la diversité des conditions mondiales actuelles.

Je reprendrais maintenant la seconde question que j'ai posée - comment les Etats membres doivent-ils se partager la responsabilité du maintien de la paix? Cette question soulève à mon avis le problème central du maintien de la paix: les procédures d'autorisation et de contrôle politiques. L'objectif principal des Nations Unies est de contrôler les conflits, si possible grâce au consentement des parties, s'il y a lieu grâce à une action coercitive. L'emploi de la force ou de la contrainte doit être sanctionné en principe par les membres permanents du Conseil. Je dis en principe parce que s'il est vrai que d'après la Charte de l'ONU une action

coercitive ne peut être entreprise par les Nations Unies sans le consentement unanime des grandes puissances, le majorité des gouvernements à San Francisco s'attendait par contre à ce que ce consentement se produise dans les cas d'agression ou de violations flagrantes de la paix. Cette espérance s'étant révélée illusoire dès 1950, l'Assemblée a revendiqué le droit de faire des recommandations pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité, et notamment le droit de recommander l'emploi de la force pour maintenir ou rétablir la paix, s'il y a eu violation de la paix et si le Conseil n'a pu prendre les mesures voulues. Le Canada a toujours été ferme partisan de l'exercice de ce droit par l'Assemblée, estimant qu'une action collective visant à mettre fin à l'agression est l'objectif primordial de l'organisation et ne doit pas être paralysée par l'abus du droit de veto.

Notre opinion s'est trouvée confirmée à la suite du rôle joué par l'Assemblée dans la création de la Force d'urgence des Nations Unies en 1956. On a prétendu que la recommandation concernant l'établissement de la Force sortait du cadre des pouvoirs de l'Assemblée parce qu'il s'agit d'une force militaire ayant un rôle de coercition virtuel et non effectif. Que les fonctions de la Force soient définies ou non comme action pour le maintien de la paix ou comme action de contrainte, et c'est à notre avis ce premier rôle qui lui incombe, me semble toutefois sans rapport avec le fait que l'Assemblée peut faire des recommandations en vue d'une action dans les circonstances que j'ai décrites et avec le fait que ces recommandations servent à réaliser les objectifs des Nations Unies si elles obtiennent la majorité requise des deux-tiers des voix.

On fait parfois observer que l'augmentation du nombre des membres de l'Assemblée générale a créé une situation nouvelle et que l'autorisation pourrait maintenant être donnée pour des opérations de maintien de la paix qui ignoreraient ou défieraient les intérêts d'Etats membres importants, voire d'importants groupes de membres. Cette éventualité n'a à mon avis que peu de chances de se réaliser parce que l'Assemblée est un corps politique et qu'en politique il n'est pas de coutume de prendre des mesures qui amènent leur propre échec. Un veto au Conseil est une chose. L'opposition manifestée par un certain nombre d'Etats puissants envers l'action des Nations Unies en est une autre. Je crois qu'il est très improbable que l'Assemblée recommande une opération de maintien de la paix sans prévoir d'une certaine manière son financement et sans savoir si l'on disposera de personnel et d'appui logistique suffisants.

Néanmoins, ce ne serait peut-être pas une mauvaise idée que de réexaminer les méthodes de vote de l'Assemblée. Il est maintenant possible d'adopter, à une majorité importante des voix, des recommandations importantes qui n'ont aucun rapport avec les réalités du pouvoir dans le monde. Ces recommandations n'ont que peu d'effet, voire aucun. Ce n'est pas une procédure susceptible d'accroître l'influence de l'Assemblée ou de rehausser le prestige de l'organisation. Le ministre des Affaires étrangères d'Irlande a proposé il y a deux ans que l'Assemblée change son règlement afin d'augmenter le nombre de voix affirmatives requises pour les recommandations de l'Assemblée touchant les questions de paix et de sécurité. J'estime que cette proposition mérite d'être soigneusement étudiée.

Quels que soient les bons et les mauvais aspects de cette question, il n'en reste pas moins que le débat reflète un désaccord profond entre les membres permanents du Conseil quant aux moyens d'exercer un contrôle sur le maintien de la

paix et que ce désaccord a paralysé tout progrès touchant le problème du financement et de l'organisation préalable du maintien de la paix. Comme nous le savons tous, il a toujours été extrêmement difficile de définir des concepts comme l'agression ou les menaces à la paix d'une manière qui plaise à tout le monde. Ces notions sont encore plus difficiles à définir aujourd'hui, en cette époque de guerres de libération, de subversion et de néocolonialisme. Le statu quo est attaqué partout, souvent par des moyens violents. La distinction entre les affaires intérieures et les affaires extérieures des Etats s'affaiblit, de même que la notion même de légitimité de l'autorité. Le danger que les grandes puissances soient attirées dans des conflits locaux augmente. Il est compréhensible que ces puissances désirent garder un contrôle sur les actions des Nations Unies qui auront nécessairement des répercussions pour leurs intérêts. Il est difficile d'accepter cependant l'opinion soviétique, selon laquelle ce contrôle, y compris la surveillance détaillée des opérations de maintien de la paix, devrait être exercé exclusivement par le Conseil de sécurité et par le Comité d'état-major. Même s'il y avait un moratorium touchant l'emploi du veto, pourrions-nous raisonnablement nous attendre à ce qu'un comité de cette composition dirige des opérations de maintien de la paix sans qu'il y ait retard, désaccord ou impasse?

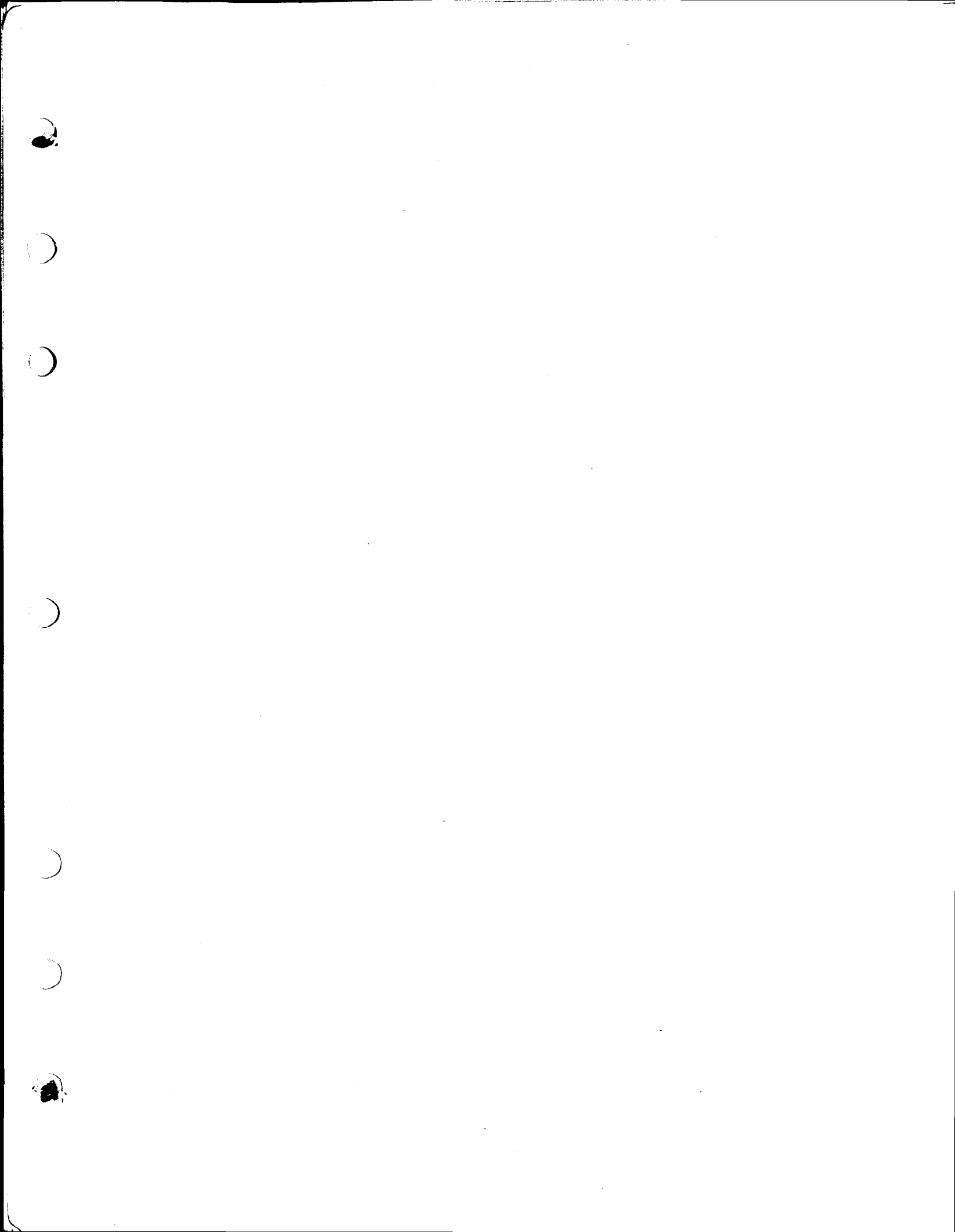
Je ne le pense pas. Je crois que le système actuel selon lequel le secrétaire général dirige le maintien de la paix sur les instructions du Conseil est plus en harmonie avec les réalités politiques et militaires actuelles. On pourrait sans aucun doute améliorer ce système. Le Comité d'état-major pourrait notamment effectuer d'utiles travaux, y compris la préparation d'un accord modèle

entre les Nations Unies et les gouvernements contributeurs. Il pourrait aussi exercer des fonctions de conseiller pendant la durée d'une opération. S'il jouait ce rôle, il devrait comprendre parmi ses membres les pays qui assurent eux-mêmes le maintien de la paix. Un compromis de ce genre, joint à une décision tacite de ne pas poursuivre le débat constitutionnel sur les pouvoirs de l'Assemblée, pourrait nous permettre de réaliser des progrès. Il est vain en tout cas, à mon avis, d'insister sur des positions constitutionnelles qui ne peuvent être appliquées à moins d'une refonte de la Charte. Le fait est que les interventions de l'Assemblée dans le domaine du maintien de la paix ont été exceptionnelles. Si les membres permanents agissent de façon responsable, elle n'aura pas de raison d'intervenir de nouveau.

Les aspects du maintien de la paix dont j'ai parlé se rattachent à la manière dont le Canada voit le monde de la galerie des moyennes puissances. Je déformerais la réalité toutefois si je ne vous rappelais pas que le Canada est également un pays occidental dont le point de vue est influencé par ses engagements et responsabilités au sein de l'alliance. Les efforts des Nations Unies pour la sauvegarde de la paix réussissent et réussiront dans la mesure où ils servent les intérêts des principaux groupes de membres et en particulier des grandes puissances. Ils doivent donc tendre vers la neutralité et la passivité. Les participants ainsi que le secrétaire général doivent espérer que l'équilibre des intérêts qui a d'abord suscité l'intervention amènera les pressions qui stimuleront la conclusion d'un règlement politique pacifique. Le Canada exercera l'influence dont il sera capable pour obtenir ce règlement. Mais à la différence des Nations Unies, nous ne pouvons toujours faire preuve d'impartialité à l'endroit des problèmes eux-mêmes. Nous nous réservons le droit d'exprimer notre opinion sur ces problèmes dans le cadre de notre politique étrangère. Si une intervention déterminée pour le maintien de la paix ne corres-

pond pas à notre idée d'un règlement juste et rapide ou à nos intérêts nationaux, nous n'hésiterions pas à refuser ou à terminer toute participation canadienne. Si nous participons, c'est parce que dans toutes les circonstances nous estimons que c'est de notre part le geste le plus approprié et le plus utile.

Nous avons fait ce geste chaque fois qu'on nous l'a demandé. Notre opinion générale a toujours été que l'Organisation des Nations Unies est l'instrument international le plus approprié pour le maintien de la paix. Ce n'est peut-être pas le meilleur ou le plus efficace. Les organismes régionaux ont à cet égard un rôle préalable à jouer conformément à la Charte, et plus ils aideront à régler de litiges, moins l'ordre du jour des Nations Unies sera chargé. D'autres différends ne paraissent jamais à l'ordre du jour, parce que l'une ou plus des Parties ne sont pas membres des Nations Unies. L'ONU, cependant, est plus en mesure de prêter une oreille impartiale aux plaintes et de fournir une solution plus généralement acceptable pour sauver la face ou gagner du temps. Comme l'a dit Dag Hammarskjöld: "Il est indispensable avant tout à notre époque d'apaiser les conflits entre les nations, et non de les stimuler. Si elle est utilisée comme il convient, l'Organisation des Nations Unies peut servir une diplomatie de réconciliation beaucoup mieux que tout autre instrument mis à la disposition des Etats membres." Les Canadiens se plaisent à penser qu'ils servent leurs propres intérêts lorsqu'ils servent les Nations Unies.



PRESS RELEASE



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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Lecture given by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
in the first series of the Jacob Blaustein
Lectures at Columbia University, New York,
on April 27, 1967, at 8:30 p.m.

"CANADA'S APPROACH TO THE VIETNAM CONFLICT"

In my first lecture I dealt with the Canadian approach to peacekeeping by the United Nations and with ways in which the many obstacles to an effective exercise of this function might be overcome. For many reasons we believe that the United Nations, despite certain weaknesses, is, in the long run, the most suitable international instrument to keep the peace. For the present, we have to face the fact, however, that in certain situations the United Nations may be powerless to act and that other arrangements may have to be made to provide an international presence in sensitive areas.

The Geneva Conference of 1954, which brought an end to hostilities in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, was the classic case of the attempt at peaceful resolution of conflict outside the United Nations context. The conference on Indochina, which grew out of the Berlin conference of the Big Four in January, 1954, and which was linked with the Korean conference which preceded it, was limited in membership to the five great powers - the United States, the Soviet Union, Communist China, Britain and France - and the four Indochina governments - Laos, Cambodia, the State of Vietnam and the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam. Five of the nine participants were not at that time members of the United Nations, and the four permanent members of the Security Council who were involved in the Geneva Conference were as deeply divided on the issues of Korea and Indochina as they were on the issues of Europe; it is not surprising, therefore, that negotiations did not take place under UN auspices.

The Geneva Conference achieved a cease-fire and made an attempt at providing a basis for a long-term political settlement in the area. It created, in the International Commissions for Supervision and Control, a supervisory mechanism which to a large extent ensured the short-term viability of the military cease-fire arrangements. However, by not taking full account of the deep-rooted political and ideological divisions which were never far beneath the surface, the conference left unresolved certain issues which were fundamental to Indochina. As these issues emerged in new forms in the years following 1954 it became clear that, as in the United Nations, the absence of agreement among the big powers on long-term objectives, and irreconcilable contradictions among the countries directly involved, can undermine the effectiveness of any international peacekeeping operation.

I would like to examine the special case of Vietnam in some detail, not only because of the broad international implications of the war in Vietnam but also because Vietnam in many ways represents the severest test to which international peacekeeping has been put. There are many strands woven into the complex fabric of the Vietnam tragedy. As the Minister responsible for Canadian foreign policy, I shall examine the problem of Vietnam and peacekeeping from the point of view of Canada as a member of the International Supervisory Commissions. The Canadian decision to accept the invitation to participate in the International Commissions in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia represented the beginnings of a major Canadian involvement in Asia. Furthermore, nearly thirteen years of participation in international supervision in the area has inevitably led the Canadian Government to concentrate today on ways of achieving not only a peaceful settlement of the war but also a settlement which may be more permanent than the one which was attempted in 1954. Our experience has, of course, conditioned our point of view; on the other hand, this should not be interpreted as indicating any insensitivity to other viewpoints, and particularly to the wide range of considerations affecting the policy of the United States in the area.

During the postwar era Canada has played many roles in the world. It has been a loyal member of NATO throughout the many crises which have been faced in Europe; it was a member of the United Nations forces in the Korean war; it has been a participant in nearly every peacekeeping operation undertaken by the United Nations. In a sense, our role in Vietnam has been the most frustrating and disillusioning: Like many other countries, we have sensed a tragic inevitability in the developments leading up to the present war; as a member of the International Commission, with a direct responsibility for assisting in the maintenance of the peace in Vietnam, we have been particularly sensitive to the apparent inability of the countries involved in the area to deflect developments. As a result, we examine our own experience in an attempt to determine why the 1954 settlement went wrong and how, when a new settlement is achieved, the same mistakes can be avoided.

The Vietnam crisis cannot, of course, be explained or understood solely in terms of the events of the past decade or two. As with so many of the states of the world which are struggling to modernize their political and economic structures, the problems of Vietnam are the problems of history, of political traditions, and of centuries of rivalry and war. The present division of Vietnam is not a new situation; the fact that a

wall separated two warring dynasties in the 17th and 18th centuries is not irrelevant to any analysis of today's problems. The isolation of the villages of South Vietnam from central authority is not a modern phenomenon, but simply a continuation of a problem which even the most illustrious and powerful emperors of Vietnam were seldom able to resolve. The economic impoverishment of the area is acute when compared to the rising expectations of the modern age, but nevertheless is simply a continuation of an economic condition which has prevailed for hundreds of years. The effect on Vietnam's neighbours of the present political and military hostilities is little different from the clash of empires and the reactions to the steady territorial expansion of the Vietnamese people since the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, although it is necessary to recognize the continuity of these problems, the world of the mid-20th century is no longer prepared to accept their inevitability. The world community, in the nuclear age, is becoming increasingly conscious of the need to create an international order in which necessary political and social changes can be accomplished by peaceful means, and disputes between nations and peoples can be settled without violence.

The resources of the developed world are being used more and more to break the chains binding the peoples of Asia to the poverty and violence of the centuries. The war in Vietnam presents a serious obstacle to these massive efforts and if the historical roots of discontent and insecurity in Southeast Asia are to be effectively removed, a way must be found not only to bring that war to an end but also to provide a basis for a more viable settlement than the one projected by the Geneva Conference in 1954 turned out to be.

When the Geneva powers met in 1954, the war in Vietnam had been in progress for eight years and had spilled over into Laos and Cambodia. It was not, as is sometimes stated, a war between France on the one side and all Vietnamese nationalists, led by the Communists, on the other. In the beginning, France certainly played the role of a colonialist power attempting to maintain some kind of presence in the states of Indochina, and the Communist-led Vietminh were strongly motivated by nationalist feelings. Before long, however, subtle changes occurred. Nationalist non-Communist elements within the Vietminh were gradually denuded of power and influence or completely eliminated. The French at the same time found themselves allied with many Vietnamese who were just as determined as the Vietminh to achieve an independent

Vietnam, but who were prepared to pursue their objective by political, rather than military, means and who were at least as opposed to Communist control as to French colonialism. As the war progressed, the differences between Vietnamese became more pronounced and there emerged, as there had before so often in Vietnamese history, two Vietnamese communities struggling for the right and the power to govern all of Vietnam.

When the élites reflecting these two communities went to Geneva in 1954, "North Vietnam" and "South Vietnam" did not exist. There were only two governments - one Communist and one non-Communist, both claiming sovereignty over the whole of Vietnam and over all Vietnamese. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, recognized by all the countries of the Communist bloc, and the State of Vietnam, recognized by more than thirty other countries, both attended the Geneva Conference as sovereign states and as full participants in the deliberations of the conference, and the armed forces of both governments were intermingled in combat from the Chinese border in the north to the Camau Peninsula in the south. The State of Vietnam had, however, delegated command over its armed forces to the High Command of the French Union Forces, which had the primary

responsibility for the conduct of the war, and it was perhaps only natural, therefore, that the burden of negotiations on the Franco-Vietnamese side should have been borne by France, especially in a conference dominated by the big powers. A sharp divergence of policy developed, however, between France, which intended to withdraw from Indochina, and the State of Vietnam, which intended to exercise its right to govern Vietnam. The State of Vietnam, from the beginning of the conference, had opposed the partitioning of the country and had pressed for United Nations supervision until peace and order could be restored, at which time free nationwide elections could be held under UN supervision. On the other hand, in the atmosphere of urgency which surrounded the conference it was perhaps inevitable that the effective decisions concerning cease-fire arrangements should be negotiated by those in effective control of the armed forces engaged in the war, and that the position of the State of Vietnam concerning partition should have received so little attention during the efforts being made to separate and regroup the forces of both sides as quickly and as expeditiously as possible.

If this had been restricted to the cease-fire agreement which was ultimately signed by representatives of the French Union Forces and the Communist "People's Army of Vietnam", the implications probably would not have been serious. Arrangements, however, were also considered for the final political settlement, which envisaged general elections being held within two years to bring about the unification of Vietnam, even though no agreements were signed to this effect, and although the State of Vietnam explicitly dissociated itself from the projected arrangements.

With the wisdom of hindsight, we can see how the dragon's teeth were sown. But in July, 1954, there was a general sigh of relief throughout the world. The war in Indochina, with all its attendant risks, was over. Attention turned to the immediate tasks of the cease-fire agreements and to the arrangements for carrying them out. It was apparent that in the tense international atmosphere of the time, and in the wake of a bitter war, the peacekeeping role of the International Commissions would be vital.

Canada, although it had been represented at the Korean Conference, had not played any direct part in the negotiations on Indochina. The government was aware that the composition of the International Supervisory Commissions

had been one of the important points of disagreement between the Communist and Western delegations, but it had no reason to anticipate the invitation which was extended to India, Poland and Canada after the cease-fire agreements had been negotiated and signed. Acceptance of the invitation was not an easy decision. Canada was geographically remote from Indochina and had no traditional interests in the area. The settlement had been reached outside the United Nations, and that organization would not be involved in the supervisory function. Canada had not had a voice in creating the terms of reference under which it was now being asked to operate. Finally, we were very aware of the deep cross-currents surrounding the Geneva Conference and recognized that the International Commissions themselves might be caught in the middle of any breakdown of the settlement.

Nevertheless, despite our reservations, and despite our recognition of the responsibilities and difficulties which membership in the Commissions would entail, Canada accepted the invitation. Canadian foreign policy was firmly committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes, and it was clear that the effectiveness of the cease-fire reached in Geneva would to some extent depend on the supervisory arrangements. It was

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true that the United Nations was not involved, but at least an international presence had been provided for: It was possible to hope that this presence might place some restraints on the big powers whose interests were so directly engaged in Indochina, and that the Commissions would exert a general stabilizing influence on the region.

It was clear that the Commissions would have only limited powers and resources; on the other hand, they had no responsibility themselves for the execution or enforcement of the agreements. The parties themselves were required to carry out their undertakings and if violations of the cease-fire agreements occurred, and if the recommendations of the Commissions were not implemented, the Commission was expected to report the circumstances to the members of the Geneva Conference. Thus, although in the last analysis the fulfilment of the provisions of the cease-fire agreements in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia would depend on the co-operation of the parties, the Commissions, by acting as the eyes and ears of the international community, could perform a worthwhile function by providing an element of disinterested deterrence to open violations of the cease-fire.

Canada's decision in 1954 to participate in the Vietnam Commission represented an attempt to contribute to the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. It was clear that

in proposing India, Poland and Canada as members of the Commissions, Communist China had envisaged a troika arrangement in which Poland would represent the interests of one of the parties, Canada would represent the interests of the other, and India, as the major neutral power of the time, would cast the deciding votes. We were aware of the difficulties of the so-called "Neutral Nations Commission" in Korea, in which the requirement for unanimity had hamstrung the Commission. The Indochina Commissions at least provided for majority decisions on a wide range of matters, and for majority and minority reports on the major issues.

Despite the temptation to live up to the conference's expectations, Canada decided from the beginning to avoid the role of rigid advocate for the West and, instead, tried to promote an objective and balanced approach by the Commissions. We were firmly convinced, and remain so to this day, that neither the work of the Indochina Commissions nor the future of international peacekeeping would be served if the members of the Commissions gave the impression of being swayed by political bias, and of ignoring the terms and intent of the cease-fire agreements in the interests of one side or another. We encountered many difficulties in carrying out this policy, but after thirteen years we remain convinced that it was the right one.

Because the 1954 settlement did not produce a lasting peace, it is sometimes argued that the International Commission in Vietnam failed in its role. As I have pointed out, however, the Commission was not envisaged as an enforcement agency: It had not been given the terms of reference, the authority or the resources to impose its will on the parties, and was expected to leave the actual task of keeping the peace to those directly involved, to act in such a way as to encourage observance of the Cease-Fire Agreement, and to keep the members of the 1954 conference informed of results. The deterioration of the situation in Vietnam had complex origins, and although the weaknesses of the supervisory process no doubt contributed to the eventual breakdown, there were other important factors arising out of the nature of the 1954 settlement itself, the policies and objectives of the two Vietnams, and the atmosphere created by the policies of the major world powers.

Let us first of all look at the 1954 settlement. I have already mentioned how the anxiety of most of the major powers to achieve a cease-fire led to a situation in which little weight was given to the clearly stated position of the State of Vietnam. The conference, by ignoring the position of the government which claimed to speak for the non-Communist

community of Vietnamese, and by projecting nationwide free elections in 1956, had set forth an objective which was certain to pose problems --- unless of course the State of Vietnam collapsed in the interim. The political objectives of the governments representing the two communities of Vietnam were in direct conflict, and this became more and more evident in the months following July, 1954. Furthermore, the government of the State of Vietnam, instead of collapsing, as many observers of the time expected it to do, consolidated its position and, by so doing, achieved the ability to resist in practice the political settlement which it had opposed throughout the Geneva Conference.

The political environment in Vietnam, therefore, was inherently unstable. The mandate of the International Commission, however, related not to the political settlement but to the supervision of the Cease-Fire Agreement. The history of the Commission's work in this field is fairly clearly set out in the various reports it submitted to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference between 1954 and 1965. In summary, I think it is fair to say that the Commission was reasonably successful in its task of supervising and facilitating the disengagement of forces, and their regroupment in the two zones of Vietnam. Both the French High Command and the People's Army of Vietnam had an interest in implementing the cease-fire

provisions, and as a result the Commission was able to act effectively and constructively during the early stages. On the other hand, when the interests of the two sides diverged, and when the Commission tried to supervise effectively aspects of the Cease-Fire Agreement which one side or the other felt interfered with its national objectives, the International Commission found its supervision interfered with, evaded or thwarted. The agreement, for example, provided that in both zones the democratic freedoms of the population were to be guaranteed and that no reprisals were to be taken against persons for their activities during the hostilities. North Vietnam submitted innumerable complaints to the Commission alleging reprisals against persons in South Vietnam who were "former resistance workers". The South Vietnamese Government complained that North Vietnam was carrying out subversive activities in the south, and that the Commission would not be permitted to investigate allegations of reprisals until it took some action against North Vietnam for the alleged subversion. In neither North nor South Vietnam was the Commission ever able to ensure that "democratic freedoms" were extended to the populations. Similarly, despite the build-up of the North Vietnamese army in the period immediately

following the cease-fire, the Commission was never able to detect the entry of a single piece of military equipment into the country. Violations of the Cease-Fire Agreement occurred in both North and South Vietnam and, although the Commission could from time to time report to the members of the Geneva Conference on at least some of these violations, there was no way in which pressure could be effectively brought to bear on the governments concerned to force them to remedy the situation. Indeed, because the Commission was dependent on services and facilities extended to it by the governments concerned, it was severely handicapped even in its attempts to investigate possible violations.

I have already referred to the troika structure of the Commission, which was designed to reflect what were assumed to be the three main blocs - Communist, Western and "neutralist". Our experience since 1954 has not led us to believe that this type of control mechanism is well suited to international peacekeeping. If the assumption is made that two of the three members of the troika will automatically assume the role of advocate for their respective "sides", it is obvious that an intolerable burden will be placed on the third member, which is cast in the role of an arbiter. In effect, that third member is expected to assume the full responsibility for every

decision which is taken by the peacekeeping agency and to accept, as a result, the foreign policy implications of such decisions as they apply to the arbiter itself. In a situation such as exists in Vietnam where, as I have said, Canada has consistently attempted to act objectively and to support findings against either side if they are substantiated by impartial investigation, the burden on the third country is reduced to some extent, but not, unfortunately, to the point where it can act without any reference at all to the implications on its own national position. We have encountered difficulties in our position too. I think it is generally assumed that Canada was named to the International Commission to represent Western interests. If this were understood and accepted by all parties, it would be possible, in theory at least, to act accordingly. Indeed, it would simplify the task. On the other hand, given Canada's role as a major participant in UN peacekeeping operations, it is impossible for us, in a situation such as Vietnam, to play the role of a special pleader for any one party without cutting across our broader goal of strengthening the United Nations as an impartial and objective agency for the settlement of international disputes.

I have touched on the contribution to the failure in Vietnam which was made by the 1954 settlement itself and by the weaknesses of the supervisory agency. There were in addition, however, broader international factors which contributed to the deterioration of the situation. In 1954 the cold war between Communism and the West still existed in Europe, and only one year after the cease-fire had been achieved in the bitter Korean war an atmosphere of hostility permeated Asia. In this environment it was probably inevitable that in Vietnam -- as in Germany, China and Korea -- the two communities should become the protegés of the major powers representing the ideological, political and military division of the world at that time. The conflicting objectives of the two Vietnamese communities thus became the objectives of the Soviet Union and China on the one hand, and of the United States and other Western and Asian countries on the other. The line at the 17th parallel, which had created North and South Vietnam in 1954, had not been envisaged as a permanent frontier any more than had the lines between the two Berlins, the two Germanys, or the two Koreas. Nevertheless, the commitment of the prestige of the major powers to the protection of the two Vietnamese states made unification of the country impossible, and made the 17th parallel as sensitive a dividing line as the others.

The story of the succeeding years was best summed up by a majority report of the International Commission issued in mid-1962. The Commission, following examination and investigation of South Vietnamese complaints going back to 1955, informed the Foreign Ministers of Britain and the Soviet Union, acting as Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference of 1954, that "armed and unarmed personnel, arms, munitions and other supplies" had been sent from North Vietnam into South Vietnam "with the object of supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks directed against the armed forces and administration" of South Vietnam, and that the North Vietnamese authorities had allowed North Vietnamese territory to be used "for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in the zone in the South aimed at the overthrow of the administration" in South Vietnam. The Commission also reported that South Vietnam had received military aid from the United States in quantities in excess of those permitted by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and had made military arrangements with the United States which amounted to a factual military alliance. The Commission recommended that all violations of the Cease-Fire Agreement should cease in order to avert the threat of the resumption of open hostilities. The recommendations of the Commission

were not heeded: North Vietnam's campaign of infiltration and subversion increased, as did the entry of United States military personnel and equipment; and by the beginning of 1965, with the commitment of United States combat troops to the support of South Vietnam, the war had passed into a form not very different from that preceding the cease-fire in 1954. It continues to intensify.

With its special message of 1962, to which I have just referred, the International Commission passed into a new stage of its existence. We had to face the fact that the 1954 settlement had broken down completely and that a new war in Vietnam was confronting the international community. North Vietnam, which had signed the Cease-Fire Agreement, had, according to the evidence of the International Commission, violated the cease-fire in an attempt to establish the control over all of Vietnam which it had expected to achieve through the elections envisaged in the Final Declaration. South Vietnam, which did not consider itself bound by an agreement that it had not signed (but which had undertaken not to use force to resist the implementation of the cease-fire clauses) had also violated the cease-fire provisions. Progressively, the Cease-Fire Agreement had been eroded to a point where the International Commission remained its only functioning component.

The Canadian Government, although it recognized the futility of supervising a Cease-Fire Agreement which was being breached by both Vietnamese governments, considered that every effort had to be made to bring about an end of the war. We saw in the International Commission a symbol of the 1954 settlement, a possible channel for negotiations between the opposing forces in Vietnam, and the possible nucleus of some future settlement. Questions are sometimes raised in Canada about the desirability of continuing Canadian participation in the Commission. We have weighed the various aspects of the problem very carefully and we continue to believe that we should maintain our participation.

None of the interested parties have suggested that the International Commission should be withdrawn or that its mandate be cancelled. Furthermore, the Commission stands as a symbol of the 1954 Cease-Fire Agreement and can be considered as an indication of the continuing interest of the Geneva powers in the situation. Most important of all, however, is our belief that in the right circumstances the Commission might be able to make a positive contribution to a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam issue. The Canadian Government has attempted on a number of occasions to explore, with its Commission colleagues India and Poland, the possibility that the Commission might play a useful role in bringing the opposing parties

closer together. So far it has not been possible to achieve this objective. Nevertheless, we recognize that Canadian participation in the Commission provides us with a special opportunity to maintain a dialogue with the parties most directly involved in the war. Mr. Chester Ronning, the former Canadian High Commissioner to India, has made two visits to Hanoi as a special representative of the Canadian Government, and his visits were of great assistance in interpreting and clarifying the position of the North Vietnamese Government. The Canadian Commissioner to the Vietnam Commission visits Hanoi frequently, and is able to have full and frank exchanges with the authorities there. During my visit to Europe last autumn I explored the problem in depth with the governments of Poland and the Soviet Union. I have maintained continuing consultation with all parties and personalities who are in a position to bring their influence to bear on behalf of peace in Vietnam. Canada has, of course, fully supported the constructive initiatives which have been taken by other nations of the world.

The fact that our efforts to contribute to the search for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam have not borne fruit is not, in my opinion, a reason for abandoning them.

The present conflict must be brought to an end; a key must be found to open the door to an honourable negotiated settlement. We shall continue in our efforts to find that key.

Many attempts have been made to create circumstances in which talks or negotiations leading to a cease-fire, and opening the way to a lasting settlement, might begin. None of these attempts have succeeded, but they have made it possible to assess in some detail the positions of the two sides and to delineate fairly precisely the action required to roll back the level of hostilities to a point where discussion becomes possible. I recently suggested that the 1954 Cease-Fire Agreement, which concentrated on arrangements for a cease-fire and a disengagement of forces, contained the objectives which we are seeking today. It seems clear that, in existing circumstances, an overnight cease-fire cannot be expected. On the other hand, a progressive reapplication of the 1954 cease-fire terms would not only help to create a favourable climate for discussions between the two sides but, by enabling the two sides to engage in a step-by-step de-escalation, would itself create a certain momentum in the movement towards negotiations.

I would envisage the process being carried out in four stages. The first step would involve restoring the demilitarized character of the zone on either side of the 17th parallel and a reactivation of those provisions of the Cease-Fire Agreement which prohibits the use of either North or South Vietnam for the carrying out of hostile acts against the other. In my view, this step would have to include the bombing and any other military action against North Vietnam. The second stage would involve freezing the course of military events in Vietnam at its existing level. Both sides would undertake not to engage in any military activities which differed in either scale or pattern from existing activities; it might also involve a prohibition on the reinforcement of military personnel and equipment into North or South Vietnam from any source. The third stage would involve the cessation of all active hostilities between the parties. The fourth and final stage, which would complete the process of return to the cease-fire provisions of the 1954 settlement, would provide for the exchange of prisoners, the withdrawal of outside forces and the disposal of military bases.

I recognize, of course, that proposals such as this cannot contribute much to the situation until both sides are prepared to accept them. I remain convinced, however, that

some process such as the one I have outlined must ultimately be accepted if we are to emerge from the Vietnam impasse.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the commencement of talks and the opening of negotiations would automatically solve the problem of Vietnam. We have to bear in mind the lessons of the 1954 Conference and avoid any tendency to ignore the harsh political realities of the situation. We know now that these realities inevitably surface in a more virulent form unless appropriate arrangements are made to take them into account.

At this stage, it is of course impossible to set out a detailed formula for a lasting settlement in Vietnam and the neighbouring area. Nevertheless, we think it is possible, on the basis of past experience and present facts, to set out certain broad considerations which will have to be taken into account if any settlement is to be more than simply a pause in a steadily deteriorating situation.

First, the fact that a military solution alone is neither practicable nor desirable has become almost a truism. It is becoming clear that in existing circumstances North Vietnam will not be able to impose its control over South Vietnam by military means or, more accurately, by the politico-military means which are the hallmark of wars of

national liberation. Given a stabilization of the military balance, the two regimes and the two communities in Vietnam will have to find ways of accommodating their respective interests and avoiding recourse to the violent methods which have led to the present war.

Second, some way will have to be found to return to the basic provisions of the Geneva Cease-Fire Agreement of 1954. In practice, this will of course involve a continuation of the de facto division of Vietnam - a situation which neither North nor South will view with equanimity. Nevertheless, it seems evident that until ways can be found to blur and ultimately eliminate the dividing line by peaceful means, and by mutual consent, the alternative is a continuation of the present dangerous situation.

Third, we must recognize that although a return to the 1954 cease-fire arrangements holds out the best hope for a beginning of a lasting settlement, the people of Vietnam are one people and must ultimately join together in one country. For the time being, however, the participants in a future conference must face up to the fact that there are two distinct communities in Vietnam, just as there are two communities in Korea and in Germany, and that these two communities must both agree when and how arrangements should be made for reunification. Most of the big powers at the

1954 Geneva Conference paid lip service to the cause of reunification, but in the circumstances of the time were led to ignore the existence of the two communities; we have seen the tragic results of this mistake. We see no reason, however, why the realities of the situation should lie too heavily on the individuals affected, and we would hope some arrangement could be worked out whereby reasonably free movement between the two zones could be permitted to allow at least the reunification of families.

Fourth, we think it inevitable that any settlement in Vietnam will have to be effectively supervised by an international presence. We would expect all outside forces to withdraw from both parts of Vietnam as soon as conditions permitted, and we would hope that both Vietnams would undertake to avoid inflammatory propaganda attacks on each other in the interests of contributing to the development of the kind of atmosphere that will make possible meaningful contacts between them. Whatever the terms of a settlement, however, both Vietnams and the other countries directly involved will want assurances that the terms of the settlement are being carried out. I would expect that international supervision, to be successful, would have to be backed up by firm understandings between the major powers involved in the settlement and by some form of guarantees by these same powers.

Fifth, although we have no firm views as to what form international supervision might take, we think it will be generally accepted that the international agency involved should be so constituted as to have the confidence of all parties to the settlement. As I have mentioned, the present Commission has a number of weaknesses, and it may be necessary to give a new agency a different composition, more clearly defined and more effective powers, and greater resources; otherwise, there will always be the risk that the parties directly concerned with the problem will consider it necessary to resort to unilateral action to rectify breaches of agreements. This, as we know, could mean the complete breakdown of the settlement. As far as Canada is concerned, I would be prepared to recommend that we co-operate, within the limits of our available resources, in the constitution of a new supervisory force. We would also expect to contribute, on the basis of our long experience in the area, our judgment and our advice on the nature of the supervisory agency.

Sixth, we believe that the Vietnamese people, like all peoples of the world, should be able to determine their own political future and create their own institutions. We have welcomed the progress which has been made in South Vietnam to bring about the conditions in which a constitutional

government, responsive to the wishes of the people, can be elected. We would anticipate that, with the creation of a peaceful environment, ways could be found to provide an opportunity for all segments of the South Vietnamese population - including adherents of the Vietcong - to participate in the political life of South Vietnam on the same basis as other groups. I would like to hope that the same opportunities could be extended to the population of North Vietnam. The creation of constitutional and responsive governments in both parts of Vietnam would, I am convinced, contribute much to a peaceful resolution of differences: There is no doubt in my mind that the populations of both Vietnams are anxious to find peaceful ways of coming together and to avoid a recurrence of the present situation.

There are, of course, other issues lying beyond Vietnam which must be resolved if peace is to be achieved and maintained in that country. Laos and Cambodia, who both aspire to a neutral status which would protect them against outside interference, must be given an opportunity to pursue their own destinies. In 1962 an agreement guaranteeing the neutrality of Laos was negotiated and signed by fourteen countries. Despite this, the International Commission has

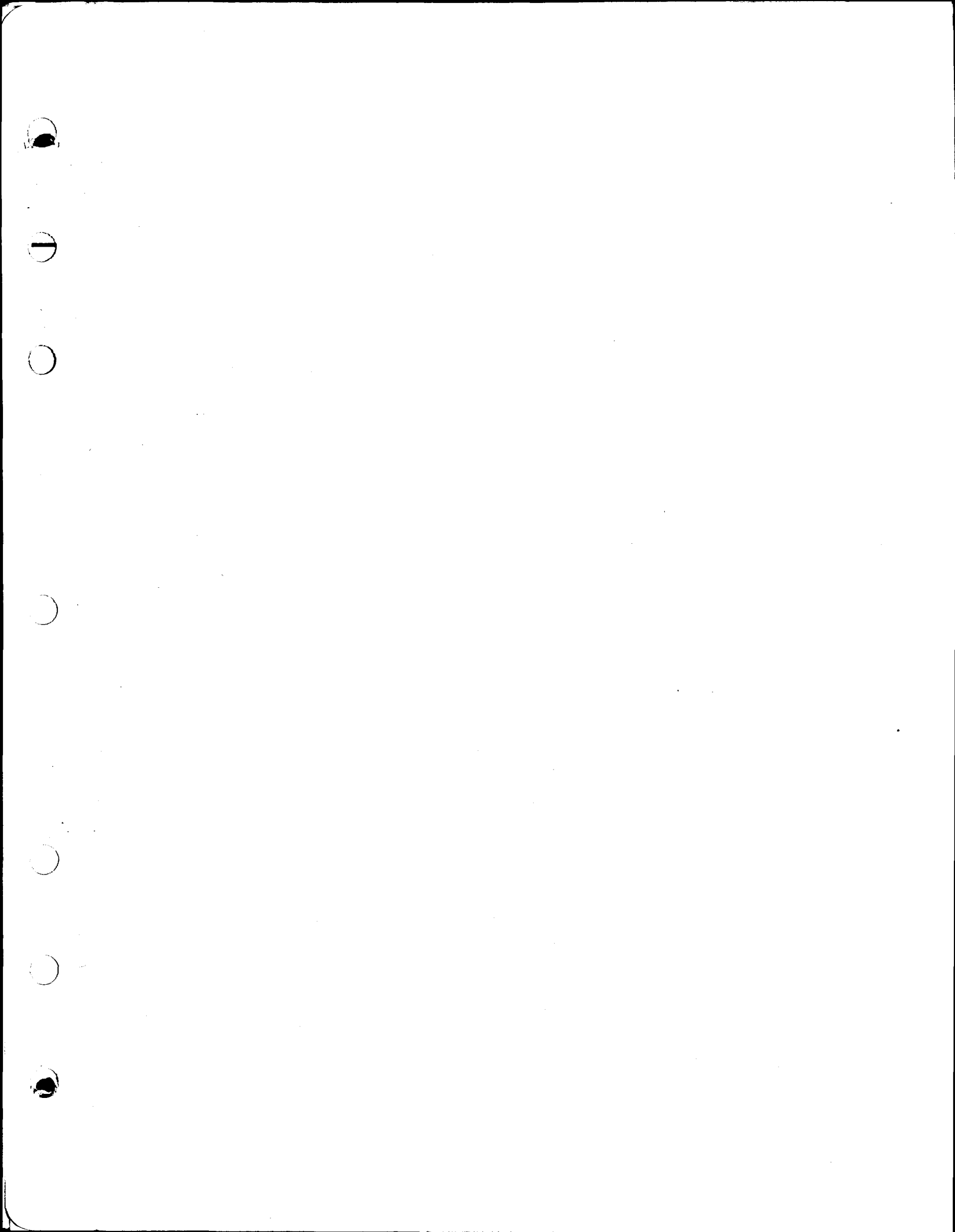
reported major violations of the settlement by North Vietnam and is awaiting permission to enter Communist-held areas in order to investigate charges of United States violations. I think there is much merit in proposals which have been made for the neutralization of Vietnam and much of the rest of Southeast Asia, and I would think most of the countries of the region would wish to acquire neutral status if this could be effectively guaranteed and if it would prevent the constant interference in their internal affairs which is so prevalent today.

In the background, of course, is the great question of Communist China, without whose co-operation no lasting stability can be achieved in Vietnam or any other part of Southeast Asia. To some extent, the policies of China can be interpreted as the result of fear, insecurity and wounded pride. It is difficult, I know, to find a prescription which will eliminate these deeply rooted elements of Chinese policy; on the other hand, I am convinced that it is in all our interests to continue our attempts to penetrate the wall of suspicion and hostility which surrounds the leaders in Peking.

Finally, we recognize the close links which exist between the requirements of stability in Southeast Asia and the requirements of economic development. The United States

has already made an immense contribution to these requirements and has promised even greater commitments once peace is established. Canada, through the Colombo Plan, its participation in the Mekong Basin project, and through its commitments to the Asian Development Bank, is also playing its role in this area and we shall continue to do so.

The task of bringing permanent peace and stability to Vietnam and Southeast Asia is an immense one, which I am sure will occupy not only the countries of that region but the whole world community for many years to come. Any formula for peace will inevitably be as complex as the factors involved in the present situation, and the path to a right formula will be strewn with obstacles and disappointments. Nevertheless, the war in Vietnam must be brought to an end and the peaceful future not only of Vietnam but all of Southeast Asia must be assured. Since 1954 Canada has done its best to prevent a war in Vietnam. It is now doing its utmost to help to bring the war to an end. When a settlement is achieved, we shall do our best to ensure that it is a permanent one.



PRESS RELEASE



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CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Lecture given by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
in the first series of the Jacob Blaustein
Lectures at Columbia University, New York,
on April 28, 1967, at 2:00 p.m.

"CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES"

In my first lecture in this series, I attempted to show how Canada's policies in support of United Nations peacekeeping activities reflected the Canadian outlook on the world. In my second lecture, I discussed in some detail the position which Canada has adopted towards the most potentially dangerous, violent conflict in the world today, the war in Vietnam. For this third and last lecture, I am turning to a different aspect of the search for world peace; namely the task of international development, and Canada's distinctive contribution to it.

It is certainly an over-simplification to see in international development a means of eliminating all threats to peace. The principal antagonists in the two great wars of this century were and are among the most economically advanced countries of the world; this provides convincing and tragic proof that the hunger for power cannot be satisfied by material well-being alone. But in this latter half of the twentieth century, it has become increasingly clear that a world community which is half rich and half poor cannot be stable or peaceful. His Holiness Pope Paul VI expressed this fact in a profound yet simple way, when he said that "development is the new name for peace".

With the benefit of historical perspective, we can see that the origins of the present disparity in wealth among the world's peoples lie in the pattern of European economic and colonial expansion which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was in Europe that the technological innovations which provided the key to our present-day economic prosperity in the Western world were first developed and applied.

The resulting trade patterns, related as they were to the building of world-wide European empires, left the world with a set of economic relationships manifestly unsuited to the aspirations and needs of a world which has come to recognize the dignity and right to equal opportunity of all peoples.

Canada, like the United States, is itself a product of European colonial expansion. As a country of European settlement, however, our peoples brought with them the skills and aptitudes, and the psychological make-up, which enabled them to share from an early stage the rapid technological and economic development which had begun in Europe. But the effort to build a new nation in North America has also, I think, given us some insight into the problems facing those nations in other parts of the world which have recently attained independence, and have simultaneously embarked with determination on the path of economic and technological development.

In earlier days, the needs of other countries for outside assistance in achieving economic development would have gone largely unnoticed and unheeded. Indeed, it is only in relatively recent times that the concept of collective, governmental action to provide basic social services and stimulate economic development within our own borders has been recognized. From an historical point of view, we may regard the Second World War as the turning point, which led to the realization, still unfortunately not fully accepted in all quarters, that responsibility for human welfare cannot be limited by political boundaries. During the War, thousands of Canadians fought and died, not only for the freedom of their own country, but also for the freedom of our allies, and

for the beliefs which we shared with them. It was only natural that the sense of common purpose which characterized our war effort should be expressed anew in the task of reconstruction, an essentially economic task which required the contribution of material resources from the countries which had suffered least to those which had suffered most.

Amidst the revolutionary changes which took place in the world in the years following 1945, it was borne home to us that the countries which had been devastated by war were not the only ones where people were suffering from poverty and deprivation. First the great nations of Asia, proud heirs to ancient civilizations, and then the peoples of Africa raised ^{their} voices, demanding the same freedom and independence that the victorious allies had fought for in the Second World War. Initially, this great revolutionary movement was expressed in essentially political terms, but it soon became clear that the quest for political independence was only the first stage in a much more basic search for a better and more fully satisfying life.

In 1950, Canada met with Britain, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan and Ceylon to discuss ways of meeting the political, economic and social problems that faced the newly independent Commonwealth countries of south and south-east Asia. The result was the Colombo Plan, originally conceived as a Commonwealth response to what was regarded as a Commonwealth responsibility. To Canadians, the "new" Commonwealth which emerged in the years following the War was a source of some pride, for it

was Canada which had originally pioneered the pattern of national independence within the Commonwealth. Canada was anxious to do what it could to make this "new" Commonwealth, embracing non-European as well as European peoples, a viable concept, and accordingly undertook to assist in the joint development effort which was so clearly needed. It is from that time that we can trace the growth of Canada's programme of aid to the developing countries.

For the eight years following its inception, the Colombo Plan was Canada's only bilateral aid programme, and to it the Canadian parliament appropriated annually the sum of \$25 million. Despite the addition of other areas of the world to the Canadian assistance effort, the Colombo Plan region continues to receive the bulk of Canadian aid funds. Between 1950 and March of this year, bilateral assistance provided to the area totalled \$800 million, of which an overwhelming proportion went to India and Pakistan. In this respect, Canadian allocations followed proportionately similar lines to those of the United States, Britain and West Germany. I am frequently asked by Canadians why such a large proportion of our funds are allocated to the Indian sub-continent. It is important to remember, when making comparisons of this nature, that India and Pakistan contain more people than the continents of Africa and Latin America put together. In the last 15 years, aid to India from all sources and of all types has amounted to little more than \$20 per person, but this low per capita figure nevertheless represents the staggering aggregate investment of nine billion dollars.

The character of our aid to India and Pakistan has been one of heavy emphasis on power infrastructure projects, which often benefit agriculture as well, plus an increasing amount of grant aid food. Our food aid programme to India alone in 1966 was \$75 million in grants, a contribution which moved us ahead of the United States as a supplier on a comparative basis either of population or gross national product. The needs of India continue to be immense, and sometimes, when we look at the gloomy picture drawn by statistics of increasing population and food supplies diminished by drought, we may be tempted to despair. We should not forget, however, that India has put together in the last 15 years the important beginnings of a modern industrial structure, and has an expanded force of trained and educated manpower. Together with its potentially rich resources of land and water, India has a far better base for economic progress than existed 15 years ago. Much the same can be said with respect to Pakistan.

I want to deal at a later stage with our multi-lateral relationships, but no discussion of Colombo Plan aid would be complete without a reference to the confidence we have in the future of the Asian Development Bank, at the inauguration of which, last year, Canada pledged an initial capital contribution of \$25 million. From its resources, we hope, will come great undertakings similar in scope and imagination to the Mekong development project (sponsored by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East), which serves Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and which awaits only the resolution of the area's political differences to take a great step forward.

In 1958, Canada decided to broaden the scope of its contribution to international development by undertaking a new programme of assistance for the islands of the British West Indies. Canadians had long felt a special sense of attachment to the West Indies, based among other things on the traditional trade in saltfish from the Maritime Provinces for West Indian sugar and rum. The establishment in the West Indies of a federation embracing the various islands, and the prospect of this federation becoming a second independent Commonwealth nation in the western hemisphere, gave added impetus to Canadian interest in the region. Initially, Canada's economic assistance was concentrated on the provision of infrastructure which would make the Federation more viable, and took the form, among other things, of two cargo-passenger vessels for inter-island service.

The collapse of the West Indies Federation in 1962 ended, at least for the moment, the dream of a single united Commonwealth nation in the Caribbean, but it did not end Canadian interest in assisting the various West Indian territories to overcome the problems of development which confront them. Indeed, with the attainment of independence by Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and later by Guyana and Barbados, Canadian interest in strengthening and giving new meaning to its special relationship with the area has intensified. This was the background for the important conference held in Ottawa in July, 1966, and attended by the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers of all the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, at which various avenues of collaboration in achieving development were explored. At that Conference, Canada

made it clear that the Commonwealth Caribbean would be considered an area of concentration in the Canadian aid programme. Even before the Conference, the Commonwealth Caribbean was receiving more assistance from Canada, on a per capita basis, than any other part of the world.

Africa, a continent with which Canada had only the most tenuous relationships in pre-war years, was the third area to come within the ambit of our aid programme. You will recall the great upsurge of independence which characterized the African scene in the years following 1957. Many of the newly independent states had been British dependencies, and became members of the Commonwealth; others were formerly colonies of France and Belgium, and became heirs to the French language and culture. Thus it is in Africa that expression can be given in our aid programmes to Canada's own dual heritage.

Canadian assistance to Africa began in 1960, with an allocation for the Commonwealth African countries. In 1961 this was followed by the inauguration of a programme for the francophone countries. Throughout Africa the most immediate need was for educational and technical assistance, and it was in these fields that we originally concentrated most of our attention. Recently, however, increasing emphasis has been placed on the need for capital projects, particularly for pre-investment and feasibility surveys, to enable the countries of Africa to make better use of their rich natural resources. From modest beginnings, our programmes for both Commonwealth and francophone Africa have grown rapidly, as we have gained a greater understanding of Africa's needs and how they can be effectively met.

We were heavily involved in Asia, had undertaken a significant programme in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and faced a growing need in Africa, but could we afford to ignore the circumstances of Latin America? This was a difficult question. On the one hand, there was no doubt at all in our minds that the requirements of Latin America deserved the attention of the industrialized world. We had extensive diplomatic and commercial ties, and the sympathy that must come from our common membership in the American family. On the other hand, we lacked facility in the two major languages of the region, and we ran the risk of spreading our programme too thinly among the developing areas of the world. The decision, taken in 1964, was to allocate \$10 million from our newly-created development loan fund to Latin America for projects which would be submitted for our approval through the Inter-American Development Bank. The fund has grown by annual instalments, and by the end of this year, we shall have made loans for several major development projects in a number of Central and South American countries.

In addition to our programme of bilateral assistance, Canada has participated actively from the beginning in the great international institutions that have grown up around the United Nations, drawing their strength from its universal approach. In 1966, Canada ranked fourth among the contributors to the United Nations Development Programme and the International Development Association, third in contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, and second in contributions to the World Food Programme.

Above all, we value the association we have established with the World Bank, which has become the repository of so much invaluable information and knowledge about the science of development assistance. The Bank, and its offspring, the International Development Association, are playing a major role in international development. As a member of the World Bank consortia for India, Pakistan, and the Indus Basin Development Fund, and of the consultative groups for Colombia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Thailand and Tunisia, we are convinced of the merit of this orderly approach to a nation's development requirements, and we look for the formation of more of these groups. We have been favourably impressed by the reports drawn up by the Bank, by the International Monetary Fund, and by the promise of more detailed planning conveyed by the terms of reference of the United Nations Development Programme, all of which help us to determine the most effective ways of allocating funds under our bilateral programmes.

Like other countries which have undertaken programmes of development assistance, Canada has found the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development particularly useful as a means of coordinating our common effort. The Development Assistance Committee was created in 1960, precisely to counter some of those old arguments about uncoordinated bilateral aid, and to provide a meeting place where donors could exchange confidences. The initial concern of the Development Assistance Committee was with the equitable sharing of the responsibility for providing assistance, and for this

purpose it undertook to establish statistical measurements of the flow of resources to countries in the course of economic development.

The Development Assistance Committee, under its first-rate chairman, Mr. Willard Thorp, has performed its task well, both in the area of burden-sharing and statistical analysis, as well as in the stimulation of increased volume and the promotion of more reasonable terms of aid. I make no criticism of its past endeavours, however, when I say that a new impetus is required from this forum, in which most of the Western donors, Australia, and Japan are represented. The Development Assistance Committee has known, as have the World Bank and the United Nations, that our joint efforts are faltering. The encouraging increases in the expansion of aid that took place before 1961 have not been repeated, and the terms on which assistance is extended are hardening, building repayment problems for the future. It may well be time for the Development Assistance Committee to speak to its members a little more firmly, and to exercise the moral suasion its unique position commands.

We have the assurance of the World Bank that the developing countries could make effective use of at least another \$4 to \$5 billion annually than they are now receiving. This means that the Bank has judged the problems of disbursement and absorption as not insurmountable, and indicates an encouraging view of the possibility of speeding up the timetable of development. I do not know if this volume can be attained in the short run. Taking the practical view, I find it hard to believe that we can

collectively achieve a 35 per cent increase in all forms of aid within say, the next five years, but drawing upon the experience of war, I am not unconscious of the fact that amazing results can be obtained from single-mindedness of purpose.

But of equal importance, can we provide this aid on terms which will be of long-term assistance to the developing world? It is a sobering fact that the developing countries pay out between them \$3.5 billion a year for servicing their external public debt and twice that sum when private commitments are included. The poorest among them, a former World Bank official has estimated, are now repaying more in interest and principal on World Bank loans than they are receiving in disbursements from the Bank. If we increase the amount of capital available without considering the impact of our terms on the developing countries we could be compounding current difficulties and postponing indefinitely the creation of conditions of self-sustaining economic growth.

In planning for Canada's programme of development assistance, we have been deeply conscious of the need for more aid, and for aid on better terms. At the present time, Canadian aid in all forms amounts to approximately \$300 million a year, which is about three-fifths of one percent of our Gross National Product. In a period when the level of assistance to the developing countries has been tending to remain static, Canada has taken the decision to expand its contribution to international development to an amount approximately equal to one percent of its Gross National Product by the early nineteen seventies.

The terms of Canadian aid have always been relatively favourable. In the beginning, almost all our aid was in the form of grants, and grant aid continues to make up a substantial proportion of our total allocations. When the level of aid was expanded and it was decided to make aid available in loan form, the terms were based on those offered by the International Development Association; that is, no interest, ten years grace, and repayment over a further period of forty years. Last year, even the three-quarters of one percent service charge on this type of assistance was eliminated. We recognized, however, that some developing countries could usefully handle loans with somewhat higher repayment obligations, and to meet this particular need a type of loan carrying interest at three percent, with seven years grace and thirty years maturity was introduced.

The third type of loan available, of course, is that issued under the terms of Canada's Export Credits Insurance Act. These are extended on commercial basis but qualify as development assistance because their terms are softer than those which could be extended directly by Canadian exporters. We include these loans in our aid programme figures because they form part of the internationally accepted measure of flow, while accepting the argument that they are designed primarily to serve the Canadian exporter. At one time, export credits represented almost one-third of the entire programme, but in the year just past they accounted for only one-sixth, and the proportion is expected to grow smaller each year.

Canada maintains the policy of insisting that its aid be given in the form of Canadian goods and services, of tying our aid funds, in other words, to procurement in Canada. We do this of economic necessity, rather than by conviction, because our sympathies lie with the terms of the recommendation adopted by the Development Assistance Committee in July, 1965, which said, in part:

"(Tying of aid) can bring about cumbersome limitations on the freedom of the recipient to choose freely the most suitable sources of supply on the international market. With regard to bilateral assistance, member countries should jointly and individually endeavour, unless inhibited by serious balance of payments problems, to reduce progressively the scope of aid tying with a view ultimately to removing procurement restrictions to the maximum amount possible."

A significant proportion of Canadian aid is channelled through the multilateral agencies and is, of course, already untied. In respect of our bilateral aid we are willing, indeed anxious, to move from our position in concert with our fellow donors, particularly those whose economic influence in the world is so much greater than that of Canada. To be realistic, I cannot visualize early international agreement on this question, considering the disparate nature of aid programmes and donor economies. I am however hopeful that it will be possible to arrive at a formula which would permit gradual movement towards the objective.

In the meantime we have done our best to mitigate the possible adverse effects of tying aid. Procedures have been adopted to ensure that there will be competitive bidding by our exporters, and we make available a sufficiently broad range of goods and services to enable the recipient country to avoid those with a relative price disadvantage. Perhaps I may observe, at this time, that as the result of aid associations extending over a period of 15 years, the kind of request made to us today is usually for the kind of service or material that we offer on a world-wide competitive basis of price and quality. Another step we have taken is to reduce the emphasis formerly placed on financing only the foreign exchange component of a project. In the Caribbean area, in particular, we have indicated our willingness to assume a proportion of local costs where this is necessary to ensure the completion of a high priority project.

We have also recognized the need for what is called programme or non-project aid. The very pace of development exerts a pressure on such countries as India and Pakistan to use more and more foreign exchange to feed the increasing demands of a growing industrial economy. To meet this need for raw material and spare parts, we have developed a large-scale commodity programme, primarily for the larger Asian countries, and have adopted procedures that enable users to enter into direct relationships with Canadian suppliers.

From what I have already said, it will, I think, be clear that Canada's programmes of development assistance represent a significant contribution to the international effort to build a more peaceful and stable world community, capable of meeting successfully the problems of social change and economic development that characterize our times. Aid is, of course, only one of the ways in which the developed countries can contribute to the process of international development. As a result of the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, we have begun to obtain a clearer understanding of the role which trade can and must play in this process. Unless the trading opportunities of the developing countries are significantly improved, it may well prove impossible for them ever to attain self-sustaining growth.

For many of the developing countries, the export of basic commodities accounts for a large proportion of total earnings from trade, and it is therefore a matter of urgency to stabilize and improve their earnings from these commodity exports. This can only be done effectively through international commodity agreements, and Canada has been participating actively in the negotiations which are taking place with respect to several commodities. There is need also to open up larger markets for the products of the industries which the developing countries are establishing. While understandably concerned about the possibility of market disruption, Canada has a relatively good record in providing a market for manufactured goods from the developing countries. We are very hopeful that the tariff negotiations currently being concluded

in Geneva -- the Kennedy Round -- will result in a more rational and efficient international division of labour, and thus be of particular benefit to the developing countries, as well as to the international community in general.

Because of the increasing realization that trade relationships are of great importance in international development, and the failure of aid programmes to have the full impact that had at one time been expected, there are those who argue that trade, not aid, is the real answer to the problem of under-development. This is, I believe, an oversimplification of the issue, for the provision of capital assistance and manpower training under development assistance programmes, and the provision of wider market opportunities for the products of the developing countries, are really two sides to the same coin of international development. With the experience gained over the past two decades, Canada, like the other countries which have undertaken programmes of development assistance, has come to realize that the task of international development is much more complex, and more formidable, than was once thought. We have realized that a long-term effort will be required, and, with specific reference to our aid programmes, that more sophisticated and comprehensive administrative arrangements, and more clarity and precision with respect to objectives, will be necessary.

The purpose of aid, as we see it, is clearly and simply to help the less-developed countries of the world achieve a degree of economic development which accords with the needs and

aspirations of their peoples. Unfortunately, this basic, central objective has all too often been obscured and distorted by conflicting considerations. If genuine international development is to take place on the scale desired, and with the necessarily limited resources available, it is essential that the goal of economic development be kept at the forefront of our thinking, and that other goals be discarded, or at least placed in a subordinate position.

There is, for example, a tendency in some quarters to regard aid as a means of exerting political influence. Given the conflict of ideologies which is such an important feature of the international scene, this tendency is perhaps understandable. Certainly, we would hope that the attainment of economic development will encourage the less developed countries to evolve systems of government consonant with our own ideals of liberty, an open society, and respect for the rule of law. It should be noted, too, that a certain degree of confidence and understanding must exist between donor and recipient governments, if only to make possible the administrative arrangements necessary for the successful operation of an aid programme. But it is, I think, a grave error to view aid as a means of gaining immediate political objectives, or of buying friends. Experience has clearly shown that such a view may not only lead to disappointment, but can result also in the waste of scarce resources and a failure to achieve any sort of meaningful economic result.

Another goal which is sometimes claimed for aid programmes, and which I think is also of doubtful validity, is the attainment of immediate commercial benefit for the donor country.

Economic progress in the developing countries will in the long run result in expanding trade opportunities on a global scale, but aid programmes which have as their principle purpose the stimulation of production in the donor country are not likely to be very relevant to the economic needs of the less developed countries. The drive and know-how of businessmen in our free enterprise economies must of course be utilized in the implementation of aid projects, but to confuse aid programmes with the promotion of exports, in itself a perfectly legitimate and necessary field of government action, is to run the risk of failing to achieve the objectives of either.

There is also, I think, a risk involved in regarding aid as charity, or as some kind of massive international relief effort. Special emergency measures must, of course, be taken from time to time on an international scale for the relief of human suffering, and such measures often tend to find their way into aid programmes. It would be morally and humanly wrong not to provide assistance when the alternatives are sickness, starvation, and death. But such measures, if they are allowed to become the foundation of an aid programme, may well make it more difficult to achieve effective and lasting economic progress in the long run. Certainly a spirit of humanitarianism is an important motive for the provision of aid, but there is, I think, a danger that over-emphasis on charitable and humanitarian motives may lead us to under estimate the need for sound policies and effective, practical administrative arrangements if development is to be successfully achieved.

If the goal of economic development must be accorded the dominant position in the thinking of the developed countries with respect to aid programmes, it is equally important that the developing countries themselves evolve policies clearly aimed at this goal. While shortage of investment capital and skilled manpower are two of the principal obstacles to development, and can be at least partially overcome through international development assistance programmes, there are other obstacles to development which only the developing countries themselves are in a position to tackle effectively. One of these is, of course, the rapid rate of population growth which characterizes so many developing countries, and has reduced the effectiveness, in per capita terms, of so much of the development that has taken place in recent years. Another factor which may inhibit growth in some developing countries is small size, which of course results in a small market and loss of the advantages which may be gained from economies of scale. One response to this problem is regional economic, and perhaps even political, integration. It is encouraging to note that increasing numbers of developing countries are seriously examining the possibilities of integration and other forms of cooperation to achieve economies of scale.

In allocating their aid, donor countries are certainly obliged to look for some evidence of performance on the part of the recipients, but I think we must recognize at the same time that governments in the developing countries are no less free from day to day pressures than governments in developed countries,

and are often less well-equipped to cope with them. As one commentator recently noted, a developing country is faced with the necessity of balancing orderly growth against the disorderly demands of the present. When we recall that almost all developing countries are simultaneously undergoing rapid social change, and are engaged in evolving their own national personalities, it is clear that the criteria which donor countries must apply to ensure effective use of the resources they are contributing need to be tempered by an understanding of, and sympathy for, the particular problems faced by individual developing countries.

Development is not a simple mechanical process, and does not take place in a vacuum; it is influenced and shaped by a great many factors, among the most important of which are those associated with the culture and traditions of the countries concerned. Statistics on economic growth, although important, are not the sole indication of a successful development effort, for a developing country can hardly be expected to pursue economic growth to the exclusion of other goals which it may regard as important, such as a balanced distribution of wealth, and respect for its cultural heritage.

What this means, of course, is that genuine development is an endogenous process; while it can be assisted from without, it must be produced from within. In the final analysis, the quest for development involves not only higher standards of material well-being, but also the sense of

responsibility and self-reliance that can come only from the successful achievement of a common goal by means of one's own efforts. The role of aid is to make this task easier and less costly in terms of social and human values, but aid can never be more than a supplementary factor in the over-all process of development. Unfortunately, aid may have a tendency to enhance the cultural influence of the developed countries within the developing world, at a time when the most profound problems of the developing countries involve the need to break with this influence, at least to some extent. To recognize this is not to question the value or necessity of aid programmes; it is rather to point out some of the pitfalls, and to underline the need for true generosity of spirit, as well as generosity of purpose, in approaching the task of international development.

In this lecture, I have attempted to outline Canada's approach to international development, and how the form and direction which Canadian aid programmes have taken reflect Canada's own make-up and economic capabilities, as well as its outlook on the world. To conclude both this lecture and the series, I can think of no more fitting words than those of Pope Paul VI in his recent encyclical, words which can, I believe, serve as an inspiration to us all:

"Excessive economic, social and cultural inequalities among peoples arouse tensions and conflicts, and are a danger to peace. ... To wage war on misery and to struggle against injustice is to promote, along with improved conditions, the human and spiritual progress of all men, and therefore the common good of humanity.

Peace cannot be limited to a mere absence of war, the result of an ever-precarious balance of forces. No, peace is something that is built up day after day, in the pursuit of an order intended by God, which implies a more perfect form of justice among men."

PRESS RELEASE



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secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
dans le cadre de la première série de
Conférences Jacob Blaustein,
à l'Université Columbia de New York,
le 28 avril 1967 à 14 heures

"L'APPORT DU CANADA A L'EXPANSION ECONOMIQUE
DES PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT"

Lors de ma première conférence de la présente série, j'ai cherché à démontrer comment les programmes que le Canada met en oeuvre pour seconder les efforts de paix des Nations Unies étaient le reflet de sa conception du monde. Dans ma deuxième conférence, j'ai exposé de façon assez détaillée la position que le Canada a adoptée à l'égard du conflit le plus menaçant et le plus violent qui sévisse dans le monde aujourd'hui, soit la guerre au Vietnam. Dans cette troisième et dernière conférence, j'aborde un aspect différent des efforts en vue d'assurer la paix dans le monde, soit le développement économique à l'échelle internationale et l'apport particulier du Canada dans ce domaine.

Ce serait certainement faire preuve de simplisme que d'envisager le développement international comme un moyen de supprimer toute menace à la paix. Les principaux antagonistes dans les deux grandes guerres de notre siècle étaient et sont encore du nombre des pays les plus économiquement évolués du monde; cela prouve de façon convaincante et tragique que le bien-être matériel ne peut pas à lui seul satisfaire la soif de pouvoir. Au cours de cette dernière moitié du XX^e siècle, cependant, il est devenu de plus en plus évident qu'un monde à moitié riche et à moitié pauvre ne peut connaître ni la stabilité ni la paix. Sa Sainteté le Pape Paul VI a exprimé cette idée d'une façon profonde et cependant toute simple quand il a dit "le développement est le nouveau nom de la paix".

L'histoire nous permet de voir que l'expansion économique et coloniale des pays d'Europe au XVIII^e et au XIX^e siècles est à l'origine de la présente répartition inégale des richesses parmi les peuples du monde. C'est en Europe qu'on a d'abord mis au point et appliqué les moyens techniques qui ont ouvert la voie à la prospérité économique que le monde occidental connaît aujourd'hui. Les systèmes d'échanges commerciaux qui en sont résultés, conçus comme on le sait en vue de l'édification d'empires européens couvrant le globe, ont laissé au monde une série de relations économiques manifestement inadaptées aux aspirations et aux besoins d'un monde qui en est venu à reconnaître la dignité de tous les peuples et leur droit à l'égalité des chances.

Tout comme les Etats-Unis, le Canada est un produit de l'expansion coloniale de l'Europe. En conséquence, les colons qui l'ont peuplé ont pu apporter avec eux les talents et les aptitudes ainsi que les dispositions psychologiques qui leur ont permis de participer assez tôt au rapide développement technologique et économique qui s'amorçait en Europe. Nos efforts en vue d'édifier une nation nouvelle en Amérique du Nord nous permettent aussi, je pense, de comprendre les difficultés avec lesquelles sont aux prises les pays qui, dans d'autres régions du globe, ont récemment atteint à l'indépendance et se sont en même temps et avec détermination mis sur la route du développement économique et technologique.

En des temps plus anciens, les besoins d'une aide extérieure ressentis par d'autres pays pour assurer leur développement économique seraient pour une bonne part passés inaperçus et auraient été ignorés. En vérité, ce n'est que depuis relativement peu de temps que l'on accepte l'idée de l'action collective et gouvernementale pour assurer des services sociaux essentiels et stimuler le développement économique à l'intérieur de nos propres frontières. Du point de vue historique, nous pouvons considérer la Seconde Guerre mondiale comme le tournant qui nous a amenés à comprendre, non pas dans tous les milieux malheureusement, que la responsabilité à l'égard du bien-être de l'homme ne peut pas s'arrêter à des frontières politiques. Durant la guerre, des milliers de Canadiens ont combattu et ont donné leur vie, non seulement pour la liberté de leur propre pays, mais aussi pour la liberté de nos alliés et pour les convictions que nous partageons avec eux. Il n'était que naturel que ce sentiment de partager un objectif commun qui a caractérisé notre effort de guerre se manifeste de nouveau au moment de la reconstruction, tâche essentiellement économique qui exigeait l'offre de ressources matérielles par les pays qui avaient le moins souffert à ceux qui avaient été les plus gravement éprouvés.

Au milieu des changements révolutionnaires qui se sont produits dans le monde après 1945, nous avons compris que les pays dévastés par la guerre n'étaient pas les seuls où régnaient la pauvreté et le dénuement. Tout d'abord les grandes nations d'Asie, fières héritières de civilisations anciennes, puis les

peuples d'Afrique ont élevé la voix, demandant à leur profit la liberté et l'indépendance pour lesquelles les alliés victorieux avaient justement combattu durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale. A l'origine, ce grand mouvement révolutionnaire avait des objectifs essentiellement politiques, mais il est vite devenu évident que la recherche de l'indépendance politique n'était que la première étape dans la recherche plus fondamentale d'une vie meilleure et plus enrichissante.

En 1950, des représentants du Canada, de la Grande-Bretagne, de l'Australie, de la Nouvelle-Zélande, de l'Inde, du Pakistan et de Ceylan se sont réunis afin de rechercher des moyens de résoudre les difficultés politiques, économiques, et sociales auxquelles étaient aux prises les membres du Commonwealth ayant récemment atteint à l'indépendance dans le Sud et le Sud-Est de l'Asie. Ces pourparlers ont abouti au Plan de Colombo conçu à l'origine comme moyen pour les pays du Commonwealth de s'acquitter d'un devoir à ce titre. Les Canadiens étaient fiers du "nouveau" Commonwealth qui a vu le jour au cours des années d'après-guerre, car le Canada avait été le pionnier de l'indépendance nationale à l'intérieur du Commonwealth. Le Canada ne voulait rien négliger qui puisse assurer la survie de ce "nouveau" Commonwealth, composé à la fois de nations non européennes et de nations européennes; en conséquence il s'est engagé à participer à l'effort collectif de développement dont le besoin était si manifeste. C'est à partir de ce moment-là que le programme canadien d'aide aux pays en voie de développement a commencé à prendre de l'expansion.

Pendant les huit années qui ont suivi sa création, le Plan de Colombo était le seul programme bilatéral d'assistance du Canada. Le Parlement du Canada y affectait chaque année la somme de 25 millions de dollars. Même si le Canada fournit une aide à d'autres régions du monde, c'est la région visée par le Plan de Colombo qui, aujourd'hui encore, bénéficie de la majeure partie des fonds d'assistance de notre pays. Depuis 1950 jusqu'au mois de mars de cette année, l'assistance bilatérale à la région a atteint 800 millions de dollars, dont une très forte proportion est allée à l'Inde et au Pakistan. Sous ce rapport, le Canada suivait, toutes proportions gardées, l'exemple des Etats-Unis, de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest. Mes compatriotes me demandent souvent pourquoi une aussi forte proportion de nos fonds sont attribués au sous-continent indien. Il importe de se rappeler, lorsque l'on fait des comparaisons de cette nature, que l'Inde et le Pakistan ont ensemble une population plus forte que les continents d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine réunis. Au cours des quinze dernières années, l'aide fournie à l'Inde de toutes sources et de tous genres, atteignait à peine plus de \$20 par personne, ce faible chiffre par tête représente toutefois l'énorme placement global de neuf milliards de dollars.

Notre aide à l'Inde et au Pakistan portait surtout sur l'aménagement d'installations énergétiques, qui souvent profitent aussi à l'agriculture, comprenant en outre un volume croissant de denrées alimentaires. Notre programme d'aide à ce titre à l'Inde seule a atteint 75 millions de dollars en 1966, ce qui

nous a fait passer devant les Etats-Unis à titre de fournisseur, tant par rapport à la population que par rapport au produit national brut. Les besoins de l'Inde demeurent immenses et, parfois, lorsque nous considérons la triste situation que nous révèle la statistique d'une population croissante et d'approvisionnements réduits par la sécheresse, nous pourrions être tentés de désespérer. Nous ne devons pas oublier, toutefois, que l'Inde a édifié au cours des 15 dernières années l'importante base d'une structure industrielle moderne et qu'elle a un effectif accru de personnel spécialisé et instruit. En même temps, les richesses latentes de son sol et de ses eaux font que l'Inde est mieux en mesure aujourd'hui d'amorcer son progrès économique qu'elle ne l'était il y a quinze ans. Il en est à peu près de même du Pakistan.

J'aborderai plus loin la question de nos relations multilatérales, mais tout examen de l'aide fournie en vertu du Plan de Colombo serait incomplète sans la mention de la confiance que nous avons à l'égard du succès de la Banque pour le développement en Asie; lors de sa création, l'an dernier, le Canada s'est engagé à faire une contribution initiale de 25 millions de dollars. Les ressources de la Banque permettront, nous l'espérons, la mise en oeuvre de grandes entreprises semblables par l'ampleur et le génie créateur au projet d'aménagement du fleuve Mékong (sous les auspices de la Commission économique pour l'Asie et l'Extrême-Orient), dont bénéficieront la Thaïlande, le Laos, le Cambodge et le Vietnam et qui n'attend que la solution des conflits politiques dans la région pour marquer un grand pas en avant.

En 1958, le Canada a décidé d'élargir le cadre de son assistance au développement international en mettant en oeuvre un nouveau programme d'aide à l'intention des Antilles occidentales. Les Canadiens éprouvent depuis longtemps un sentiment particulier d'attachement aux Indes occidentales, qui se fonde, entre autres choses, sur l'échange traditionnel de poisson salé des provinces Maritimes contre le sucre et le rhum des Antilles occidentales. La création dans les Antilles occidentales d'une fédération englobant les diverses îles, et la possibilité que cette fédération devint une seconde nation indépendante membre du Commonwealth dans l'hémisphère occidental raviva l'intérêt que portaient les Canadiens à la région. A l'origine, l'assistance économique du Canada visait surtout à fournir les installations essentielles qui permettraient de donner à la fédération des bases plus solides, et a pris la forme, entre autres choses, de deux navires mixtes pour faire la navette entre les îles.

L'effondrement de la Fédération des Indes occidentales en 1962 a mis fin, pour le moment tout au moins, au rêve d'une seule nation unie membre du Commonwealth dans les Caraïbes, mais il n'a pas mis fin au souhait du Canada d'aider les divers territoires des Indes occidentales à surmonter les obstacles au développement auxquels ils font face. En vérité, l'obtention de leur autonomie par la Jamaïque et Trinidad et Tobago, et plus tard la Guyane et les Barbades, a intensifié le souhait du Canada de donner plus de vigueur et une orientation nouvelle aux relations spéciales qu'il entretient avec la région. Telle était la situation au moment où s'est tenue à Ottawa en juillet 1966

une importante conférence à laquelle assistaient le premier ministre et les principaux ministres de tous les pays des Caraïbes membres du Commonwealth et au cours de laquelle on a étudié divers moyens de collaboration en vue du développement. Lors de cette conférence, le Canada s'est nettement engagé à ranger les pays des Caraïbes membres du Commonwealth parmi les principaux bénéficiaires de son programme d'assistance. Même avant la conférence, ces pays recevaient du Canada une aide plus grande per capita que tout autre pays au monde.

L'Afrique, continent avec lequel le Canada n'entretenait que de très superficielles relations avant la guerre, est la troisième région que nous avons inscrite à notre programme d'aide. Vous vous rappelez sans doute le grand vent d'indépendance qui a soufflé sur la scène africaine après 1957. Bon nombre des nouveaux Etats, auparavant des dépendances britanniques, sont devenus membres du Commonwealth; d'autres, antérieurement des colonies de la France ou de la Belgique, ont hérité de la langue et de la culture française. Ainsi c'est en Afrique que le Canada, dans ses programmes d'assistance, peut exprimer sa propre dualité.

L'aide canadienne à l'Afrique a commencé en 1960 par une contribution aux pays africains membres du Commonwealth. En 1961, il y a eu inauguration d'un programme à l'intention des pays francophones. D'un bout à l'autre de l'Afrique les besoins les plus pressants se manifestent dans le domaine de l'enseignement et de la technique et c'est sur ces domaines que nous avons à l'origine centré la plus grande partie de notre attention. Récemment, toutefois, on s'est de plus en plus intéressé aux besoins en matière d'immobilisations, particulièrement de relevés

préliminaires en vue de déterminer l'opportunité des placements et les chances des entreprises, afin de permettre aux pays d'Afrique de faire un usage plus rationnel de leurs grandes ressources naturelles. Modestes au début, nos programmes à l'intention des pays d'Afrique, membres du Commonwealth ou francophones, ont connu une expansion rapide à mesure que nous avons appris à mieux comprendre les besoins de l'Afrique et les moyens d'y répondre efficacement.

Nous avons de lourds engagements en Asie, nous avons mis en oeuvre un important programme dans les pays des Caraïbes membres du Commonwealth, et nous nous trouvions en présence d'un besoin croissant en Afrique, mais pouvions-nous nous permettre d'ignorer la situation en Amérique latine? La réponse n'était pas facile. D'une part, que les besoins en Amérique latine appellent l'attention du monde industrialisé, nous n'en doutions nullement. Nous entretenions des rapports diplomatiques et commerciaux avec ce continent et nous ressentions à son endroit la sympathie qui résulte de notre appartenance commune à la grande famille américaine. D'autre part, nous manquions de facilité dans le maniement des deux plus importantes langues de la région et nous courions le risque de faire la part trop mince aux différentes régions en voie de développement à travers le monde. En 1964, nous avons décidé d'affecter 10 millions de dollars, prélevés sur notre nouvelle Caisse de prêts au développement, à l'Amérique latine en vue de la réalisation d'entreprises qui seraient soumises à notre approbation par l'intermédiaire de la Banque inter-américaine de développement. Des versements

annuels ont alimenté la Caisse et, à la fin de la présente année, nous aurons consenti des prêts en vue de plusieurs entreprises de développement importantes dans un certain nombre de pays de l'Amérique centrale et de l'Amérique du Sud.

En plus de son programme d'assistance bilatérale, le Canada a participé activement dès le début aux grandes institutions internationales qui ont grandi dans le sillage des Nations Unies et dont la puissance dérive du caractère universel de cette organisation. En 1966, le Canada occupait le quatrième rang parmi les contributeurs au Programme de développement des Nations Unies et à l'Association pour le développement international, le troisième rang du point de vue des contributions à l'Office de secours et de travaux et le deuxième par ses contributions au Programme mondial de l'alimentation.

Par-dessus tout, nous sommes fiers de nos rapports avec la Banque mondiale qui est devenue le dépôt d'un fort volume de renseignements et de connaissances sur l'art de l'assistance au développement. La banque, et l'organisme qu'elle a créé, l'Association pour le développement international, jouent un rôle de premier plan dans le développement international. En notre qualité de participant aux consortiums de la Banque mondiale pour l'Inde, pour le Pakistan et pour la Caisse de mise en valeur du bassin de l'Indus et aux groupes consultatifs pour la Colombie, la Grande Malaisie, le Nigéria, la Thaïlande et la Tunisie, nous sommes convaincus de la valeur de cette façon systématique d'envisager les besoins d'une nation en matière de développement et

nous espérons que d'autres groupes de ce genre seront formés. Nous avons été favorablement impressionnés par les rapports présentés par la Banque et par le Fonds monétaire international et aussi par la promesse d'une planification plus poussée que sous-entend le mandat du programme de développement des Nations Unies, tout cela nous aidant à déterminer la répartition la plus efficace des fonds disponibles en vertu de nos programmes bilatéraux.

Tout comme d'autres pays qui ont mis en oeuvre des programmes d'assistance au développement, le Canada a trouvé dans le Comité d'assistance au développement de l'Organisation pour la coopération et le développement économiques un rouage particulièrement utile pour la coordination de notre effort commun. Le Comité d'assistance au développement a été créé en 1960, précisément pour répondre à certaines des critiques classiques à l'aide bilatérale non coordonnée et pour fournir un lieu de rencontre où les donateurs pourraient échanger des confidences. Le souci initial du Comité d'assistance au développement résidait dans le partage équitable de la responsabilité de fournir de l'aide et, à cette fin, il a entrepris de mesurer statistiquement le flot des ressources vers les pays en voie de développement économique.

Le Comité d'assistance au développement, sous l'habile direction de son président, M. Willard Thorp, a bien rempli sa tâche, tant dans le domaine du partage des charges que dans celui de l'analyse statistique, et aussi en stimulant l'accroissement

du volume et en favorisant de meilleures conditions d'assistance. Je ne critique nullement son activité passée en disant qu'un nouvel effort est requis de cet organisme au sein duquel sont représentés la plupart des donateurs de l'Occident ainsi que l'Australie et le Japon. Le Comité d'assistance au développement, tout comme la Banque mondiale et l'Organisation des Nations Unies, se rendent compte que nos efforts réunis déclinent. L'augmentation encourageante de l'assistance, qui s'est produite en 1961, ne s'est pas répétée, et les conditions de l'assistance deviennent plus sévères, créant des problèmes de remboursement pour l'avenir. Le moment est peut-être venu pour le Comité d'assistance au développement de se montrer plus ferme avec ses membres et d'user de la persuasion morale que sa position unique lui permet d'exercer.

La Banque mondiale nous donne l'assurance que les pays en voie de développement pourraient utiliser efficacement au moins quatre à cinq milliards de dollars de plus chaque année. Cela signifie que, du point de vue de la Banque, les problèmes de déboursement et d'absorption ne sont pas insurmontables et que la possibilité d'accélérer le rythme du développement n'est pas une vaine chimère. Je ne saurais dire si cet objectif est réalisable à court terme. Etant d'un esprit positif, j'ai peine à croire que nous puissions collectivement augmenter de 35 p. 100 toutes les formes d'assistance dans, mettons, les cinq prochaines années, mais me rappelant le temps de guerre,

il m'est impossible d'ignorer les résultats étonnants que l'unité d'intention peut donner.

Il y a cependant une autre question d'égale importance: sommes-nous en mesure d'offrir cette aide à des conditions qui demeureront favorables à long terme aux pays en voie de développement? Ces pays paient ensemble $3\frac{1}{2}$ milliards de dollars par an pour le service de leurs dettes à l'étranger et deux fois cette somme si l'on inclut les engagements dans le secteur privé; il y a certes là matière à réflexion. Les plus pauvres d'entre eux, selon un ancien dirigeant de la Banque mondiale, versent maintenant en intérêt et en capital sur leurs emprunts à la Banque mondiale plus qu'ils ne reçoivent de la Banque. Si nous augmentons le montant des capitaux disponibles sans tenir compte des répercussions sur les pays en voie de développement des conditions exigées par nous, nous pourrions multiplier les difficultés actuelles et différer indéfiniment la création d'un état d'équilibre économique.

Lorsqu'il s'est agi d'établir le programme d'assistance au développement du Canada, nous étions pleinement conscients de la nécessité d'accroître notre aide et de l'offrir à de meilleures conditions. A l'heure actuelle, l'aide canadienne, sous toutes ses formes, atteint environ 300 millions de dollars par an, ce qui représente environ les trois cinquièmes d'un pour cent de notre produit national brut. A une époque où le niveau de l'assistance aux pays en voie de développement a eu tendance à s'immobiliser, le Canada a décidé d'accroître sa contribution au développement international d'un montant approximativement égal à 1 p. 100 de son produit national brut au début des années 70.

Les conditions de l'aide canadienne ont toujours été relativement favorables. Au début, la presque totalité de notre aide était versée sous forme de dons et celles-ci continuent de représenter une proportion importante de nos déboursés. Lorsque le niveau de l'aide a été rehaussé et qu'on a décidé d'offrir de l'aide sous forme de prêts, on en a arrêté les conditions en se fondant sur celles qu'offrait l'Association pour le développement international, c'est-à-dire aucun intérêt, dix années de grâce et remboursement au cours d'une période subséquente de quarante ans. L'an dernier, on a même supprimé les frais de service qui étaient de trois quarts d'un pour cent, dans le cas de ce genre d'assistance. Nous nous sommes rendu compte, cependant, que certains pays en voie de développement étaient en mesure de faire des emprunts à des conditions un peu plus onéreuses et pour répondre à ce besoin particulier, nous avons inauguré un prêt portant intérêt à trois pour cent et comportant sept années de grâce et échéance dans trente ans.

Le troisième genre de prêt disponible est, bien entendu, celui qui est consenti sous l'empire de la Loi canadienne sur l'assurance des crédits à l'exportation. Il s'agit de prêts commerciaux mais qu'on peut quand même considérer comme des prêts d'assistance au développement parce que les conditions de ces prêts sont plus généreuses que celles que les exportateurs canadiens pourraient accorder seuls. Nous incluons ces prêts dans nos données sur notre programme d'aide parce que les organismes internationaux en tiennent compte pour mesurer le flot des ressources, tout en reconnaissant que leur premier objet est de rendre service à l'exportateur canadien. Déjà, les crédits à l'exportation représentaient près du tiers de l'ensemble de notre programme, mais au cours de l'année qui vient de se terminer, ils n'en représentaient que le sixième et l'on compte que la proportion diminuera chaque année.

Le Canada continue d'insister pour que son aide prenne la forme de biens et de services d'origine canadienne, autrement dit, de rattacher son aide à l'approvisionnement au Canada. Nous agissons ainsi par habitude plutôt que par conviction, car nous nous sentons enclins à approuver les idées exprimées dans la recommandation adoptée par le Comité d'assistance au développement en juillet 1965, qui se lisait en partie comme il suit:

"L'aide conditionnelle peut entraîner de lourdes restrictions à la liberté du récipiendaire de choisir librement les sources les plus appropriées d'approvisionnement sur le marché international. Pour ce qui est de l'assistance bilatérale, les Etats membres devraient collectivement et individuellement, à moins qu'ils ne soient entravés par de graves difficultés de balance des paiements s'efforcer de réduire progressivement l'ampleur des restrictions qu'ils imposent pour finir par les supprimer dans toute la mesure possible."

Une part importante de l'aide canadienne est distribuée par l'intermédiaire d'organismes multilatéraux et échappe donc à ce genre de restrictions. Sur le plan bilatéral, nous sommes disposés, nous tenons même à abandonner notre attitude actuelle, de concert avec nos co-donateurs, particulièrement ceux dont

l'influence économique dans le monde est beaucoup plus grande que celle du Canada. Il serait cependant utopique de prévoir un accord international prochain sur la question, compte tenu de la nature disparate des programmes d'aide et de la situation économique des donateurs. Je veux croire cependant qu'il sera possible d'en arriver à une formule qui permettra de s'acheminer progressivement vers l'objectif.

Entre temps, nous avons fait de notre mieux pour amoindrir les effets nuisibles des restrictions. Nous nous sommes appliqués à préserver la concurrence entre nos exportateurs et nous offrons un éventail suffisamment vaste de biens et de services pour permettre aux pays récipiendaires d'éviter les moins avantageux pécuniairement. On me permettra de faire remarquer ici que, grâce à nos quinze ans d'activité dans ce domaine, on nous demande habituellement aujourd'hui des biens ou des services du genre de ceux que nous offrons sur un marché mondial où s'exerce la concurrence en matière de prix et de qualité. Nous avons aussi cherché à réduire l'importance qu'on attachait antérieurement au financement du seul élément étranger d'une entreprise. Dans les Caraïbes, en particulier, nous avons donné à entendre que nous étions disposés à nous charger d'une partie des frais locaux lorsque la chose devient nécessaire pour assurer le parachèvement d'un projet de grande priorité.

Nous avons aussi reconnu la nécessité de ce qu'on a appelé l'assistance autre que pour des entreprises. En raison du rythme même du développement, certains pays, notamment l'Inde et le Pakistan, se voient contraints de dépenser de plus en plus de devises étrangères pour répondre aux besoins croissants d'une économie industrielle en plein devenir. Pour répondre à leur besoin de matières premières et de pièces de rechange, nous avons élaboré un vaste programme de denrées, à l'intention tout d'abord des grands pays d'Asie, et nous avons adopté des méthodes qui permettent aux usagers d'entrer en contact direct avec les fournisseurs canadiens.

De ce que j'ai déjà dit, il ressort clairement, je pense, que les programmes canadiens d'assistance au développement représentent une participation importante à l'effort international en vue d'édifier un monde plus paisible et plus stable, en mesure de résoudre les difficultés de l'évolution sociale et du développement économique qui caractérisent notre époque. L'assistance ne représente, bien entendu, qu'un des moyens par lesquels les pays plus favorisés peuvent participer au processus du développement international. Grâce à l'activité de la Conférence des Nations-Unies sur le commerce et le développement, nous commençons à mieux comprendre le rôle que le commerce peut et doit jouer dans ce processus. Sans l'amélioration sensible des possibilités d'échanges commerciaux des pays en voie de développement, il se pourrait fort bien qu'ils ne puissent jamais parvenir à assurer eux-mêmes leur essor.

Pour bon nombre des pays en voie de développement, l'exportation de denrées de base représente une forte proportion du total des recettes du commerce; il y a donc nécessité urgente de stabiliser et d'améliorer les gains qu'ils retirent de leurs exportations de denrées. Le seul moyen efficace d'y parvenir réside dans des accords internationaux et le Canada participe activement aux négociations présentement en cours à l'égard de plusieurs denrées. La nécessité s'impose aussi de trouver des débouchés plus importants pour les produits des industries que les pays en voie de développement s'occupent d'établir. Tout en se préoccupant comme il se doit de la possibilité d'un bouleversement du marché, le Canada a fait un accueil relativement bon au produit manufacturé en provenance des pays en voie de développement. Nous avons très bon espoir que les négociations sur les tarifs qui sont sur le point de se terminer à Genève, le Kennedy Round, aboutiront à une répartition internationale plus rationnelle et plus efficace du travail et ainsi seront tout particulièrement bénéfiques pour les pays en voie de développement ainsi que pour l'ensemble de la collectivité internationale.

Vu qu'on se rend compte de plus en plus de l'importance des rapports commerciaux pour le développement international et vu que les programmes d'aide n'ont pas donné tous les résultats que déjà on en attendait, certains affirment que le commerce, et non l'assistance, permettra de résoudre le problème du sous-développement. A mon avis, cela frise le simplisme car, en fournissant des capitaux et en aidant à la formation de la main-d'oeuvre en vertu des programmes d'assistance au développement et en offrant de plus grands débouchés aux produits des pays en voie de développement, on se dirige en réalité vers un même objectif, soit le développement international. Grâce à l'expérience acquise au cours des deux dernières décennies, le Canada, comme les autres pays qui ont mis en oeuvre des programmes d'assistance au développement, en est venu à comprendre que la tâche du développement international est beaucoup plus complexe et beaucoup plus grande qu'on ne l'avait d'abord pensé. Nous avons compris qu'un effort de longue durée sera requis et, à l'égard de nos propres programmes d'aide, que des dispositions administratives plus précises et plus vastes ainsi que des objectifs plus clairs et plus nets seront nécessaires.

L'objet de l'assistance, à notre point de vue, est clairement et simplement d'aider les pays en voie de développement à réaliser une mesure de développement économique qui réponde aux besoins et aux aspirations de leurs peuples. Malheureusement, des considérations discordantes ont trop souvent obscurci et déformé cet objectif fondamental. Si nous voulons qu'un véritable développement international se produise à l'échelle voulue à l'aide des seules ressources nécessairement limitées qui soient disponibles, il est essentiel que nous ne perdions jamais de vue l'objectif du développement économique et que nous rejetions d'autres objectifs ou tout au moins que nous leur accordions une importance moindre.

Ainsi, dans certains milieux, on a tendance à considérer l'assistance comme un moyen d'exercer une influence politique. Compte tenu du conflit des idéologies qui constitue un aussi important élément de la scène internationale, cette tendance est peut-être compréhensible. Sans aucun doute, espérons-nous que le développement économique encouragera les pays en voie de développement à adopter des régimes de gouvernement compatibles avec nos idéaux de liberté, de société libre, et de respect des lois. Il y a lieu de noter aussi qu'une certaine mesure de confiance et de compréhension doit exister entre le donateur et le récipiendaire, même si ce n'était qu'afin de rendre possibles les dispositions administratives nécessaires pour assurer le succès d'un programme d'aide. Mais, c'est une erreur grave, à mon avis, que d'envisager l'assistance comme un moyen d'atteindre des objectifs politiques immédiats ou de s'acheter des amis. L'expérience a clairement démontré que cette façon de voir peut engendrer non seulement des déceptions mais aussi un gaspillage de ressources restreintes et l'absence de tout résultat économique tangible.

Un autre objectif qu'on prête parfois aux programmes d'aide et qui à mon avis est également de validité douteuse, est celui d'avantages commerciaux immédiats pour le pays donateur. Le progrès économique des pays en voie de développement finira par entraîner une activité commerciale sans cesse croissante à l'échelle du globe, mais des programmes d'aide dont l'objectif principal est de stimuler la production dans le pays donateur risquent fort de ne pas répondre aux besoins économiques des pays moins favorisés. Il faut, bien entendu, utiliser l'énergie et les connaissances des hommes d'affaires de notre économie de libre entreprise lorsqu'il s'agit de mettre en oeuvre des programmes d'aide, mais confondre les programmes d'aide et les mesures en vue de favoriser l'exportation, soit un domaine parfaitement légitime et nécessaire d'action gouvernementale, c'est courir le risque de n'atteindre l'objectif ni de l'un ni de l'autre.

Il est dangereux aussi, je pense, de considérer l'assistance comme de la charité ou quelque immense effort international de secours. Il est bien entendu nécessaire de temps à autre d'adopter des mesures spéciales d'urgence, à l'échelle internationale, pour le soulagement de la souffrance humaine et de telles mesures ont souvent tendance à se transformer en programmes d'assistance. On aurait tort moralement et humainement de ne pas fournir de l'aide lorsque l'absence d'une telle aide se solde par la maladie, la famine et la mort. Cependant, si l'on permet que de telles mesures deviennent les assises d'un programme d'aide, un progrès économique réel et durable peut fort bien devenir plus difficile à la longue. La compassion est certes un mobile important lorsqu'il s'agit de fournir de l'aide mais, à mon avis, une trop grande insistance sur les motifs de charité et d'humanité peut nous amener à sous-estimer la nécessité d'un programme solide et de dispositions administratives efficaces et pratiques si l'on veut que le développement soit un succès.

Si l'objectif du développement économique doit être la première préoccupation des pays évolués lorsqu'ils s'occupent d'élaborer des programmes d'assistance, il est également important que les pays en voie de développement élaborent eux-mêmes des programmes nettement orientés vers cet objectif. L'absence de capitaux et de main-d'oeuvre spécialisée sont certes deux des principaux obstacles au développement que les programmes d'assistance au développement international peuvent combler en partie tout au moins, mais il existe d'autres obstacles que seuls les pays en voie de développement eux-mêmes sont en mesure de faire disparaître efficacement. L'un de ces obstacles réside, bien entendu, dans l'accroissement rapide de la population qui est la caractéristique d'un grand nombre de pays en voie de développement et qui a neutralisé l'effet d'une grande partie du développement qui s'est produit ces dernières années. Un autre élément qui peut nuire à l'essor économique dans les pays en voie de développement est leur peu d'étendue qui se traduit naturellement par un marché restreint et la perte des

avantages que peut donner une économie plus vaste. Une solution possible à ce problème serait l'intégration régionale, économique et peut-être même politique. Il est encourageant de noter qu'un nombre sans cesse croissant de pays en voie de développement étudient sérieusement la possibilité de l'intégration et d'autres formes de coopération afin d'étendre le champ de leur activité économique.

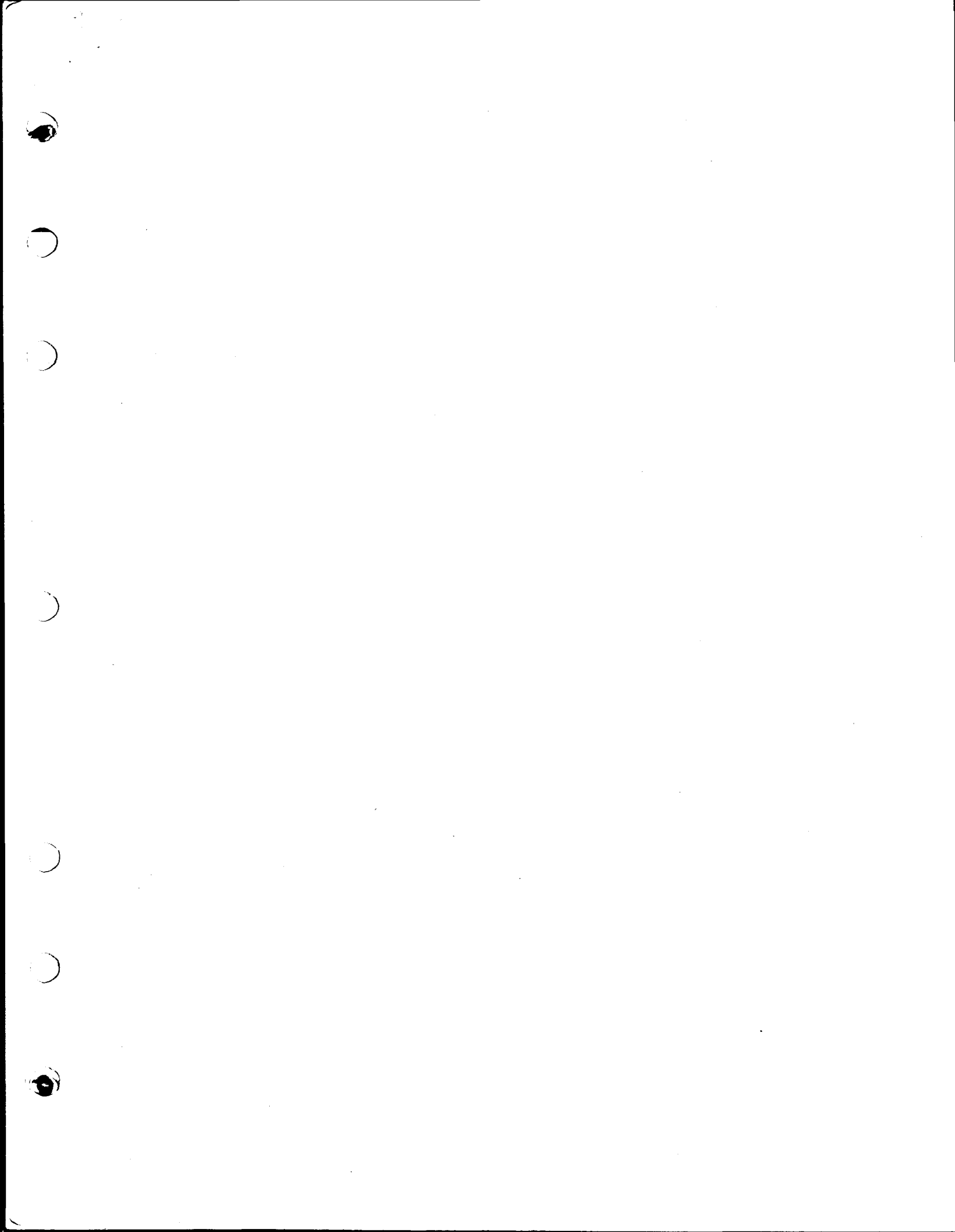
Les pays qui fournissent de l'aide doivent certes chercher à savoir si les récipiendaires en font un emploi utile, mais il nous faut reconnaître en même temps, je pense, que les gouvernements des pays en voie de développement ne sont, pas plus que les gouvernements des pays évolués, libres des pressions quotidiennes et sont souvent moins bien équipés pour y faire face. Comme un commentateur le disait récemment, un pays en voie de développement doit assurer l'équilibre entre une croissance ordonnée et les besoins désordonnés de l'heure. Si l'on se rappelle que presque tous les pays en voie de développement connaissent en même temps une évolution sociale rapide et cherchent à édifier leur propre personnalité nationale, il est évident que les critères auxquels les pays donateurs devront se reporter pour assurer l'emploi efficace des ressources qu'ils fournissent devront être tempérés par la compréhension et la sympathie à l'égard des problèmes particuliers avec lesquels les pays en voie de développement sont individuellement aux prises.

Le développement n'est pas un simple procédé mécanique et ne se produit pas dans un vide; il est influencé et façonné par un grand nombre de facteurs dont les plus importants dérivent de la culture et des traditions des pays en cause. Les données statistiques sur l'essor économique, tout en ayant leur importance, ne sont pas les seuls indices du succès du développement, car on ne peut certes pas demander à un pays en voie de développement de s'occuper de son essor économique à l'exclusion des autres objectifs qu'il peut considérer comme étant importants, notamment une répartition équilibrée des richesses et le respect de son héritage culturel.

Ce que cela signifie, bien entendu, c'est que le véritable développement est un processus endogène; même s'il peut être influencé de l'extérieur, il doit se produire à l'intérieur. En dernière analyse, l'effort de développement tend non seulement à atteindre des niveaux plus élevés de bien-être matériel, mais aussi à créer un sens de responsabilité et un sentiment d'indépendance qui ne peuvent venir que de la réalisation d'un objectif commun à l'aide de ses propres efforts. L'assistance a pour objet de faciliter la tâche et de la rendre moins onéreuse des points de vue social et humain, mais elle ne peut jamais être plus qu'un élément supplémentaire dans le processus général du développement. Malheureusement, l'assistance peut avoir pour effet de rehausser l'influence culturelle des pays évolués à l'intérieur du monde en voie de développement à un moment où les problèmes fondamentaux des pays en voie de développement exigent qu'ils se soustraient à cette influence, dans une certaine mesure tout au moins. En reconnaissant ce besoin, on ne met en doute ni la valeur ni la nécessité des programmes d'aide; on en signale plutôt certains des écueils et on souligne la nécessité d'une véritable générosité d'esprit aussi bien que d'une générosité d'intention devant la tâche du développement international.

Au cours de la présente conférence, j'ai cherché à expliquer comment le Canada envisage le développement international et comment la forme et l'orientation données au programme canadien d'assistance sont le reflet de sa propre composition et de ses propres possibilités économiques aussi bien que de sa propre conception du monde. Pour terminer la présente conférence qui est en même temps la dernière de la série, je ne trouve pas de mots plus appropriés que ceux qu'écrivait le Pape Paul VI dans sa récente encyclique et dont, à mon avis, nous aurions tous avantage à nous inspirer:

Les disparités économiques, sociales et culturelles trop grandes entre peuples provoquent tensions et discordes, et mettent la paix en péril...Combattre la misère et lutter contre l'injustice, c'est promouvoir, avec le mieux-être, le progrès humain et spirituel de tous, et donc le bien commun de l'humanité. La paix ne se réduit pas à une absence de guerre, fruit de l'équilibre toujours précaire des forces. Elle se construit jour après jour, dans la poursuite d'un ordre voulu de Dieu, qui comporte une justice plus parfaite entre les hommes.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Notes à l'intention de l'honorable
Paul Martin, Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires
Extérieures, pour l'Inauguration des
Conférences Noranda, à l'Expo, Montreal,
le 1 mai, 1967, 4:30 p.m.

Notes for the use of the Honourable Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs, at
the inauguration of the Noranda Lectures at
Expo, Montreal, May 1, 1967, 4:30 p.m.

Je suis très honoré de me trouver dans cette splendide salle nouvelle, et devant ce distingué auditoire, pour inaugurer les Conférences Noranda, et d'assister à la présentation du premier conférencier de la série, M. Paul-Henri Spaak.

Comme on le sait sans doute de par le monde, l'EXPO a pour thème "Terre des Hommes". Autour de ce thème, on se propose d'envisager l'homme dans son milieu actuel, d'exalter ses réalisations dans les domaines de la culture et de la science, et de montrer comment il doit s'adapter aux idées nouvelles et aux nouveaux modes de vie communautaire, afin de favoriser l'harmonie entre les peuples et leur permettre ainsi de développer, au sein de leurs diversités, un esprit de respect pour la personnalité humaine.

The Noranda Lectures, a series of twenty-eight lectures on the humanities, the social and political sciences, and the pure and applied sciences, have a high purpose: to show how man must adopt new ideas and concepts to survive and develop the human personality more fully in a rapidly changing world. We are grateful for the vision of Noranda Mines Limited, whose support has made these lectures possible.

The many aspects of Expo's theme, "Terre des Hommes" (Man and His World) are dramatically and excitingly portrayed in the Theme Pavilions: "Man in the Community", "Man the Provider", "Man the Producer", "Man the Explorer", and "Man the Creator". The Noranda Lectures constitute part of an outstanding and comprehensive programme to develop the theme of Expo in a philosophical way, and thus to complement the visual displays.

Je n'envie pas la tâche de ceux qui ont à choisir 28 personnes éminentes, et à solliciter leur concours pour tenter de couvrir toutes les sphères de l'activité humaine dans le cadre de cette série de conférences. Naturellement il aurait été impossible d'englober tous les domaines connus des sciences et des humanités, ou d'avoir des conférenciers de tous les pays qui participent à l'Expo. Toutefois, le Comité d'organisation présidé par M. Lucien Piché, vice-recteur de l'Université de Montréal, a fait un travail admirable en choisissant un groupe très distingué de conférenciers en sciences et humanités, ce qui, dans notre monde interdépendant, signifie que ces derniers viendront d'un grand nombre de pays et de continents. Il ne pouvait en être autrement, vu l'étendue des sujets de ces conférences.

En plus d'exprimer notre gratitude à M. Piché, j'aimerais remercier, au nom de tous, Son Excellence M. Pierre Dupuy, ambassadeur et commissaire général de l'Expo, pour son magnifique travail, qui a été l'un des principaux éléments de succès dans l'organisation de la série de conférences. J'ai déjà souligné le rôle important des mines Noranda, que représente ici aujourd'hui l'honorable G.B. Foster. Remercions aussi la compagnie Dupont du Canada pour cette belle salle, qui constitue un excellent lieu de réunion pour ces conférences, ainsi que les nombreuses autres qui seront prononcées durant l'Expo.

It is not possible in the limited time available to me to list all the subjects that will be covered in these lectures. The quality of the lecturers will be high, with none more eminent than the inaugural speaker, Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak. He will be

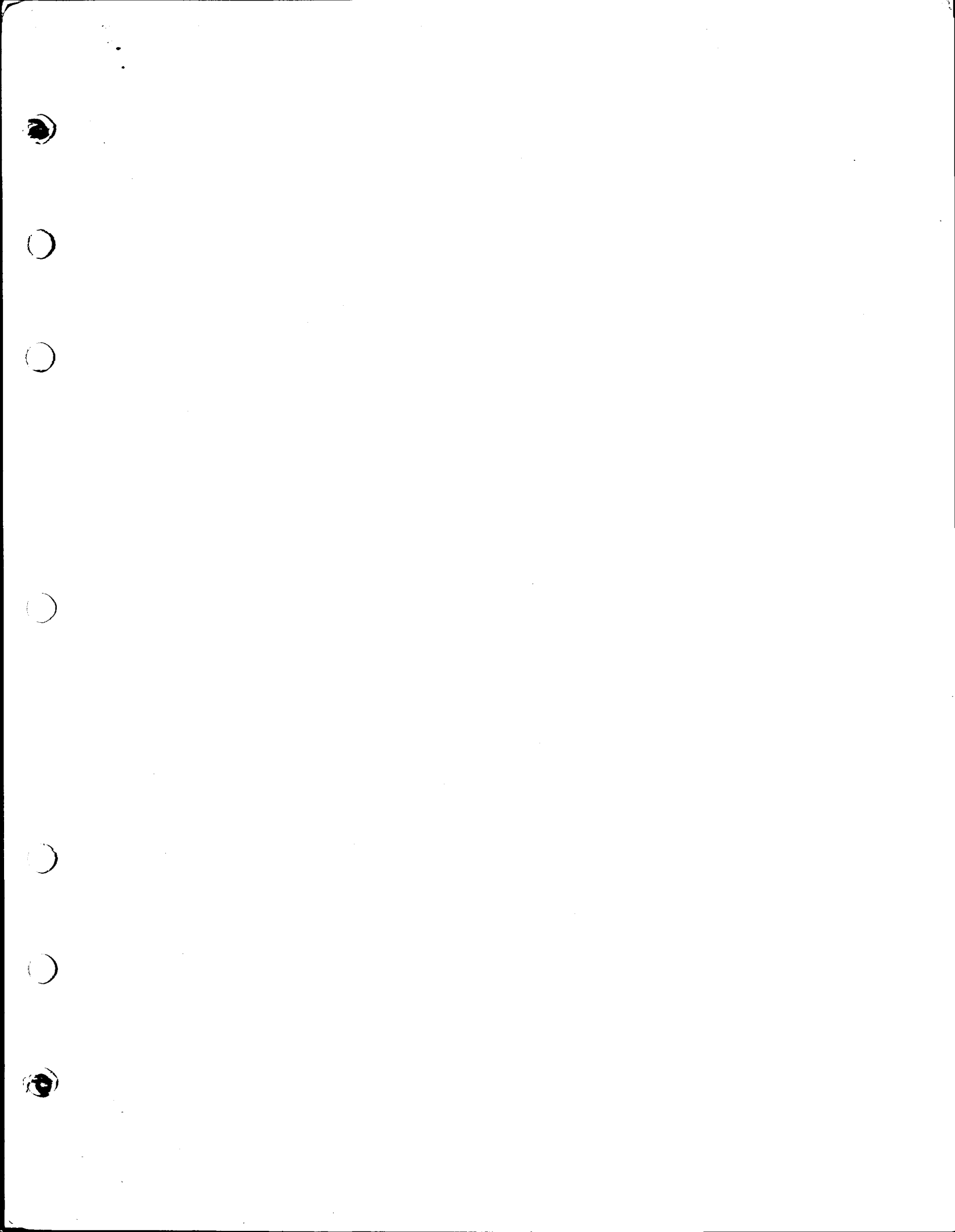
followed in the months ahead by men and women recognized as leaders in their fields, including five Nobel Laureates from four different countries.

It is my pleasure at this stage to turn to the first speaker and his lecture. Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak has had a long and distinguished career in his own country, Belgium, which he served for many years as Foreign Minister. His service has not, however, been limited to his own country, for he was also an outstanding President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the first person to hold that office, and Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Few men have made a greater or more constructive contribution to international affairs in our time than he.

I have known Paul-Henri Spaak for many years and we are firm and warm friends. It is therefore a special pleasure for me to have the honour of introducing this series of lectures, which is to be inaugurated by Mr. Spaak.

"Comment faire régner la paix dans le monde?": tel sera le sujet de la conférence de M. Spaak. Ce n'est pas un pur hasard que la première série de conférences porte sur la paix. J'ai toujours cru, tout comme mon ami, et comme tout homme bien pensant, que sans la paix et sans un monde équilibré, le génie de l'homme dans la diversité des disciplines aboutirait au néant, C'est la raison pour laquelle la paix a reçu à bon droit le place de choix dans cette série de conférences. Toute ma vie j'ai eu cette préoccupation centrale travailler pour la paix. Bien que je sois tenté de parler moi-même de ce sujet, j'en laisserai le soin à mon grand ami, notre conférencier d'aujourd'hui.

I await Mr. Spaak's lecture with anticipation.
Mr. Dupuy will formally introduce him to you.



The Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, is unfortunately unable to deliver this speech tonight. In his absence, the speech will be given by Mr. Donald S. Macdonald, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary
of State for External Affairs, to the
City View Kiwanis Club, Ottawa, on Wednesday,
May 3, 1967, 6:45 p.m.

"THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT: THE CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION"

0 It is a pleasure for me to have this opportunity of addressing the City View Kiwanis Club.

This year, as we celebrate the Centennial of Confederation, we have a special reason to reflect on what Canada has accomplished in the last one hundred years, and on what Canada means to us today.

But we cannot afford to be concerned only with the past, nor with what is happening inside our borders. We must also take a hard look at Canada's place in the international community.

Last week-end, we were honoured by the visit of Emperor Haile Selassie, of Ethiopia, the first of many distinguished visitors we will be welcoming to Ottawa and to Canada this year. It is, I think, a tribute to the important place Canada occupies in the community of nations that so many outstanding world leaders have accepted our invitation to visit Canada during 1967, to see Expo and to join us in celebrating our Centennial.

As Secretary of State for External Affairs, I am responsible for advising the government on Canada's relations with other countries of the world. This includes our participation in the increasingly complex and significant work of the United Nations, and its associated international agencies.

Canada was, of course, a founding member of the United Nations in 1945. We are convinced that the United Nations, representing the ideal of collective international action, is an essential tool in building a peaceful and more secure world, free from the threat of violence and war. Canada has, therefore, been a firm supporter of the United Nations from the beginning.

One of the most serious and searching challenges facing the international community today is widespread hunger and poverty, particularly in the continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This problem concerns not only the less developed countries; it concerns the entire world. The United Nations, embracing nearly all the countries of the world and founded on the ideal of international cooperation to achieve common goals, must help to stimulate the international effort required to overcome world hunger and poverty through development.

This evening, I propose to speak briefly about the contribution being made to international development by the United Nations and its associated agencies, and of the support which Canada is giving to this aspect of United Nations activities.

During the first years of the United Nations, the most pressing concern of member states was, quite naturally, the prevention of another war. Peace and security provisions were carefully spelled out in the Charter, but the passages relating to economic development were less clear. Nevertheless, the foundations were laid for an active United Nations role in economic development, to achieve the conditions necessary for peace.

There was, for example, provision in the Charter for a special organ of the United Nations -- the Economic and Social Council -- which would be primarily responsible for United Nations activities in the economic field. In addition, a number of specialized agencies were created, or associated with the United Nations system: the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organization (ILO),

the World Bank (I.B.R.D.), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and others.

As more and more countries gained independence and became members of the United Nations, the organization underwent a fundamental change. The leaders of the newly independent member states looked to the United Nations for assistance in achieving economic development, to make their political independence more stable and meaningful. The United Nations has responded by undertaking responsibilities in the development field, to a degree quite unforeseen when the Charter was drafted.

The magnitude of the United Nations commitment to international development at the present time is revealed by a single statistic: four-fifths of the financial and manpower resources available to the United Nations system are now being applied to development questions.

The extent to which the United Nations would be called on to concern itself with international economic development only became fully apparent in 1964, with the holding of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, now known everywhere as UNCTAD. At that Conference, seventy-seven member states of the United Nations, well over half the total membership, were united by their common poverty in putting the world on notice that a greater international effort to achieve development was required.

Although the organization established at the first UNCTAD Conference has been in operation for less than three years, it has already proved of major value in focusing world attention, as never before, on the host of problems which must be squarely faced if we are to succeed

On the great task of raising the living standards of the poor nations. Aid is one front on which these problems can be attacked, and the UNCTAD has done much to encourage study of the ways to increase the flow and improve the terms of the resources which industrialized nations make available to the under-developed nations. But if the latter are ever to acquire the means to finance the imports essential for their development, their earnings from the goods they export to world markets must be substantially increased. This in turn implies improvements in marketing conditions for the raw materials these nations sell abroad, as well as adjustments which will permit them to expand and diversify their sales of manufactured goods.

Canada, as a nation dependent upon expansion of international trade, supports soundly conceived innovations which will lead to broader participation by all nations in the international trading system. In the long run we believe that all stand to gain if the greatest number of countries are able to prosper from the expansion of world trade.

The second UNCTAD conference which will convene in India early in 1968 will provide the opportunity to review what has been done since 1964 and will set the course for our future efforts to expand and enhance the effectiveness of development aid and improve the trade opportunities open to the low income countries.

To layman and specialist alike, the problems of economic development and international trade are complex and often difficult to grasp, the solutions much more so. But it is clear that the future of Canada, its prosperity and its security, depends to a considerable degree on the response which Canada and the other economically advanced countries make to the needs of the under-

developed world. Difficult as these questions may be, we cannot avoid them.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me that Canada has, in recent years, been able to increase its contribution to international development through its aid programmes. As many of you know, the Government has accepted the target of one percent of national income as the measure of Canada's allocations for development assistance, and plans to achieve this goal within the next three or four years.

A great proportion of Canada's aid is provided directly to other countries through bilateral programmes. But, in keeping with our belief in the vital importance of the United Nations, and in the role which it can and must play in international development, a significant proportion of our aid funds is placed at the disposal of the United Nations and its associated international agencies.

In 1967, Canada ranks fourth among the contributors to the United Nations Development Programme, and second in contributions to the World Food Programme. Substantial Canadian contributions to these and other United Nations agencies are made on the basis of annual supporting grants. Canada also makes loans and advances to the World Bank, and its affiliated organizations, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association. The Bank is closely related to the United Nations.

While we have every reason to be proud of what Canada is doing, through the United Nations and in other ways, the task of international development is so great that we cannot allow our efforts to lag. At the present time, the average annual per capital income in the world's wealthiest country, the United States, is 25 times the

O average annual per capita income in the developing countries. But, if present rates of economic growth continue, by the year 2000 the average per capita income in the United States will be 35 times that in the developing countries.

Because of the strength the United Nations draws from its universal approach, it offers an effective forum for encouraging the developing countries themselves to work out policies designed to facilitate development. There is, for example, no doubt about the need for measures to cope with rapid population growth, to bring about land reform, and to promote efficient, competent, and honest administration. And these measures can only be effectively undertaken by the developing countries themselves, in accordance with their own cultural values and institutions.

But the developed countries, including Canada, will have to play their full part. They will have to be prepared to share their wealth through programmes of development assistance, and they will have to open their markets to the products of the new industries in the developing countries. All countries will have to cooperate within the framework of the United Nations system, and bilaterally, in working out programmes which will be effective in accelerating development. Good-will is needed, but so also is careful planning and sound administration, to ensure that available resources are effectively used.

It is in the interests of Canada, and of all Canadians, that our country should participate fully in the task of international development.

Because we believe that the United Nations must be steadily strengthened, as a potent factor working for world peace, we shall support its efforts, and those of its affiliated agencies, to make an impact on the problems of hunger, disease, and ignorance, which necessarily preoccupy so many of its members.

Because we believe that Canada's own future prosperity and progress cannot be secured in isolation from the rest of the world, we shall play our full part in the world-wide task of international development, the part which we must play if Canada is to be a "good citizen of the world".

*Dossier descomis
pas traduire
(circulation restreinte)*

Allocution de monsieur Paul Martin
Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures
au déjeuner de l'AUPELF, à Ottawa, le 5 mai 1967

Monsieur le Président,
MM. les Recteurs des Universités,
Mesdames et Messieurs,

J'éprouve un vif plaisir, monsieur le Président, à
accueillir cet après-midi le conseil d'administration de l'AUPELF.

Je connais l'importance de votre association et la
qualité de vos travaux et je vous offre toutes mes félicitations.
Le thème que vous avez choisi pour vos assises de la semaine
prochaine, "L'Université et la recherche scientifique", me paraît
capital et nous suivrons avec le plus grand intérêt vos travaux.

Ai-je besoin de vous dire que nous sommes particulièrement
fiers que l'AUPELF soit le résultat d'une initiative canadienne
et que son secrétariat soit installé à Montréal?

Pays francophone par l'une de ses deux grandes cultures
et l'une de ses deux langues officielles, le Canada se doit
d'accueillir sur son sol des réunions comme le colloque scientifique
qui se tiendra à Montréal la semaine prochaine, sous vos auspices
et avec la collaboration des gouvernements du Canada et de la
Province de Québec. J'ai à plusieurs reprises souligné que le
gouvernement canadien, soucieux d'exprimer dans les relations
internationales le caractère bilingue et bi-culturel de notre pays,

est tout à fait favorable à l'établissement de liens plus étroits et à l'augmentation des échanges dans le domaine culturel avec les pays qui, comme le Canada, possèdent en commun l'héritage linguistique et culturel français. Le développement de nos relations avec les pays francophones, que nous avons encouragé de façon vigoureuse au cours des dernières années, représente une dimension nouvelle et précieuse pour la diplomatie canadienne.

Comme je l'ai déjà dit, il y a quelque chose de profondément émouvant dans l'idée d'une fraternité de langue rassemblant peuples, races et continents au service de valeurs culturelles et humaines communes. Émouvant aussi le spectacle d'une francophonie fraternelle aux dimensions du monde qui s'enrichit de l'apport des civilisations d'Asie et d'Afrique. Comment donc la francophonie ne serait-elle pas l'affaire du Canada: du Canada français en particulier, certes, mais aussi de tout le Canada?

C'est pourquoi le Canada a voulu marquer d'une façon tangible l'intérêt qu'il porte à cet organisme exemplaire et précurseur de la francophonie qu'est l'AUPELF, en décidant, monsieur le Président, de participer au Fonds international de coopération universitaire, dont le but est d'encourager la coopération entre les universités du tiers monde francophone et leur développement. A cet effet, nous prévoyons une contribution annuelle de \$100,000 pendant cinq ans dont l'emploi fera l'objet de consultations entre votre organisation et les services fédéraux intéressés.

De plus, je suis très heureux, en vous réitérant mes vœux de succès pour votre colloque, de vous remettre au nom du gouvernement canadien un chèque de \$50,000 à titre de contribution annuelle au budget de fonctionnement de l'AUPELF.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the position of Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Land Management, effective January 1, 1978.

1. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

2. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

3. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

4. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

5. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

6. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

7. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

8. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

9. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

10. Mr. [Name], [Address], [City], [State], [Zip].

This list is being published for the information of the public. If you have any questions regarding the names listed above, please contact the Bureau of Land Management, Washington, D. C. 20250.

The Bureau of Land Management is committed to the protection and management of the public lands of the United States. We are currently seeking qualified individuals for various positions throughout the Bureau. If you are interested in applying for a position, please contact the Bureau of Land Management, Washington, D. C. 20250.

NOTES FOR THE USE OF THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNATURE OF AN EXTRADITION TREATY
BETWEEN CANADA AND AUSTRIA, MAY 11, 1967

"Mr. Minister (Dr. Lujo Toncic-Sorinj)

"It gives me great pleasure to sign this Extradition Treaty with Austria on behalf of the Canadian Government. Though one can perhaps think of more inspiring subjects, this Treaty nevertheless provides a useful tool for the future conduct of our bilateral relations. I should tell you that the signing of this Treaty has particular significance for Canada because it is the first extradition agreement which we have negotiated on our own behalf as opposed to those which were concluded prior to the time Canada became responsible for its own foreign relations. I am particularly happy that the first visit to Canada ever undertaken by an Austrian Head of State can be marked by this tangible evidence of co-operation and goodwill between our two countries.

"Your visit, Mr. Minister, in the company of your President, has given me a valuable opportunity to discuss with you matters of concern to us both. Austria and Canada share many preoccupations in common in the carrying out of international tasks devoted to the maintenance of world order and stability. We have both participated in UN peacekeeping operations, we both have aid programmes to the developing countries, we both seek to further to the best of our ability the process of the East/West detente in Europe. In these areas and others, Mr. Minister, the long experience of your country in the conduct of foreign affairs can give us valuable insights. We are most grateful for the opportunity to have had this exchange of views with you."



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary
of State for External Affairs, at the
Annual Liberation Memorial Rally, Association
of Victims of Nazi Oppression, Montreal,
Sunday, May 14, 1967, 9:45 a.m.

I was honoured by the invitation to speak at this Annual Liberation Memorial Rally.

We are gathered today to pay homage to the members of the Canadian armed forces who died in the cause of freedom during the Second World War, and to honour the memory of all those innocent people who perished in the concentration camps and on the battlefields during that terrible holocaust.

We come with a serious purpose, best summed up, perhaps, in the immortal phrase: "lest we forget".

In a very real way, the truest monument to those who died is in the memories of the living, and in our determination to ensure that the terrible events before and during the Second World War never happen again.

Last fall, during my visit to Poland, I was taken to the remains of the most infamous death camp at Auschwitz. It was for me a distressing and horrible testimony of the bestial depths of human behaviour.

Despite the horror of Auschwitz, it is well that it should be preserved, so that all may be reminded to what lengths man can go when he is driven by intolerance and hatred and fanaticism. It holds a lesson for the world -- and this is what I wrote in the visitors' book there -- that war must, in this age, be banished forever as an instrument of national policy.

Fortunately, developments in many aspects of human activity since 1945 provide some justification for hoping that the lesson has been learned. As a result of studies made by historians, by economists, and by psychologists, we have obtained a clearer insight into the underlying causes behind the holocaust of the 30's

and 40's -- the background of economic collapse, of social and political instability, which provided the raw material for conflict and violence.

With the knowledge now available, coupled with vigilance, determination, and goodwill, the nations of the world can and must ensure that in the future the energies of man are channelled into the pursuit of constructive and humane goals.

I would like to refer briefly to some of the elements in our present-day world which seem to me encouraging in this respect.

First, we have the United Nations. It is our greatest world forum, before the critical eyes of whose members all countries are called to public account for their actions. The United Nations is at once an international platform, a pressure group, and a public conscience.

Representing as it does the ideal of collective international action, the United Nations can, I believe, constitute the basis for an international order founded on the rule of law, in which tyranny and injustice will have no place. For this reason, Canada has been prepared, when called upon, to commit forces to United Nations peacekeeping efforts. While the United Nations has encountered difficulties and reverses, few would deny that it has contributed materially to the maintenance of peace since it was founded twenty-three years ago.

The second aspect of our modern world which I find encouraging consists of the various international economic institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the

regular meetings of finance ministers and central bankers from the major industrialized countries, known as the "Group of Ten".

It is the function of these organizations to ensure that sudden economic disasters like massive unemployment, debt and inflationary spirals, do not get out of hand. The constructive and useful work they perform, often outside the public eye, is a new development in the last twenty years. It is a product of our much greater understanding of economic processes, and has proven remarkably successful in preventing situations which might lead to dangerous economic depressions.

A logical extension of such efforts to maintain economic stability is the acceptance on the part of the world's prosperous nations of the need to assist those in the over-populated and undeveloped areas which make up a large part of the globe. The many programmes of development assistance constitute a phenomenon of the post-war period which is unique in human history. There is in these assistance programmes, I think, a healthy blend of altruism and a realistic acceptance of the lesson we have been too long in learning, that economic deprivation and instability can breed violence and disaster.

Third, it seems to me that the rapid pace of scientific and technological change, so evident in the modern world, offers ground for hoping that man's combative instincts will find creative outlets. As technology draws people closer together through news media and jet travel into what Professor McLuhan calls the "global village", as science expands the frontiers of knowledge, as man ventures into the unknown in space, age-old conflicts and differences must surely give way to a universal awareness of the oneness of the human family.

Referring again to my trip to the Soviet Union and Poland last fall, I would like to tell you that I spoke at that time with the leaders of those countries about the changing situation in Europe, both East and West. I said how important I believe it is that efforts are made on both sides of the disappearing iron curtain to achieve a positive and constructive policy of reconciliation and an eventual peace settlement.

Very recently, I attended the funeral of former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in Germany, and had the opportunity to speak at some length with the new Foreign Minister, Willy Brandt. It is my belief that the coalition government in Bonn is making a genuine effort to improve relations with their neighbours, with a view to creating more normal conditions throughout Europe. It is my hope that there will be a positive response.

It is, I think, extremely important that the democratic forces within the German Federal Republic, which have grown steadily since 1945 and which now make up the overwhelming majority of the electorate there, should have our full support. We should also, I think, keep an open mind about the coming generation in Germany. These young people, the leaders of tomorrow, are obliged to carry a heavy emotional and moral burden for crimes they had no part in. Their wish to build a new society, and their enthusiasm for a united Europe, deserve our attention.

This year, as we celebrate the Centennial of Confederation, we have special reason to take pride in what our country has achieved in the last hundred years. We can, perhaps, take particular pride in the part Canada has played in the battle

for freedom during two world wars, and in the attempt to build a more lasting peace through participation in United Nations peacekeeping efforts. We must ensure that Canada stands always for liberty, and for peace.

At this solemn gathering, we remember the bitter sufferings of those who died before the Nazi war machine was defeated in 1945. We remember too the sacrifices that were made on behalf of the freedom we now enjoy.

By understanding the lessons of the past, by a determined and imaginative effort to eliminate the causes of conflict, and by seeking to apply the principles of charity and understanding in human relationships, we can do our part to build a true and lasting memorial to those whom we honour today.

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE DISCOURS

PRIERE DE VERIFIER

Discours prononcé par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
au ralliement commémoratif annuel de la
libération, Association des victimes de l'op-
pression nazie, Montréal, le dimanche 14 mai
1967, à 9h. 45 du matin.

C'est pour moi un grand honneur d'avoir été invité à prendre la parole à l'occasion de ce rassemblement commémoratif annuel.

Nous sommes ici pour rendre hommage aux membres des forces armées du Canada qui sont tombés pour la cause de la liberté au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale et pour honorer la mémoire de tous ceux qui ont péri dans les camps de concentration ou qui sont morts sur les champs de bataille dans ce terrible holocauste.

C'est poussés par un sentiment profond que nous sommes venus ici, un sentiment qui peut fort bien se résumer dans cette phrase immortelle: "De peur que nous n'oublions."

Le monument le plus vrai élevé à la gloire des morts, c'est encore la mémoire des vivants et notre décision bien arrêtée de ne plus voir se répéter les événements terribles qui ont précédé et suivi la seconde guerre mondiale.

L'automne dernier, au cours de ma visite en Pologne, on m'a amené voir ce qui reste du camp de la mort, le plus infernal qui soit, celui d'Auschwitz. Ce spectacle horrifiant témoigne éloquemment des horreurs et des bassesses dont l'homme peut se rendre coupable.

Auschwitz constitue, il est vrai, un tableau d'horreurs; mais il faudrait le conserver, afin que ce lieu demeure pour tous un souvenir des bassesses où l'homme peut être entraîné quand il est guidé par l'intolérance, la haine et le fanatisme. Auschwitz incarne une leçon pour le monde, -- je l'ai écrit d'ailleurs dans le livre

des visiteurs du camp, -- c'est-à-dire que la guerre, de nos jours, doit être bannie à jamais comme instrument de politique nationale.

Heureusement, sous bien des rapports, la marche du genre humain depuis 1945 permet dans une certaine mesure d'espérer qu'on a compris la leçon. Grâce aux études qu'ont effectuées les historiens, les économistes et les psychologues, nous découvrons mieux maintenant les causes profondes qui ont donné lieu à l'holocauste des années 30 et 40, l'histoire de l'effondrement économique, de l'instabilité sociale et politique qui donnent racine aux conflits et à la violence.

Les connaissances acquises, accompagnées de vigilance, de détermination et de bonne volonté peuvent et doivent assurer le monde que dorénavant les hommes canaliseront leurs énergies vers la poursuite d'un idéal constructif et humain.

Permettez-moi de vous dire quelques mots des éléments qui, à l'heure présente, semblent laisser présager des jours meilleurs.

En premier lieu, nous avons les Nations Unies. C'est la plus grande tribune du monde, et, sous l'oeil critique de tous les membres de l'Organisation, chaque pays peut y rendre compte publiquement de ses actes. Les Nations Unies sont à la fois une enceinte internationale, un groupe de pression et une conscience publique.

Incarnant ce qu'il y a de mieux en fait d'action collective internationale, les Nations Unies peuvent, je crois, constituer la base d'un ordre international fondé sur la loi, un ordre où la tyrannie et l'injustice ne sont pas de mise. Voilà la raison qui a poussé le Canada, au moment opportun, à mettre des forces au service des Nations Unies pour le maintien de la paix. Les Nations Unies ont, il est vrai, rencontré des difficultés et connu des revers;

mais nous nous accordons presque tous à dire que l'Organisation a effectivement contribué au maintien de la paix durant ses vingt-trois années d'existence.

Le deuxième angle que présente le tableau de notre monde actuel et qui, à mon sens, est assez prometteur, comprend les diverses institutions économiques internationales, notamment le Fonds monétaire international, l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, et les réunions que tiennent régulièrement les ministres des Finances et les représentants des banques centrales des principaux pays industrialisés, connus sous le vocable "Groupe des dix".

Il appartient à ces organismes de voir à ce que les désastres économiques imprévus comme le chômage généralisé, les dettes et les montées inflationnistes puissent être maîtrisés. Le travail utile et constructif que ces organismes réalisent, souvent à l'insu du public, est un des nouveaux éléments des vingt dernières années. Il découle de notre compréhension beaucoup plus grande des régimes économiques et, grâce à lui, des situations qui auraient pu mener à de graves crises économiques ont été évitées.

Une conséquence logique de ces efforts pour maintenir la stabilité économique est l'acceptation de la part des nations prospères du monde de la nécessité de venir en aide aux pays des régions surpeuplées et sous-développées qui constituent une partie importante du globe. Les nombreux programmes d'aide au développement, au cours de la période d'après-guerre sont un phénomène exceptionnel dans l'histoire humaine. Il y a dans ces programmes d'assistance, je crois, un sain mélange d'altruisme et d'acceptation réelle de la leçon que nous avons pris trop de temps à apprendre, à savoir que la pénurie de biens et l'instabilité économique peuvent engendrer la violence et le malheur.

Troisièmement, il me semble que les changements scientifiques et technologiques rapides, si manifestes dans notre monde actuel, permettent d'espérer que les instincts agressifs de l'homme trouveront des débouchés positifs. Dans un monde où, grâce aux moyens d'information et aux voyages par avion à réaction, la technologie rapproche davantage les peuples de ce que le professeur McLuhan appelle le "village global", où la science étend les frontières de la connaissance, où l'homme s'aventure dans les espaces inconnus, les conflits et les différends de

toujours doivent certainement faire place à une conscience universelle de l'unité de la famille humaine.

Pour revenir à mon voyage en Union soviétique et en Pologne l'automne dernier, je voudrais vous dire qu'à cette occasion j'ai eu des entretiens avec les dirigeants de ces pays au sujet de l'évolution de la situation en Europe, tant à l'Est qu'à l'Ouest. J'ai alors mentionné l'importance des efforts qui, d'après moi, doivent être déployés des deux côtés du rideau de fer en voie de disparition pour parvenir à une politique de réconciliation positive et constructive, et à un règlement pacifique éventuel.

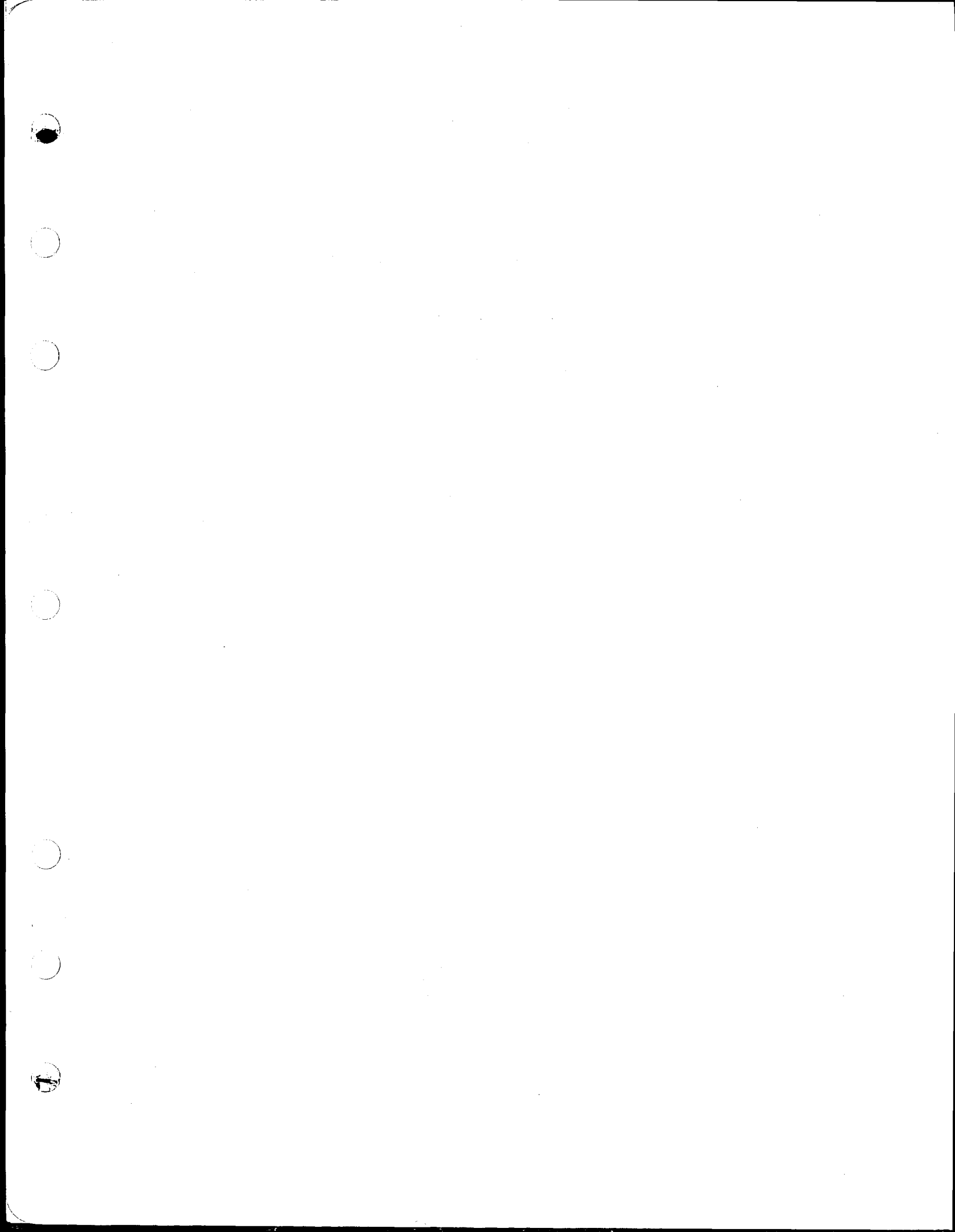
Tout dernièrement, j'ai assisté aux funérailles de l'ex-chancelier d'Allemagne Konrad Adenauer et j'ai eu l'occasion de m'entretenir quelque temps avec le nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères, M. Willy Brandt. A mon avis, le gouvernement de coalition de Bonn déploie de véritables efforts pour améliorer les relations avec ses voisins, afin de créer un meilleur climat en Europe.

A mon avis, il est très important que les forces démocratiques au sein de la République fédérale d'Allemagne, qui n'ont cessé de croître depuis 1945 et qui constituent aujourd'hui la majorité écrasante de l'électorat, reçoivent tout notre appui. Nous devrions aussi faire preuve de largeur d'esprit au sujet de la génération montante d'Allemagne. Ces jeunes gens, les dirigeants de demain, doivent porter sur le plan sentimental et moral, un lourd fardeau pour des crimes auxquels ils n'ont pas participé. Leur désir de créer une nouvelle société et leur enthousiasme pour une Europe unie méritent notre sympathie.

Cette année, nous célébrons le centenaire de la Confédération. Nous avons lieu d'être fiers de ce que notre pays a réalisé au cours des cent dernières années. Peut-être pouvons-nous nous enorgueillir du rôle que le Canada a joué dans la défense de la liberté, pendant les deux guerres, et de sa participation à la tentative de l'édification d'une paix durable, à travers les efforts pacifistes des Nations Unies. Soyons assurés que le Canada défendra toujours la liberté et la paix.

En ce moment solennel, il nous vient à la mémoire les souffrances atroces de ceux qui sont morts avant l'effondrement de la machine de guerre nazie, en 1945. Il nous vient aussi à la mémoire les sacrifices accomplis au nom de la liberté dont nous jouissons aujourd'hui.

En étudiant les leçons du passé, et par un effort d'imagination déterminé en vue de l'élimination des causes de conflit, par l'application aussi des principes de charité et de compréhension dans les relations humaines, nous pouvons contribuer à l'édification d'un monument authentique et durable à la mémoire de ceux que nous honorons aujourd'hui.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul ^Martin, Secretary
of State for External Affairs, to the
Economic Club of Detroit, in Montreal,
Monday, May 15, 1967, at 8:15 a.m.

"INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS AND COOPERATION"

It is always a pleasure for me to address members of the Economic Club of Detroit. I am particularly pleased today, however, to be speaking to you here in Montreal, in this Centennial Year of Canadian Confederation.

This year offers a special opportunity for all Canadians to reflect on their country's past, on its achievements, and on its future destiny. In 1867, there were only four provinces; now there are ten, stretching over four thousand miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Two hundred years ago, the French philosopher Voltaire described Canada as 'a few acres of snow'. Surely, there are few people who would dismiss Canada so lightly today!

It has been said that Canada is bounded on the north by gold, on the west by the East, on the east by history, and on the south by friends. Ever since the founding of the Canadian Confederation in 1867, the fact that Canada is bounded 'on the south by friends' has been of immense significance.

The fact that you are all here today is abundant testimony to the friendship which prevails between our two countries, between Americans and Canadians. Our Centennial celebrations will be all the more meaningful because they are shared by so many people from outside Canada -- by Americans and by people from many lands around the world.

Expo 67 is both the centrepiece of our Centennial celebrations, and a great international occasion.

I am sure that you will find your visit to Expo 67 an exciting and stimulating experience. Perhaps no where else is it possible to see such impressive and dramatic evidence of the rapid

scientific and technological changes taking place in our modern world.

This rapid and accelerating pace of change has led to growing interdependence, not only between neighbouring countries such as Canada and the United States, but among all countries and continents. Increasingly, people throughout the world are coming to realize that nations are not rivals in their efforts to grow and prosper, but necessary partners. This represents a marked change from conceptions that prevailed even a few years ago.

The foundations for this new vision of international economic cooperation were established at the end of the Second World War. It has been given institutional form in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The same concept of international economic interdependence is now beginning to find modest expression and recognition in relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. And, of course, it is reflected in a particularly significant way in the international effort to meet the challenge of development in cooperation with the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Nowhere in the world is economic cooperation between two countries closer or more varied than between Canada and the United States. Although this may sometimes give rise to special problems, I think both our countries are greatly enriched by the cooperative arrangements which prevail between us.

This cooperation covers many fields. To mention only a few:

1. Water resources, as exemplified by the Columbia River Treaty;
2. The utilization of energy, including electricity, petroleum and natural gas;
3. The special arrangements for the automotive industry.

Coming from the Detroit area, as you do, cooperation in the field of automobile manufacturing is of particular interest to you. I would like, therefore, to say a few special words about it.

The Canadian automotive industry has always been closely linked with that in the United States, but has traditionally faced higher costs because of the limited Canadian market. In an effort to find a solution to the problems arising from short runs, and high costs in the industry, and the rapidly expanding trade imbalance which resulted, the Canadian Government entered into discussions with the industry and the United States Government. The result, as you all know, was the Automotive Products Agreement, concluded in January, 1965.

This agreement is one of the most important and imaginative trading arrangements ever made between our two countries. For the first time in the history of our trade relations, we have concluded an agreement which recognizes that in certain cases differences in size, financial strength and the relative development of our industries may call for special provisions to ensure that Canada, in fact as well as in theory, derives genuine, reciprocal

benefits from its trade with its larger neighbour.

Between 1963 and 1966, automobile production in Canada increased from 633,000 units to 902,000 units, and employment from about 60,000 to almost 85,000. At the same time, Canadian exports of automobiles and original parts to the United States increased from \$40 million to \$845 million. Imports from the United States, which were \$605 million in 1963, reached \$1,501 million in 1966. Far from diverting trade, the agreement has clearly proved beneficial to both Canada and the United States.

While the Canada-United States agreement is of unlimited duration, it will be subject to a comprehensive review next year. At that time, we will be looking for evidence that the Canadian automotive industry will have adequate opportunities to participate fully and equitably in the expanding North American market.

I am sure that the North American market will expand, even though in recent months demand in both countries has diminished somewhat, and production has had to be curtailed. The automotive industry is one which tends to be characterized by fluctuating demand, and we should not allow this factor to influence our judgment as to the true value of the agreement.

The Automotive Products Agreement is one example of a specialized response to a special, bilateral problem, affecting trade relations between Canada and the United States. However, both our countries have a major interest in the freeing of trade on a world-wide non discriminatory basis. For this reason, we have been paying close attention to the final stages of the Kennedy Round tariff negotiations which have been taking place in Geneva.

Another aspect of international economic cooperation which concerns our two countries, and many others, is development aid.

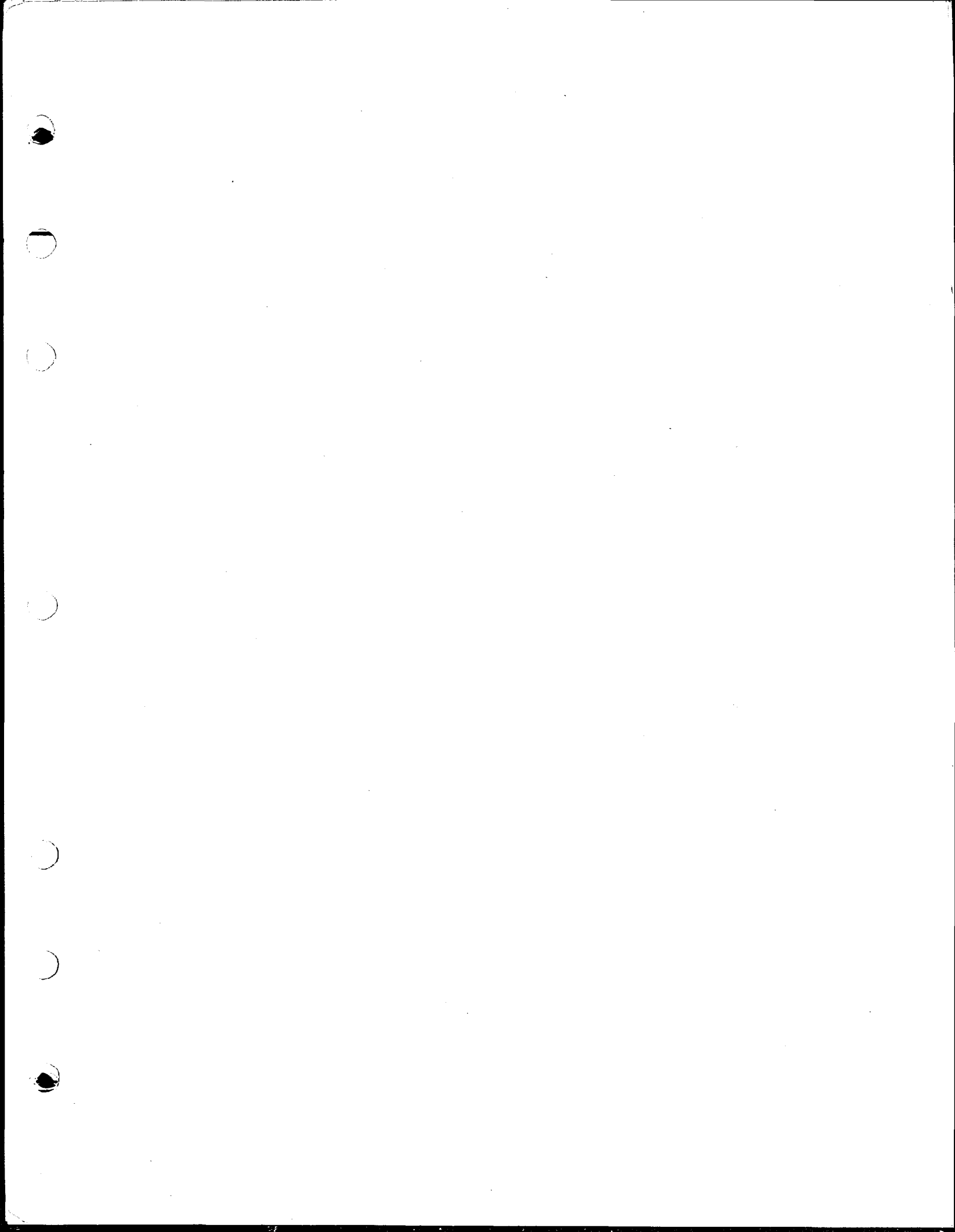
The United States was one of the first countries to realize the crucial importance of aid as an instrument of international peace and stability, and continues to shoulder a major portion of the aid burden assumed by industrialized nations. At a time when the overall flow of aid resources to the developing world appears to be stagnating, I would like to assure you that Canadians are also dedicated to translating into reality throughout the world the ideals of economic well-being and of social justice which they share with their American neighbours.

The price which individual American and Canadian citizens will have to pay to achieve this objective is not insignificant. In the interest of world peace, however, we must devote our energies, and mobilize our resources, to provide effective assistance to the less developed countries.

For our part, we have increased our aid programmes considerably in recent years. It is our Government's intention, subject to economic circumstances, to continue expanding the Canadian aid programme to the point where, by 1970, it will have reached one percent of our national income.

As you tour Expo, you will see many vivid examples of what man can achieve through cooperation. In this sense, Expo, with its theme: "Terre des Hommes" (Man and His World), has an important lesson for us all.

Expo began as an idea, as a dream. It is now a reality. I hope that it may serve to inspire individuals and nations to work together, in our increasingly interdependent world, so that the dream of a better future for all mankind will become reality.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary
of State for External Affairs, at the
University of New Brunswick Encaenia,
Tuesday, May 16, 1967, 2:30 p.m.

"NEW DIMENSIONS IN CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY"

I am grateful for the double honour you have paid me today, by granting me the Degree of Doctor of Laws, and asking me to deliver the Encaenia Address.

I am particularly pleased to have been so honoured by the University of New Brunswick in Canada's Centennial Year. In reading the history of the events leading up to Confederation, one is impressed by the crucial role played by New Brunswick, and by its leader, Sir Leonard Tilley. It was New Brunswick which decided the fate of Confederation. It is, therefore, fitting that in this Centennial Year you should have commemorated Sir Leonard Tilley's contribution to Canada by naming your new Arts Building for him.

The history of your University is, of course, much longer than that of Canadian Confederation. You have on your campus the oldest university building in Canada. You can trace your origins back nearly two centuries, to the establishment in 1785 of the Provincial Academy of Arts and Sciences - an institution which the Legislative Assembly of the day agreed to assist financially in the amount of £200. Since then, you have, of course, expanded enormously, and although I do not have the figures, I suspect that your government grant has also gone up.

Many of you are graduating from faculties which the University did not have a century ago, and have studied subjects which were then unknown. The growth of your University has been paralleled throughout Canada. The expansion in size, number and complexity of

our universities is, in part, a reflection of Canada's growing population, wealth and stature. It is also a reflection of the changing world we live in.

I can see similar factors at work in my own field of external affairs, as our relations with other countries have become wider in scope and increasingly complex. A century ago, at the time of Confederation, it was assumed that Britain would conduct foreign relations on Canada's behalf. Such an arrangement could have been possible only in an age when the subject matter of international affairs was limited to a few major issues, such as trade and preservation of peace. In approaching these issues, it was arguable that the advantages of close association with the imperial power outweighed the disadvantages of having the country's foreign policy determined and executed by a government which might be amenable to Canadian advice, but in which Canadians were not represented.

As the relationship between foreign policy and the country's domestic interests became closer, and was more clearly perceived, Canadians realized the importance of assuming responsibility for the conduct of their own foreign relations. By a gradual process, in which English and French-speaking statesmen of both historic parties participated, Canada achieved the right to negotiate and sign treaties, exchange diplomatic representatives, and join international organizations on its own behalf. The royal prerogative powers in respect of foreign affairs had been exercised in 1867 on the advice of Her Majesty's British ministers. Within the next 60 year period they came to be exercised, so far as Canada is concerned, solely on the advice of the Federal Government of Canada.

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For almost half a century Canada has had an established international personality, and a respected place in the world community. We are active members of the United Nations and a host of other international organizations. Through direct or multiple accreditation we conduct external relations with some 108 countries. The growth in Canada's representation abroad is impressive in itself, but the changing content of international relations is even more striking.

The themes which were dominant a century ago remain, but even these are increasingly complex. Foreign trade, for example, now involves not merely bilateral negotiations between countries, but active participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the OECD and other international agencies. Our concern for the preservation of peace has led us not just to participate in NATO, an organization for collective security, but to attempt, through the United Nations, to substitute collective diplomacy for war as an instrument for settling disputes.

We are involved today in a variety of international activities which used to be only marginally related to traditional foreign policy, or which, like the control of civil aviation or international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, simply did not exist. We now attend international conferences or conclude bilateral agreements on such varied subjects as racial discrimination, economic development and cultural exchanges. In formulating Canadian policy, we must attempt to derive the maximum benefit for all Canadians from the possibilities which our international contacts open to us. We must mobilize the resources of all Canada in order to make a positive contribution to the welfare of other countries.

The formal Canadian constitutional document, the British North America Act, was not, of course, written with any such development in mind.

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As I have mentioned, the federal government now has the responsibility for the conduct of external affairs. But the federal parliament, as a result of a decision of the Judicial Committee of The Privy Council, is unable to legislate to implement treaties if the subjects they deal with are those reserved to the provincial legislatures under the British North America Act. A number of subjects which are reserved to the provinces, and which were considered a century ago to be primarily of local concern, are now recognized as matters for international discussion or negotiation.

In having the central government bear the sole responsibility for the overall conduct of foreign affairs, Canada follows the pattern adopted by all federal states with which I am acquainted. I do not think it is necessary for me to explain at length the legal reasons why this should be so. The power to negotiate and conclude formal agreements with other countries is of course the prerogative of an independent sovereign state. If individual constituent members of a federal state had the right to conclude treaties independently of the central power, it would no longer be a federation but an association of sovereign powers.

It is true that we are in the minority among federal states in having the constitutional ability to make treaties separated, in certain fields, from the ability to implement them. A study of the actual practice followed in other federal states in coping with the new dimensions of international relations shows that this anomaly is more apparent than real. Even those central governments which in constitutional theory could implement treaties without consultation have tended to be very cautious about using their power. In Canada

we have always had to proceed on the basis of co-operation between the federal and provincial governments. Where a Treaty can be implemented through federal action or establishes a framework for co-operation between two countries, the federal government has of course been able to act on its own. For many years, however, we have consulted the provinces about Treaties which would require provincial legislative or other action in order to be implemented. I have mentioned that only the Federal Government can make Treaties. It is also the case that only the Federal Government can accredit delegations to international organizations. Only sovereign states can as a rule belong to international organizations. No such body has accepted separate representation by the constituent members of a federal state. The sole exception to my knowledge is the participation of Byelorussia and the Ukraine in the United Nations, which was a result of the post-war political settlement and has not established a precedent for other countries or organizations.

The reasons are simple.

If Provinces were entitled to become members of an organization such as UNESCO, in which many are interested, there could be as many as eleven separate delegations from Canada at its conferences. They might have 10% of the votes, even though Canada pays only 3% of the UNESCO budget. And if Canada were given this privilege, what of the United States which could claim 51 seats? UNESCO could have several hundred members.

Secondly, there has been a growing tendency for international organizations when concluding agreements to specify

that their provisions shall apply to all parts of federal states without any limitations or exceptions. They have made the state concerned responsible for harmonizing the interests of its component parts. In face of this tendency, they would be unlikely to agree that a country could splinter its participation, with some parts favouring an agreement and others expressing reservations or objections directly at the conference table.

Lastly, many problems which arise at organizations such as UNESCO are not directly related to education or culture, but to matters of general foreign policy. UNESCO conferences have, for example, discussed the problems of Communist China or apartheid. Obviously the provinces can not take an independent stand on issues of this nature in international forums so long as they remain part of the federation. Is it conceivable that on such matters, some Canadian provinces will vote one way and others in an opposite way? Instead of one Canada in the world, there would be a number of entities with different foreign policies. This approach to Canadian representation in international organizations would therefore involve the dissolution of Canada as a single state and the creation of a series of smaller states.

In Canada, we permit and even encourage different approaches to certain problems among the various provinces or between the provincial and federal governments. This has always seemed to me healthy. The essence of our federal system is that our various governments can respond to the needs of the people they serve according to the way they think best. But I do believe that in looking outward, and approaching the international community, we should try to achieve a unity of purpose, and not simply export our differences. What may.

appear at home to be a healthy diversity of views may seem to strangers to be evidence of a dangerous degree of disunity.

There is a simple and sensible approach to ensuring that provincial interests are taken into account in relation to Canadian participation in international organizations. I might use Canadian participation in the International Labour Organization as an example, especially as the distinguished President of the Canadian Labour Congress, Mr. Claude Jodoin, has been honoured by you today and as I myself have attended its conferences.

As labour is a field of direct concern to both the federal and provincial governments, we have for many years included provincial officials as advisers on the government delegation to the annual conference of the ILO and have in addition invited provincial governments to send their Ministers of Labour or senior officials as observers. In developing the Canadian position before each conference, the federal authorities have discussed with the provinces those matters likely to arise which would interest them, and have sent relevant documentation to them. In 1964, the federal government consulted the provinces to seek their support for the ratification of the convention against discrimination in employment, the provisions of which fell within both the federal and provincial jurisdictions. Since then, two more conventions of this sort have been ratified, after federal - provincial consultation, and studies are in progress about the possibility of ratifying others. As a result of this approach, Canada has a record which compares favourably with that of other federal states in signing and ratifying ILO conventions requiring action at the provincial as well as the national level.

We are always considering how such arrangements can be improved. We are also studying the extent to which these or different methods can be adopted to broaden and strengthen the participation of provincial governments in the work of Canadian delegations to other international conferences. In recent years, a growing pattern has emerged of having provincial representatives included in Canadian delegations to a wide variety of international conferences. Last year, for example, the delegation sent by the Federal government to the annual conference on public education held in Geneva under the auspices of UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education included representatives of Canadian education whose names were suggested by the Standing Committee of Ministers of Education of the provinces. This has been done in a manner which is consistent with the federal government's overall responsibility for the conduct of the country's foreign policy, and it increases the benefit which all Canadians gain from the work of these organizations.

I mentioned earlier that we have been consulting the provinces about international agreements which require action on their part in order to be honoured. As an example of how this is done, I might refer to the United Nations Covenant on Human Rights.

One of the principal purposes of the United Nations is, in the words of its Charter, "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". In December 1966, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the International

Covenants on Human Rights. The Canadian Government voted for the Covenants because we support their purpose, which is to give effect by means of the binding obligations of international treaties to the principles embodied in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948. We are now, in consultation with the provinces, considering the implications of ratifying them.

The first Covenant concerns economic, social and cultural rights. Many of its provisions relate to matters which fall largely within the sphere of the provinces, but others, such as those dealing with conditions of work or standards of living, are also the responsibility of the federal government. The second Covenant, on civil and political rights, largely pertains to the federal field, but the right to liberty and security or the equality of men and women, for example, also require action by the provinces.

The Covenants quite reasonably specify that a federal state which chooses to ratify them cannot subsequently claim to be exempt from carrying out their provisions because of conflicting domestic jurisdictions. They therefore provide an excellent example of the problems which we must solve in Canada in meeting our international obligations. I think we can do so in a manner which will be in the interests of all Canadians. As I have mentioned, the federal government has already started consultations with the provinces about ratification.

To celebrate International Human Rights Year in 1968, the United Nations has asked member states to ratify as many of the Human Rights conventions as possible. The government is at present studying the possibility of ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the United Nations in

December, 1965. In August 1966, Canada signed this convention to indicate our support for the efforts of the international community to eliminate the evils of racial discrimination. Again, as many of the provisions of the convention fall within provincial jurisdiction, we are consulting with the provinces as to the implications of ratifying this instrument. Thanks to the cooperation of provincial authorities, I believe the government will be able to announce a decision on ratification at the latest during 1968.

The Federal Government has also tried to accommodate, so far as possible, the special interests which some provinces may have in the conduct of Canada's bilateral relations with other countries. As an example of how this can be done, I might mention the accord-cadre signed with France in November, 1965, on education and culture. Under this agreement, it is possible for individual provinces and France to develop administrative arrangements to facilitate cultural and educational exchanges, subject to the approval of the Federal Government. There are many ways consistent with our Constitution and the existence of one Canada in the world in which the provinces' particular interest in Canada's bilateral relations can be taken into account and developed.

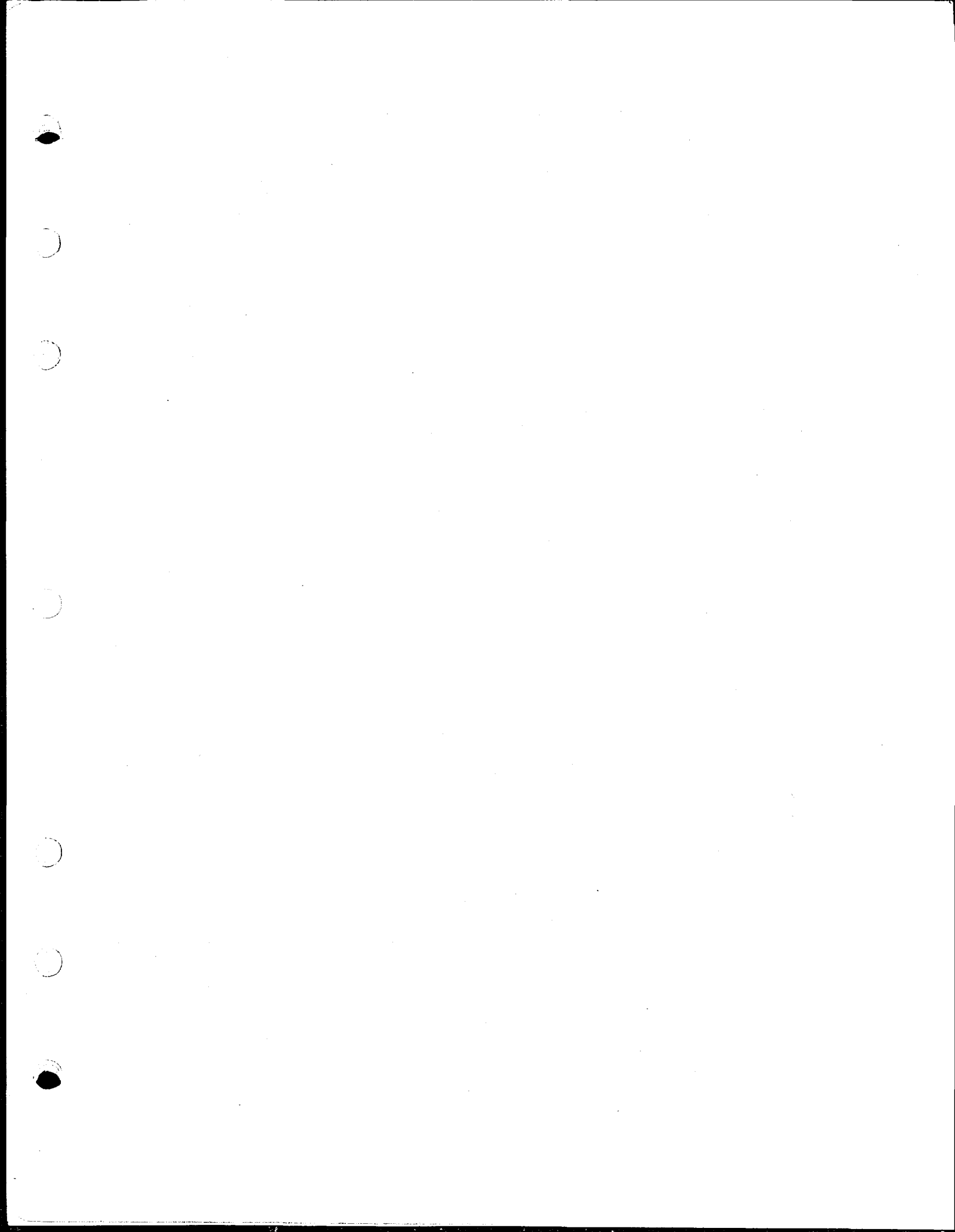
Cooperation between the federal and provincial governments is also desirable in the field of external aid. Canada is playing an increasingly important role in the provision of economic and technical assistance to the developing countries. We have been increasing the amount of money available for this purpose by an average of \$50 million a year. I hope that Canadian aid will approximate 1% of our national output by the early nineteen seventies.

External aid might, at first glance, seem to be an activity of concern only to the central government. It is an integral part of Canadian foreign policy, and is perhaps the most substantial and rewarding aspect of our relationship with many developing countries. In its initial phases, an aid programme involves intergovernmental negotiation and the signing of agreements. In its execution, the programme requires a network of diplomatic missions abroad, and a government at home able to draw on the experience, manpower and financial support of the whole country.

Many aspects of aid are, however, closely related to fields in which the provinces have a direct interest. In sending teachers abroad, the central government has to take into account provincial needs and avoid unreasonable competition for scarce skilled personnel. Although it may hire teachers directly, it may also in some cases wish to benefit from provincial recruiting facilities.

Some provinces have a particular concern for one or other area of the world or certain skills or facilities to offer. They may therefore have a special interest in some aspect of aid to the developing countries. We naturally welcome this interest as we do the efforts of individuals or organizations such as church groups or private firms, whose aims are compatible with Canada's foreign policy and aid objectives. We have had a continuing dialogue with the provinces concerning ways in which they can make a special contribution to the provision of economic and technical assistance to other countries.

A century ago, when Canada was founded, our statesmen were concerned with the problems of completing Confederation and developing the country. This year we are celebrating the results of their work. Canada has grown enormously in population and wealth over the past hundred years. Correspondingly, we have been called upon to play an increasingly important role in international affairs. We are presented with new opportunities and new obligations. If all Canadians work together, I am sure that we can meet this challenge successfully.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUE

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE DISCOURS

PRIERE DE VERIFIER

Discours prononcé par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
au dîner du Congrès international France-
Amérique, à Montréal, le 22 mai 1967.

"RELATIONS FRANCE-CANADA"

C'est pour moi un vif plaisir de vous accueillir ce soir et de vous souhaiter la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom du Gouvernement canadien et au mien. La plupart d'entre vous viennent d'un pays qui nous est cher à tous, comme le montrent d'ailleurs les nombreuses délégations venues des Amériques et qui sont autant de témoignages de l'importance de la présence française de par le monde.

2. Il n'est un secret pour personne que depuis quelques années, le Canada cherche activement à développer ses relations avec la France et à étendre le domaine de ses échanges avec elle. Longtemps orientées vers le Commonwealth et nos puissants voisins du Sud, par la force des choses et des traditions, la politique internationale du Canada a acquis ces dernières années

.../2

une nouvelle dimension, et c'est dans ce cadre élargi que le Canada a voulu établir avec la France de nouveaux liens économiques, culturels, politiques et militaires.

3. Après les épreuves qu'elle a connues, la France a su mobiliser ses forces avec courage et persévérance et a retrouvé rapidement la place de premier rang qu'elle a toujours occupée dans le concert des nations. Nous avons sous les yeux ici même à Montréal, incarnés dans son Pavillon, l'audace et le dynamisme qui caractérisent la jeune France d'aujourd'hui. L'éclatante réussite du Métro de Montréal n'est-elle pas le gage des fruits que peut donner la collaboration entre Français et Canadiens? Ce qui frappe quand on examine nos rapports avec la mère-patrie de nos compatriotes de langue française, c'est la diversité de nos échanges, la fréquence accélérée de nos consultations et la qualité des résultats acquis. Il existe, entre nos deux pays, un climat favorable à la mise en oeuvre des projets déjà arrêtés et à la prospection de nouveaux domaines de coopération. De part et d'autre, il y a, je crois, une volonté très nette de ne pas s'attarder aux succès obtenus mais de susciter d'autres initiatives susceptibles de favoriser les courants d'échanges.

4. C'est ainsi que nos dirigeants, nos diplomates, nos fonctionnaires se consultent fréquemment et conjuguent leurs efforts pour arriver à trouver des solutions justes et efficaces aux grands problèmes qui préoccupent le monde d'aujourd'hui. Depuis la visite du Premier Ministre à Paris en 1964, le Ministre des Affaires étrangères de France et moi-même sommes convenus de nous rencontrer régulièrement pour échanger nos observations et nos vues tant sur les questions d'ordre bilatéral que sur les problèmes internationaux de l'heure. C'est dans cette perspective que j'aurai, encore une fois, l'honneur de m'entretenir avec M. Couve de Murville à Paris en juin prochain, après la réunion ministérielle de l'OTAN.

5. Mais là où nos consultations ont porté le plus de fruits, là où nous pouvons dénombrer les réalisations les plus heureuses, c'est indéniablement dans le domaine des relations bilatérales.

6. L'année dernière, nous avons le plaisir d'accueillir au Canada MM. les Ministres Fouchet, Joxe, Couve de Murville et Debré. Cette année, à l'occasion de l'Exposition Universelle de Montréal, le Canada recevra la visite officielle de l'illustre Président de la République française, le Général de Gaulle. Pour sa part, la France a été l'hôte de nombreux visiteurs canadiens

de marque et de multiples délégations canadiennes, entre autres l'Association parlementaire France-Canada qui a tenu ses premières assises à Paris en juin 1966 et qui doit se réunir cette année à Montréal, et la mission économique dirigée par l'Honorable Drury.

7. Si, de part et d'autres de l'Atlantique, les contacts se font plus fréquents, les visites plus nombreuses, le dialogue plus facile, les résultats obtenus sont-ils à la hauteur des espoirs formés au départ?

8. Je crois, quant à moi, que nous avons raison de nous féliciter des efforts accomplis et de nous enorgueillir des résultats atteints.

9. Longtemps négligés, les rapports commerciaux et financiers entre le Canada et la France se sont resserrés à la suite des discussions qu'ont eues les hommes d'affaires français et les membres de la Mission économique canadienne en France l'an dernier. Ces contacts se poursuivent grâce aux visites de plus en plus fréquentes que se font les industriels de nos deux pays et l'on peut espérer que la Commission économique franco-canadienne, qui doit se réunir de nouveau cet automne, aura sur ce plan les plus heureux résultats. Déjà nos échanges commerciaux et les investissements français au Canada ont sensiblement augmenté mais il reste beaucoup à faire et le Canada offre les plus vastes possibilités.

10. Sur le plan culturel, les progrès réalisés depuis la signature de l'accord franco-canadien et des ententes franco-québécoises sont fort encourageants. Entre nos deux pays, il existe un va-et-vient d'étudiants, de professeurs, d'artistes, de techniciens et d'hommes de science. La Commission culturelle franco-canadienne se réunira à Ottawa au début de juin pour dresser le bilan de nos échanges et pour élaborer les projets d'avenir dans ce domaine.

11. Dans le domaine scientifique, un protocole a été conclu à Paris en janvier dernier entre le Gouvernement français et une mission canadienne dirigée par le Professeur Gaudry, Recteur de l'Université de Montréal, mettant au point un vaste programme d'échanges scientifiques. D'autres projets sont en voie de réalisation touchant à la médecine et à l'industrie forestière.

12. Mais nos échanges ne se limitent pas aux domaines traditionnels de la culture et des affaires. Ils touchent également le secteur militaire: des consultations ont eu lieu dernièrement entre les deux pays au sujet de la coopération dans le domaine de la recherche et de la production d'armements.

13. Somme toute, nos relations se développent à un rythme satisfaisant mais ne nous leurrerons pas: il reste à consolider et à compléter ce qui est déjà acquis.

14. Monsieur le Président, nous sommes particulièrement heureux que vous ayez choisi Montréal pour les assises de votre Congrès International. Nous voyons là une occasion de resserrer encore davantage les liens d'amitié qui nous unissent aux nombreux pays de ce continent qui, comme nous, honorent la langue et la culture française. Il ne me reste plus qu'à souhaiter que les travaux de votre Congrès soient couronnés de succès.

15. J'ai l'honneur de lever mon verre à l'entente franco-canadienne et au Comité France-Amérique.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 311

LECTURE 1

MECHANICS

1.1 Kinematics

1.2 Dynamics

1.3 Energy

1.4 Momentum

1.5 Angular Momentum

1.6 Relativity

1.7 Quantum Mechanics

1.8 Electromagnetism

1.9 Optics

1.10 Modern Physics

1.11 Statistical Mechanics

1.12 Thermodynamics

1.13 Fluids

1.14 Solids

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary
of State for External Affairs, at Waterloo
Lutheran University Convocation, on Monday,
May 22, 1967

"SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING
CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY"

It is a signal honour you have given me today: first, in awarding me the degree of Doctor of Laws honoris causa, and second, in asking me to deliver the convocation address.

A few days ago I attended the Spring Convocation at the University of New Brunswick. If I recall that occasion here today, it is to draw attention to a contrast which has particular significance for all of us in this Centennial Year of Canadian Confederation. As many of you may know, the University of New Brunswick traces its origin back for almost two centuries, and claims to be the oldest English-language university in Canada. Your own splendid institution, Waterloo Lutheran University, while possessing firm roots, has only joined the ranks of Canadian universities in recent years. It thus forms part of the exciting, revolutionary growth which has taken place in Canada's higher education during the past two decades.

Those of you who have graduated today, in this Centennial Year, are especially privileged: you are graduating at a time when your country is realizing more fully than ever before the value of its heritage from the past, while at the same time it is looking forward with new confidence to its future in this rapidly changing world.

The process of growth and change which has been so evident in higher education in Canada in the last few years has also been very evident in the field for which I am responsible; namely, foreign policy. While the principles which have traditionally governed the conduct of our relations with other countries remain valid, the way in which they are expressed in policy must reflect the changing circumstances of our times. It is on this theme that I would like to say a few words today.

Although we are this year celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of Confederation, the development of a distinctive and independent Canadian foreign policy is more recent. It was not until 1907 that we had a separate Department of External Affairs, and for many years after that our foreign policy was limited to ensuring that Canada's particular interests were taken into account in the conduct of British imperial foreign policy. Canada became a member of the League of Nations when it was established in 1920, but never assumed an especially active role in that ill-fated organization. Preoccupied with our own problems, and by the needs of our own development, we did not feel any great need to concern ourselves with events outside our borders.

With the benefit of historical perspective, it is clear that the Second World War marked a major turning point in the evolution of Canadian foreign policy. Canada came out of the war more fully aware not only of its vital interest in preserving peace throughout the world, but also of its ability to bring its influence to bear in the councils of the nations more positively and effectively than before. And, of course, the post-war world, which had seen the dawn of the atomic age, was a much more dangerous place, in which no nation, and indeed no responsible citizen, could afford to ignore the issues which threatened to divide the world's peoples.

Early in 1947, shortly after he had been appointed Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent gave a lecture at the University of Toronto in which he set out to define the principles underlying Canadian foreign policy. As Mr. St. Laurent pointed out in his lecture, a policy in world affairs, to be truly effective, must have its foundations laid upon

general principles which have been tested in the life of the nation and which have secured the broad support of large groups of the population.

The principles which Mr. St. Laurent distinguished were as follows:

1. National Unity
2. Political Liberty
3. The Rule of Law in National and International Affairs
4. The Values of Christian Civilization
5. The Acceptance of International Responsibility
in Keeping with our Conception of our Role in
World Affairs

Twenty years have passed, but I think the principles listed by Mr. St. Laurent would still be widely accepted in Canada as guidelines in the conduct of our foreign policy. However, it seems to me that they may need to be expanded somewhat, if they are to reflect the realities of the modern world.

In particular, I believe that we must now acknowledge that national security is a vital factor underlying our foreign policy. The survival of Canada is necessarily our primary objective.

To the concept of political liberty, I think we would now want to add that of social justice, for it has become increasingly evident that the freedom we so rightly prize can flourish only when there is a social order characterized by a fair distribution of wealth and equal opportunity for all. Hand in hand with this principle would go another; namely, economic development, both in Canada and in the world at large.

We might also rephrase the last principle or guideline, as the acceptance of international responsibility, in accordance with our own interests, and our ability to contribute towards the building of a peaceful and secure international system. While it is not inappropriate to speak of our role in world affairs, it may be misleading, in that it can lead to the belief that there is some particular role that we are predestined to play. As with other countries, Canada's foreign policy must ultimately reflect its national interests, the foremost of which is, of course, the maintenance of world peace.

In summary, then, it appears to me that the basic principles, or guidelines, underlying our foreign policy could be listed as follows:

1. National Security
2. National Unity
3. Political Liberty and Social Justice
4. The Rule of Law in National and International Affairs
5. Economic Development in Canada and the World
6. The Values of Christian Civilization
7. Acceptance of International Responsibility, in accordance with our interests, and our ability to contribute towards the building of peace.

In 1947, it was possible for Mr. St. Laurent to discuss the practical application of the principles which he had listed under a limited number of headings: the Commonwealth, relations with

the United States, traditional ties with France, and support for constructive international organization. None of these applications have diminished in importance, but circumstances have so changed as to require a much broader view now than was either possible or necessary twenty years ago. Indeed, there is now no part of the world which lies outside the scope of Canadian foreign policy.

In the period since the war, there have been two particularly significant changes in the nature of international affairs which have had major implications for our foreign policy. The first is the very great increase in the number of sovereign, independent states during the last twenty years, resulting from the dissolution of the old European empires in Africa and Asia. This change has, of course, been most strikingly illustrated in the continent of Africa, where the number of independent countries has increased from four in 1945 to thirty-seven today.

The emergence into the mainstream of world affairs of so many newly independent states has had implications far beyond the increase in absolute numbers. For many of the new nations, independence has been only the first step in the often difficult and agonizing process of nation-building. In the great majority of them, standards of material well-being have been extremely low, and the complex technological and industrial society which we now almost take for

granted in the older, Western countries was virtually unknown. Under the circumstances, it was only to be expected that instability and uncertainty would characterize the newly independent states, as they embarked on the enormous and challenging task of simultaneously building modern economies and modern national societies.

The second major change in the nature of international affairs which deserves special mention is the greatly increased complexity and diversity of economic relationships between states. While trade has traditionally been one of the first and most important factors in bringing peoples and nations into contact with one another, trade is now only one aspect of the economic relationships between states, and even it has grown immensely both in volume and complexity over the years. Other, newer aspects of international economic relationships include those in the fields of monetary management, and of development assistance.

The evolving nature of economic relationships between states has given rise to the establishment of a whole range of influential international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. There is also, of course, the United Nations itself, which, through the United Nations Development Programme and the various specialized agencies, has assumed major responsibilities in the economic field. The importance of this is underlined by the fact that four-fifths of the financial and man-power resources available to the United Nations system are now applied to the tasks of economic development.

The international effort which is now being made to assist the economic development of the developing countries is perhaps

the most clear-cut, practical illustration of the widespread realization that nations are not rivals in their efforts to grow and prosper, but necessary partners. The responsibilities of governments for human welfare are no longer limited by national boundaries. This represents a marked, indeed a revolutionary change from concepts that prevailed even two or three decades ago.

As one of the major developed countries, Canada has a clear responsibility to participate fully in the task of international development. Canada's programmes of development assistance began when the Colombo Plan was established in 1950, and have now grown to approximately \$300 million per year. The government has taken the decision to increase its contributions to international development to the level of one percent of our national income by the early nineteen seventies.

Canada's aid programmes are but one example of the way in which our foreign policy has evolved in recent years in accordance with the guidelines set out by Mr. St. Laurent in 1947. Another example can be found in our developing association with the francophone countries.

It is true now, as it was twenty years ago, that our foreign policy must reflect both our French and English heritages if it is to contribute to national unity. There are now many more French-speaking countries than there were in 1947, and the scope for valuable associations based on our French heritage has greatly increased. I am convinced that all Canada stands to benefit from this development.

Our efforts to establish the rule of law in international affairs are concentrated now, as they have been since 1945, in the United Nations. Canada has been ready to contribute to United Nations

peacekeeping operations, and to support the United Nations in other ways, in the firm belief that through this international organization we are helping build a firm structure of international order.

Like any forum embracing different members, and reflecting different viewpoints, the United Nations is only as strong and as effective as its members choose to make it. For this reason, I believe it is of vital importance that the United Nations be made truly universal, and that the power to make decisions within the United Nations context be clearly related to the responsibility which ultimately devolves on member states for their implementation. It is also, I believe, most important that the nations of the world realize that the effectiveness of the United Nations, and in the final analysis their own security, depends on their willingness to accept modifications in the concept of national sovereignty in accordance with the interests of the wider international community.

It is unfortunately still true that threats to the peace can arise which, for one reason or another, it is not possible to deal with through the machinery of the United Nations. The present conflict in Vietnam is, of course, a case in point.

I want to make it absolutely clear that the Canadian government fully shares the deep concern which so many individual Canadians feel about the dangerous situation in Vietnam. The question which has faced the government is to determine what course it can and should follow to mitigate the dangers and de-fuse the conflict.

It has been my strong preoccupation in recent months to explore every possibility open to us that might afford some opportunity for a reduction in the scale of hostilities, including the cessation of bombing, and set the parties to the conflict on the path to a negotiated

settlement. Because Canada has a role in the area through its membership on the International Commission, however little that Commission may seem to be able to achieve in the present circumstances, we do have an opportunity for exploring and assessing possible courses of action. It has been and continues to be my belief that constructive and unremitting efforts in this area hold out the best hope for the Government of Canada to play a useful part in the tragic situation in Vietnam.

It is a matter of judgment whether public exhortations addressed to one side or the other will enhance our capacity to influence the course of events. My own judgment has been that in the circumstances obtaining up to now the policies we have been pursuing have offered the best means of doing just that.

From a longer-term point of view, of course, the Vietnam conflict has re-emphasized the necessity of strengthening the means available to the international community as a whole to prevent such situations from getting out of hand. There is an almost universal desire to see the problems of Vietnam peacefully and justly settled, and yet the conflict goes on, and becomes more and more menacing. Surely the nations of the world, and in particular the great powers, must realize that the time has passed when they could safely pursue their interests, or even their deeply-held convictions, outside the framework of an organized international community.

In this Centennial Year of 1967, we in Canada are being made particularly aware of the exciting potential which lies in the future for this country and, to paraphrase the theme of Expo, for "Man in his world". The conflict in Vietnam, the threatening situations

in other parts of the world, and the distressing problems of hunger and poverty in so many of the developing countries are pointed and tragic reminders that truly formidable obstacles remain to be overcome if the bright promise of the future is to be realized.

Our foreign policy is concerned with overcoming these obstacles. The tasks ahead will require not only sound principles, but patience, wisdom, and determined effort. In undertaking these tasks, I am confident that Canada will be serving its own interests, and those of the wider world community, if it strives in all things to be a 'good citizen of the world'.

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 67/19

CANADIAN VIEWS ON VIETNAM

Text of a speech by the Honourable Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the
House of Commons on May 23, 1967.

When, a year ago last January, the Secretary-General and I discussed the question of Vietnam, I was persuaded by his argument that the settlement of this problem must be within the framework of the Geneva Conference. Regrettable as it was, the United Nations, the Security Council or the General Assembly, could not be expected to deal effectively with this problem because of the absence from its membership of particular countries involved. From that moment on we sought, as I have reminded the House time and time again, to impress upon India and Poland the desirability of constituting the three members on the Commission into a body that might have as its prime purpose the narrowing of the gap between the parties, based on the fact that this instrument has a readier access to Hanoi and to Saigon than any other instrument. We have not been able to persuade all the members of the Commission of the importance of this proposition, although both Poland and India have recognized the potential role for the Commission in this situation.

We did not limit our efforts only to our role as members of the Commission, but on two occasions we sent Mr. Chester Ronning as a special emissary of the Government of Canada to Hanoi, to Saigon and to Washington for the purpose of seeing whether or not he, in the name of the Government of Canada, could make any progress in delineating the distance between the parties and seeing whether or not a formula could be reached which might at least bring about preliminary discussions between the parties involved in this war....

I stated that this Government was concerned about the course of events in Vietnam. For 20 years now, since the end of the Second World War, the world community has tried to build a system of international law and order. It is part of that system to settle disputes by peaceful means. We regret that in Vietnam recourse has been had to military means to deal with what is essentially a political problem. We are naturally concerned about the tragic toll in human suffering and destruction which this conflict is bringing to the Vietnamese people and to their country. We are also concerned that the longer the conflict continues the more difficult it will be to overcome suspicion and distrust on both sides. The longer the conflict continues the greater, of course, are the risks that it may expand, by inadvertence or deliberation, into something more serious. Accordingly, we have urged restraint in those areas and in the way which we thought was the most effective.

I spoke a moment ago of Mr. Chester Ronning, and of the Commissioner's frequent visits to Hanoi.... If Hanoi has repeatedly observed that there is a Hanoi-Canada channel, it is only because Hanoi believes that Canada does have some influence in Washington. What other reason could there be for the way in which our emissaries have been received? What other reason could there be for the nature of the discussions that they have had?

I am not indicating to this House (and I hope that Hanoi will not suggest that I am) what these discussions have been. I have respected fully the confidence of the Government of that country to our emissaries, including Mr. Ronning. As I have said, if we do have a credibility in Hanoi it is because it is thought that as a friend of the United States we rightfully enjoy the confidence of the United States.... Should we retain any credibility in Washington... if we were to engage in consultations with the United States and at the same time follow courses of action that would inevitably destroy our right to their credibility and their confidence?.....

So... we intend to carry out our responsibilities to the Commission, and we believe that this is the right course for us to follow. We note with satisfaction that this is the view of India and also of Poland. The Canadian Government has directed its efforts toward finding a basis on which the parties to the Vietnam conflict might be brought into direct contact. I have indicated some of the steps that we have taken in our endeavours in that regard.

The Canadian Government has held that a solution to the problem in Vietnam must be sought by political means. That is part of Canadian policy. We have made it clear that we look to negotiations to settle this problem. It seems important to us that any settlement of the present conflict should be such as to hold out a reasonable prospect of long-term stability in that area. This is because we think that the problem in Vietnam cannot be isolated from the security and stability of Southeast Asia as a whole. We regard the basis of the Vietnam problem as a political one.

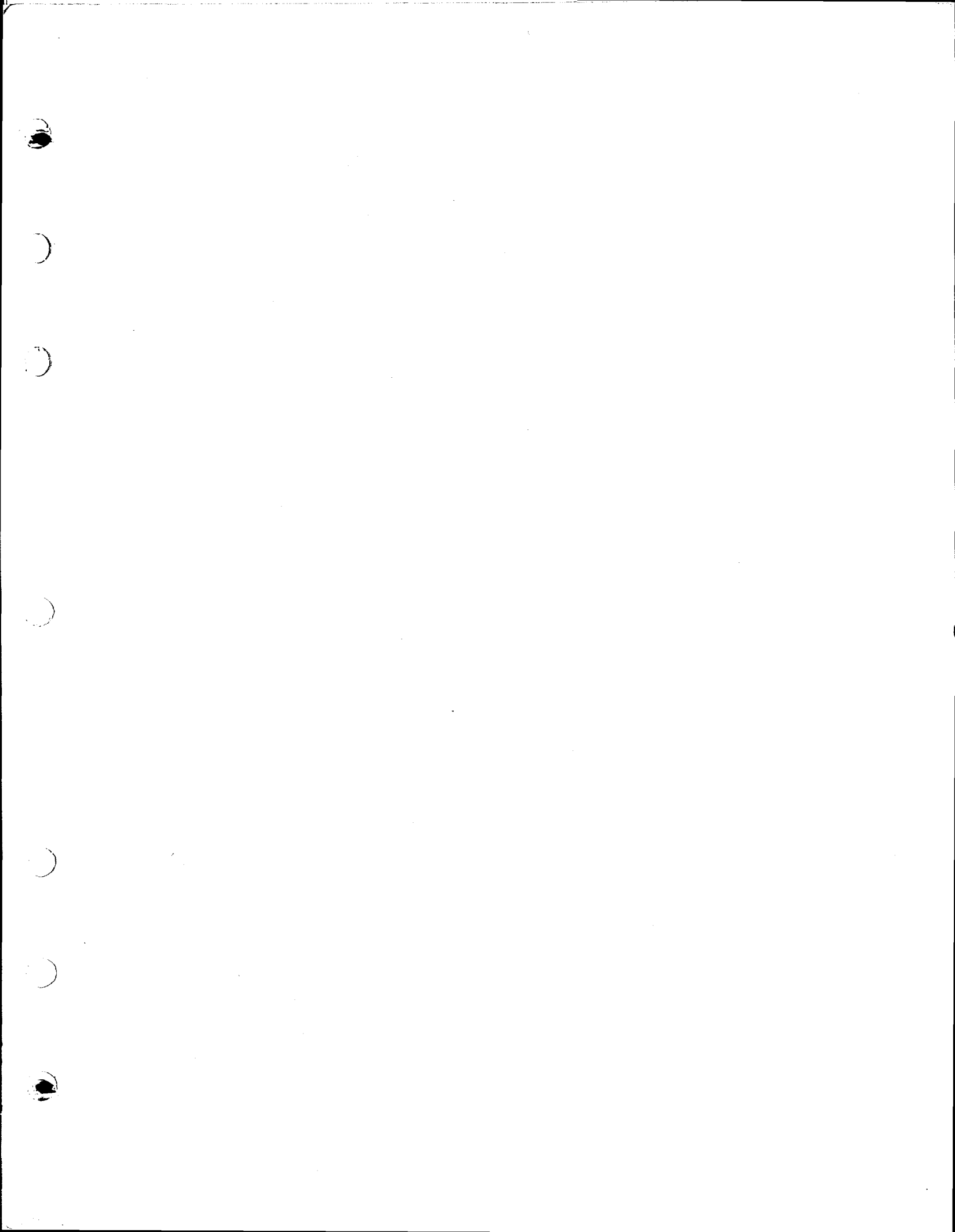
As we see it... what is primarily at issue between the parties is the future political arrangements in South Vietnam. It is argued on both sides that the guiding principle should be the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own destiny. It seems to us that the best way of achieving this is to afford the people of South Vietnam an opportunity to determine, by the test of the free ballot, under what institutions and under what government they wish their affairs to be conducted. We believe that the best way in which the Canadian Government can bring its influence to bear on the Vietnam situation is by doing exactly what we have done....

On April 11, in the External Affairs Committee, I outlined four suggestions or ideas that are in keeping with the Geneva Accords; I suggested procedures for a cease-fire arrangement. I said at the time that I did not believe the climate was right for their acceptance; the reaction in Hanoi has been negative. Hanoi takes the position that there can be no parity of position between the parties, and that first of all there must be an acknowledgment that the United States, as Hanoi puts it, is the aggressor, and this notwithstanding the findings of the Commission in 1962.

While the United States would probably find most of our points acceptable, I believe it would register objection to an approach to de-escalation which begins with mutual disengagement in the Demilitarized Zone coupled with a cessation of the bombing. I think that would be unacceptable to them.... The point I make is that, not only should there be a mutual disengagement in the Demilitarized Zone but that, in all equity, if both sides accept that arrangement, there ought to be a cessation of bombing. Mr. Rusk has not explicitly accepted that.

The Canadian Government is prepared to make its own contribution to the eventual settlement in Vietnam. We envisage that any agreed settlement of the present conflict will make provision for some sort of international presence. That, indeed, will be a very difficult assignment and, if and when it comes, as the former Prime Minister of Britain has put it, it may need to be buttressed by the guarantees of the great powers....

S/C



This speech will be delivered by the Hon. C.M. Drury, Minister of Industry, on behalf of the Hon. Paul Martin who had another engagement.

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
at the Negev Dinner in honour of
Mr. Lazarus Phillips, Montreal, May 25,
6:30 p.m.

"THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST"

It is a great pleasure for me to have an opportunity to address this Negev Dinner honouring Mr. Lazarus Phillips.

Mr. Phillips and I are old friends, and I am therefore especially pleased to associate myself with the many warm and well-deserved tributes which he has received tonight.

As we celebrate the Centennial of Confederation this year, it seems to me only fitting that we should recognize what Mr. Phillips, and men like him, have done to make Canada what it is today.

Throughout his career, Mr. Phillips has been active in the service of his country, his community, and his own part in the Canadian mosaic. To my mind, one could find no finer example of an outstanding Canadian.

Some weeks ago, when I accepted your invitation to speak tonight, there was no way of knowing that this gathering would take place against the background of a grave situation in the Middle East. I am sure you would wish me to say something tonight about Canada's views with respect to this situation, which we regard with deep concern.

As you know, I went to New York last week-end for consultations with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and representatives of interested countries, about the situation. The Canadian position, which I outlined at that time, can be summed up as follows:

1. It is our conviction that all the countries in the area have the right to live in peace, free from threats to their security.

2. We appeal to all countries in the area to act with moderation and restraint, so that there may be a restoration of the equilibrium that has been disturbed by recent events.
3. We believe that the United Nations continues to have a central role to play in the search for peace in the area, and we support the efforts of the Secretary-General to that end.

The Secretary-General went to Cairo on Tuesday, and, we await with hope a report on the results of his visit. In the meantime it has ^{been} our earnest hope also that no member states of the United Nations would take any action which would either prejudice the success of the Secretary General's mission, or worsen the situation.

Yesterday, Canada, in company with Denmark, took the initiative of calling the Security Council into session to consider the situation in the Middle East. We did this in the belief that the Council could make a useful contribution by reinforcing the efforts being made by the Secretary General to preserve peace in the area.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that the Security Council is the agency which, under the United Nations Charter, is specifically charged with responsibility for dealing with situations that threaten the peace. As an elected member of the Security Council this year, Canada is playing a full part in its deliberations, and in private consultations aimed at facilitating agreement among its members, particularly the permanent members.

For Canada, the withdrawal last week of the United Nations Emergency Force, which had helped maintain stability in the Middle East during the ten and one-half years of its existence, was a disturbing occurrence. This was all the more true because of the part that Canada played in establishing and maintaining UNEF over the years.

It has always been assumed that when the host government terminated its consent to a peacekeeping operation that would be an end to it. The United Nations cannot remain where it is not welcome, except by decision of the Security Council, the sole agency which can authorize coercive measures.

In the case of UNEF the situation was complicated by the nature of the settlement which was worked out in 1956 and 1957 by Dag Hammarskjold on the basis of various General Assembly Resolutions. The Force was part of a "package deal" which involved the withdrawal of French, British and Israel forces, the stationing of UNEF on the border between Israel and the United Arab Republic and further measures designed to bring about peaceful conditions in the Gaza Strip and at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba. These various elements were inter-related.

UNEF was, of course, an emergency force. It contributed a great deal to stabilizing the situation and maintaining quiet, yet it would have been unrealistic to expect it to remain in position indefinitely if no solution was found to the political differences which prompted its despatch in the first place.

All this is now past history. We are concerned primarily with the future. A need for an impartial presence such as the United Nations represents, will continue to be indispensable in many parts of the world. As I have already pointed out, Canada believes that the United Nations still has a role to play in restoring equilibrium in the present situation in the Middle East.

One way in which it might do this is through the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. This is essentially an observer group, created by the Security Council, which exercises certain functions under the armistice agreements. This body, which functioned until 1956 on the UAR/Israel frontier, could have its responsibilities revived, perhaps with enlarged functions, on that frontier where it could again act as an international presence, and a United Nations body to help maintain peace in the area.

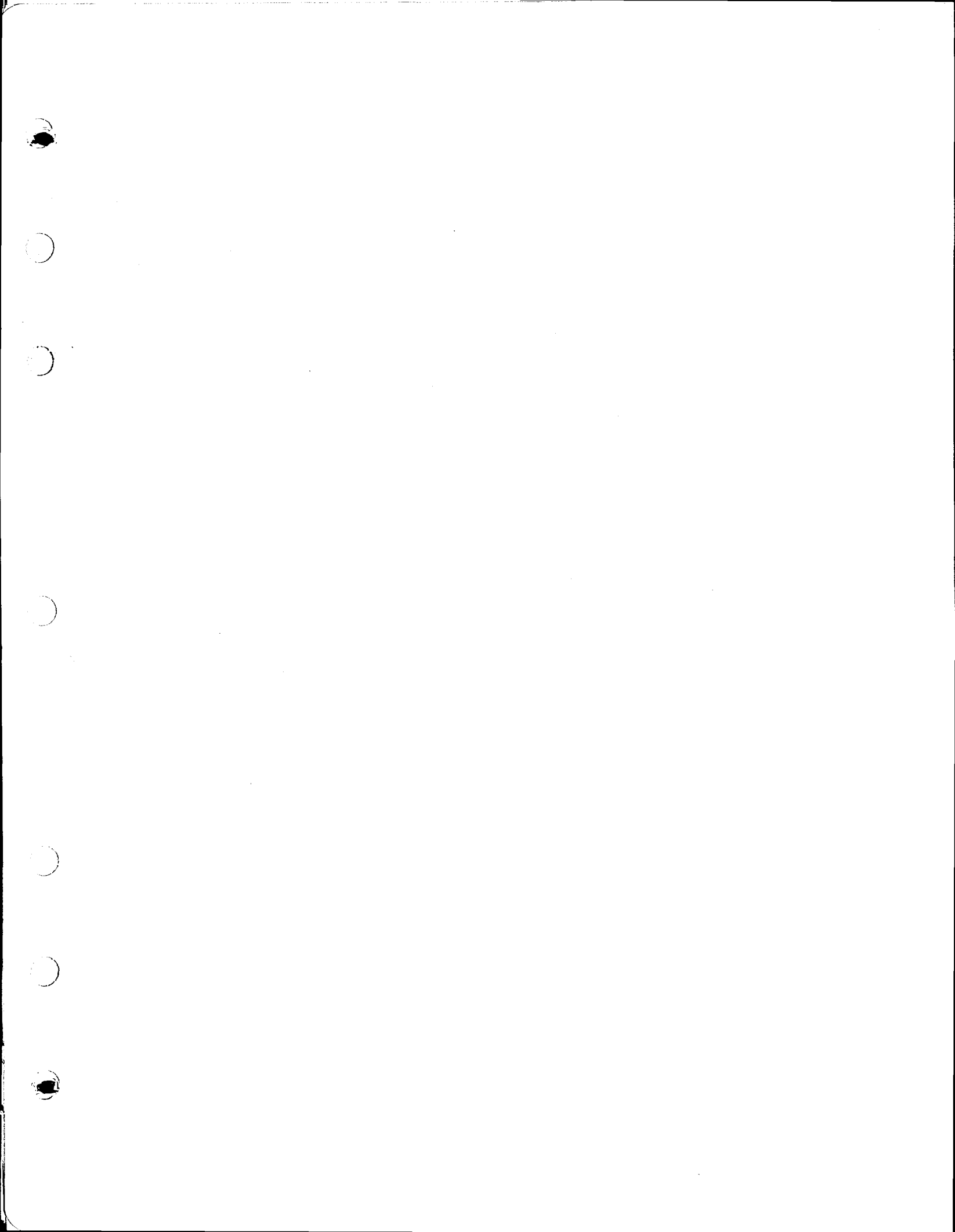
It should be remembered that such a United Nations peacekeeping operation cannot be established without the consent of the parties involved, the host countries, in this case the United Arab Republic and Israel. The permanent members of the Security Council would probably also have to agree.

The basic issue in the situation in the Middle East is, of course, the recognition of Israel's right to live in peace and security. The rejection and repudiation of that basic right has been over the years and is now a source of our danger. It is not the immediate manifestation of that danger, but it certainly is a source of it. So long as Israel's neighbours, or some of them, refuse to

recognize the right of Israel to exist as a state, then we move from one crisis to another. We already have moved from one to another over the last ten or fifteen years.

Israel, of course, also has the basic obligation, which I am sure she accepts, to live without provocation and threat to her neighbours, and in accord with the United Nations decisions which gave her birth.

In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasize that the United Nations has an important part to play in the search for peace in the Middle East, and we shall work through the United Nations to bring this about.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary
of State for External Affairs, at the
Canadian Inter-American Association Dinner,
Ottawa, May 31, 1967, 7:00 p.m.

"CANADA AND LATIN AMERICA"

It is a great pleasure for me to be with you this evening, at this dinner given by the President of the Canadian Inter-American Association for the diplomatic representatives in Canada of the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Association, to its leaders, and to its work which, I am sure, will steadily grow in importance. Organizations such as the Canadian Inter-American Association, representing as it does a wide cross-section of those in Canada who are interested in Central and South America and the Caribbean, perform a most valuable service by adding an extra dimension to Canada's range of contacts with other countries.

Everyone here is, I am sure, well aware of how Canada's relations with Latin America and the Caribbean have so far developed, and what activities are now more or less commonplace. A brief summary of these relations would include the following items:

1. Diplomatic relations with all countries in the hemisphere.
2. A significant trade with many of them, and substantial and growing investments.
3. Development assistance, in the form of loans made through the Inter-American Development Bank, programmes of aid for the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, and export credit financing.
4. A common concern with international affairs, in which there is evidence of a fundamental similarity of outlook on most of the basic issues which face the world community.
5. Increasingly frequent participation in meetings of regional inter-governmental organizations such as the

Economic Commission for Latin America, and in conferences of professional, scientific and other learned societies organized on a hemisphere basis.

With respect to this last item, I would like to note, in passing, that the Fourth Reunion of Central Bank Governors of the American Continent is now taking place near Montreal. We are delighted to have this meeting of hemispheric significance in Canada this year.

I know that interest in the countries of the Americas is quietly growing in Canada; for example, in institutes such as the host organization this evening, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, and several universities, both French and English speaking. With the help of those of us, both Canadians and Latin Americans, who are in a position to increase knowledge and understanding of Latin America in Canada, interest in that part of the world should grow from coast to coast in the years ahead and, I would expect, will significantly increase in the immediate future.

I would like to look forward a little from here and give you some perspective from the Canadian point of view on the future development of Canada's relations with the rest of the hemisphere.

First a word about the question of Canada joining the OAS. The fact that the Canadian Government has not yet decided to apply for membership in the OAS may be puzzling to some interested observers in Latin America. I would nevertheless hope that our attitude may meet with a large measure of understanding

on the part of our Latin American friends, and that they will pay attention to what we are doing and seek to do, even if it falls short of applying for membership in the OAS at present.

It goes without saying that we in Canada are impressed by the constructive manner in which the OAS and its agencies are addressing themselves to the basic issues which confront Latin American countries at this time. I would like to suggest to you that, just as we in Canada respect the OAS, so the Canadian attitude toward the OAS is deserving of respect. It is by no means a negative attitude for we are in fact cooperating with OAS agencies in a number of ways.

The fundamental reason for our not yet having decided to apply for membership in the OAS is our desire to be sure that, in taking on new commitments, we are in a position to meet them fully and effectively. We do not easily assume new obligations and, once we have assumed them, we take them seriously. For my part I have no doubt whatsoever that membership in the OAS is part of the ultimate destiny of Canada as a country of the western hemisphere.

In the meantime we are adopting a pragmatic approach to the OAS and to our relations generally with the American countries. That our interest in the OAS and its work is growing is undeniable. Canada has for many years been a full member of three agencies linked with the OAS. Since 1961 we have sent observers to meetings of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council; during the past two years Canada has been represented at three high-level meetings of leaders of OAS countries; and, as I have already indicated, we are supporting the work of the Inter-American Development Bank.

We are not content with this. We are constantly searching for additional ways in which we can cooperate in a practical manner with other countries in the hemisphere, not only through multilateral channels such as the OAS and its agencies but also on a bilateral basis.

In discussing Canada's external relations in a hemispheric context, I must, of course, make particular reference to the Commonwealth Caribbean, where we have special ties arising from historical and other factors. One of the Commonwealth Caribbean countries has now taken the step of joining the OAS, and others have expressed an interest in doing so. It is, I believe, fitting recognition of the developing contacts between the Commonwealth Caribbean and Latin America that the High Commissioners of the Commonwealth Caribbean countries in Canada have been included in this gathering tonight.

There is nothing in Canada's special relationship with the Commonwealth Caribbean which is in any way exclusive. While we are anxious to do everything we can to strengthen the ties between the Commonwealth Caribbean and Canada, we fully recognize that these ties represent an integral part of our own hemispheric relations, and we welcome the increasing contacts between the independent Commonwealth Caribbean countries and other countries of the hemisphere.

Returning to the subject of the OAS, I would like to say a word about the recent meeting of Heads of State at Punte del Este. We took a great interest in this meeting, at the open sessions of which there was a Canadian representative, and we were greatly impressed by its deliberations and by the possibilities of cooperative progress which it seems to open up. The main objective

established by the meeting, the creation by 1985 of a Latin American Common Market, holds out great promise for the economic advancement of the hemisphere.

We welcome Latin American efforts to further economic development and to increase the capacity of Latin American countries to participate in the growth of world trade through measures of regional cooperation and integration. While the precise implications for Canada of the proposed common market will become clear only as the project evolves, at this stage we take a positive attitude toward this emergent economic grouping which is of great potential importance both for world trade in general and for the future development of our own commercial relations with the participating countries.

A more immediate plan for improving the trading position of developing countries, including the countries of Latin America, received support from President Johnson at Punta del Este. This is the plan, which has long been under discussion, to establish a globalized system of temporary preferences for the products of developing countries in the markets of all developed countries. We recognize the importance of President Johnson's decision to seek a consensus in favour of such a system, and we shall be studying the proposal carefully in the context of our continuing examination of various approaches to the problem of improving the trading opportunities of developing countries.

In conclusion, let me frankly assert one of the main reasons for my conviction that Canada must develop increasingly close relations with Latin America. This is the prospect that, between now and the end of the century, Latin America will become one of the

most influential regions of the world.

The exact shape of things to come in Latin America is no more certain than in any other part of the world. The problems which already face Latin American leaders, and which may well be aggravated by a rapidly rising population as time goes on, are formidable and increasingly pressing. Yet a combination of constructive forces, already apparent, should serve to tip the balance toward success:

1. Sensible domestic policies designed to maintain economic momentum.
2. Readiness to adopt measures of regional economic cooperation which will give strength to all participants.
3. Insistence on non-intervention as the necessary counterpart of the conscientious acceptance of responsibility by governments for the good government of their peoples.
4. Effective cooperation by outside countries and agencies in the economic development of the region.

More than thirty years ago, when I first entered Parliament, I developed a keen interest in Latin America. I have maintained that interest ever since. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction for me to see the growth of our relations with the countries of this hemisphere, a development which, I am sure, will be of great benefit to us all.

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

CORRECTIONS au texte français du discours prononcé par M. Paul Martin, secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, au dîner de l'Association interaméricaine canadienne, le 31 mai 1967 à 7 h. du soir

"LE CANADA ET L'AMÉRIQUE LATINE"

Page 3 - para. 3

En attendant, nous adoptons une attitude pragmatique à l'endroit de l'OEA et dans nos relations courantes avec les pays américains. Il est indéniable que notre intérêt pour l'OEA et son oeuvre va grandissant. Depuis nombre d'années, le Canada est membre de plein droit de trois organismes connexes à l'OEA. Depuis 1961, nous avons envoyé des observateurs à des réunions du Conseil économique et social interaméricain; au cours des deux dernières années, le Canada a été représenté à trois réunions, tenues aux échelons supérieurs, des dirigeants des pays membres de l'OEA. De plus, comme je l'ai indiqué, nous épaulons la Banque interaméricaine de développement.

Page 4 - para. 3

En revenant à l'OEA, je voudrais dire un mot de la réunion récente des chefs d'Etat à Punta del Este. Nous avons porté un vif intérêt à cette assemblée, aux sessions publiques de laquelle assistait un représentant canadien et n'avons pas manqué d'être fort impressionnés de ses délibérations et des perspectives de collaboration et de progrès qu'elle semble ouvrir. L'objectif principal arrêté par l'assemblée, soit la création en 1985 d'un Marché commun d'Amérique latine, promet beaucoup pour le développement économique de l'hémisphère.

PRESS RELEASE



CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE DISCOURS

PRIERE DE VERIFIER

Discours prononcé par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
au dîner de l'Association interaméricaine canadienne,
le 31 mai 1967 à 7 h. du soir

"LE CANADA ET L'AMERIQUE LATINE"

Je suis heureux de me trouver parmi vous ce soir, à ce dîner offert par le président de l'Association interaméricaine canadienne en l'honneur des représentants diplomatiques des pays de l'Amérique latine et des Antilles au Canada.

Je veux profiter de cette occasion pour rendre hommage à l'Association, à ses dirigeants et à l'oeuvre qu'elle accomplit et qui ne manquera pas, j'en suis sûr, de croître en importance. Des organisations comme l'Association interaméricaine, auprès de laquelle se trouvent représentés les divers milieux canadiens qui s'intéressent à l'Amérique centrale, à l'Amérique du Sud et aux Antilles rendent le plus grand service en ajoutant une autre dimension aux contacts du Canada avec les autres pays.

Vous savez tous, j'en suis sûr, comment les relations du Canada avec l'Amérique latine et les Antilles se sont développées jusqu'ici, et quelles activités se sont plus ou moins généralisées. Un bref exposé de ces relations porterait sur les points suivants:

1. Les relations diplomatiques avec tous les pays de l'hémisphère.
2. L'importance du commerce avec ces pays, et les progrès des investissements.
3. L'aide au développement, sous forme de prêts consentis par l'intermédiaire de la Banque interaméricaine de développement, les programmes d'aide destinés aux pays antillais du Commonwealth et l'octroi de crédits à l'exportation.
4. Un intérêt commun à l'égard des affaires internationales, et une évidente similarité de vues touchant la plupart des questions fondamentales qui intéressent la communauté mondiale.
5. Une participation de plus en plus fréquente à des réunions d'organismes régionaux intergouvernementaux, comme la Commission économique pour l'Amérique latine, et à des conférences d'organisations professionnelles

et scientifiques et autres sociétés savantes dont l'activité s'étend à tout l'hémisphère.

En ce qui concerne ce dernier point, j'aimerais mentionner en passant que la quatrième réunion des gouverneurs de la Banque centrale du continent américain a présentement lieu près de Montréal. Nous sommes particulièrement heureux que cette réunion qui intéresse tout l'hémisphère ait lieu cette année au Canada.

Il se manifeste de plus en plus d'intérêt au Canada à l'égard des pays des Amériques. La preuve en est fournie par l'activité d'instituts comme l'association qui est hôte ce soir, l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales, et plusieurs universités de langue anglaise ou française. Avec l'appui de ceux d'entre nous, Canadiens et Latino-américains, qui peuvent susciter une meilleure connaissance et une meilleure compréhension de l'Amérique latine au Canada, l'intérêt à l'égard de cette partie du monde devrait se développer dans tout le Canada, au cours des années à venir, et s'intensifier particulièrement, je l'espère, dans l'avenir immédiat.

J'aimerais maintenant porter mes regards vers l'avenir et vous offrir une perspective du développement futur des relations du Canada avec le reste de l'hémisphère.

Je dirai d'abord quelques mots sur la question de l'entrée du Canada dans l'Organisation des Etats américains. Le fait que le gouvernement canadien n'a pas encore décidé de solliciter son admission auprès de l'OEA peut être source d'étonnement pour certains observateurs en Amérique latine. J'espère néanmoins que nos amis d'Amérique latine comprendront parfaitement notre attitude et qu'ils tiendront compte de ce que nous accomplissons ou cherchons à accomplir même si, pour le moment, nous ne demandons pas à faire partie de l'OEA.

Il va sans dire que nous, Canadiens, sommes impressionnés de la façon constructive dont l'Organisation des Etats Américains et ses organismes affiliés s'attaquent aux difficultés fondamentales que les pays de l'Amérique latine doivent envisager. J'aimerais rappeler que si, d'un côté, le Canada a du respect pour l'OEA, en retour, l'attitude du Canada mérite respect. Il n'y a dans cette attitude rien de négatif, puisque de fait, nous collaborons de bien des manières avec l'OEA et ses organismes affiliés.

La raison essentielle de notre abstention de faire une demande d'adhésion à l'OEA, c'est tout simplement notre désir de nous assurer que, si nous prenons de nouveaux engagements, nous pourrions les honorer pleinement et efficacement. Nous n'assumons pas facilement de nouvelles obligations mais lorsque nous les assumons, nous le faisons sérieusement. Pour ma part, je n'en ai aucun doute, le Canada, comme pays de l'hémisphère occidental, finira par adhérer à l'OEA.

En attendant, nous adoptons une attitude pragmatique à l'endroit de l'OEA et dans nos relations courantes avec les pays américains. Il est indéniable que notre intérêt pour l'OEA et son oeuvre va grandissant. Depuis nombre d'années, le Canada est membre de plein droit de trois organismes connexes à l'OEA. Depuis 1961, nous avons envoyé des observateurs à des réunions du Conseil économique et social interaméricain; au cours des deux dernières années, le Canada a été représenté à trois rencontres au sommet des chefs des pays membres de l'OEA. De plus, comme je l'ai indiqué, nous épaulons la Banque interaméricaine de développement.

Cela ne nous suffit pas. Nous cherchons sans cesse de nouveaux moyens de coopérer, d'une manière pratique, avec les autres pays de l'hémisphère, non seulement par des voies multiples comme celles de l'OEA et de ses organismes affiliés, mais aussi sur une base bilatérale.

En traitant des relations extérieures du Canada sur le plan de l'hémisphère, je dois, naturellement, m'arrêter aux Antilles du Commonwealth, où nous avons des attaches particulières, historiques et autres. L'un des pays des Caraïbes du Commonwealth vient de se joindre à l'OEA et d'autres ont manifesté l'intention d'en faire autant. Un excellent indice des relations de plus en plus cordiales entre les Antilles du Commonwealth et l'Amérique latine, c'est le fait que les hauts-commissaires des Antilles du Commonwealth en poste au Canada font partie de la réunion de ce soir.

Dans les relations particulières qu'entretient le Canada avec les Antilles du Commonwealth, il n'y a rien d'exclusif. Tout en cherchant, par tous les moyens possibles, à resserrer les liens entre les pays des Caraïbes du Commonwealth et le Canada, nous reconnaissons pleinement que ces liens font partie intégrante de nos contacts sur le plan de l'hémisphère et nous sommes enchantés de voir se nouer des relations de plus en plus étroites entre les pays indépendants des Caraïbes du Commonwealth et les autres pays de l'hémisphère.

En revenant à l'OEA, je voudrais dire un mot de la réunion récente des chefs d'Etat à Punta del Este. Nous avons porté un vif intérêt à cette assemblée, à l'ouverture de laquelle assistait un représentant canadien et n'avons pas manqué d'être fort impressionnés de ses délibérations et des perspectives de collaboration et de progrès qu'elle semble ouvrir. L'objectif principal arrêté par l'assemblée, soit la création en 1985 d'un Marché commun d'Amérique latine, promet beaucoup pour le développement économique de l'hémisphère.

Nous savons gré à l'Amérique latine des efforts qu'elle déploie pour accroître le développement économique et augmenter la capacité des pays de l'Amérique latine de participer à l'expansion du commerce mondial par la coopération et l'intégration sur le plan régional. Même si les répercussions qu'aura sur le Canada le marché commun proposé ne prennent forme qu'avec l'évolution du projet lui-même, nous pouvons dès maintenant adopter une attitude favorable à l'égard de ce renouveau économique dont l'importance peut être considérable, tant sur le plan du commerce mondial en général que sur celui du développement que prendront demain nos relations commerciales avec les pays participants.

Lors de son passage à Punta del Este, le Président Johnson a accordé son appui à un programme plus immédiat visant à améliorer la position des pays en voie de développement, notamment ceux de l'Amérique latine, sur le plan des échanges commerciaux. Ce programme, depuis longtemps à l'étude, vise à établir dans les marchés des pays industrialisés un régime global de préférence provisoire pour les produits des pays en voie de développement. Nous nous rendons compte de l'importance que revêt la décision du Président Johnson de chercher à rallier les opinions à ce régime. Nous allons étudier avec soin cette proposition en fonction des autres formules qui font l'objet d'un examen constant et qui visent à améliorer les perspectives commerciales des pays en voie de développement.

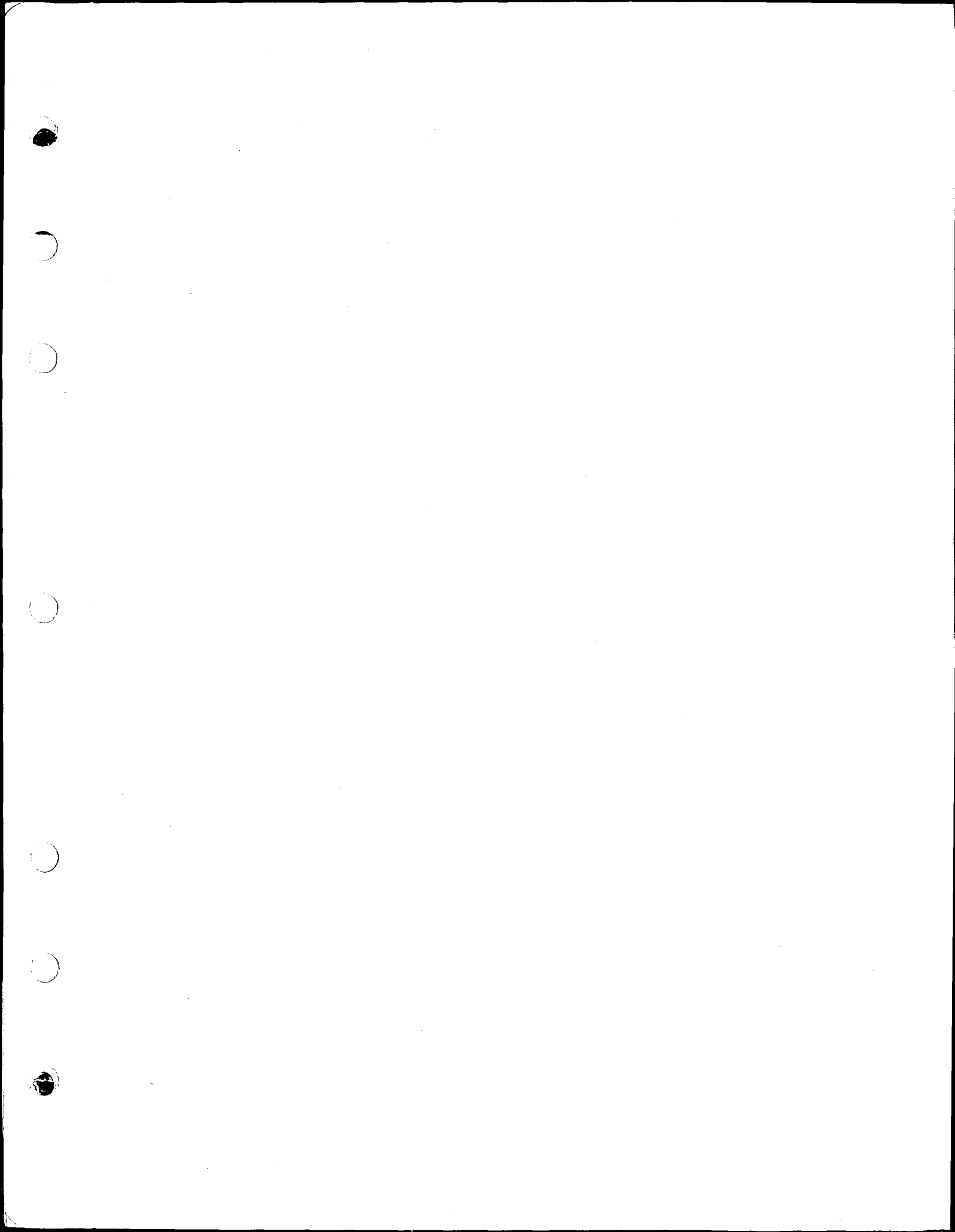
Pour terminer, permettez-moi de vous exposer franchement une des principales raisons pour lesquelles, à mon avis, le Canada doit entretenir des relations de plus en plus étroites avec l'Amérique latine. On prévoit que d'ici la fin du siècle, l'Amérique

latine sera une des régions les plus influentes du monde.

La tournure exacte que prendront les événements en Amérique latine est aussi imprévisible qu'en toute autre partie du monde. Les problèmes auxquels les dirigeants d'Amérique latine doivent déjà faire face et qui peuvent très bien s'aggraver avec l'augmentation rapide de la population, sont énormes et de plus en plus pressants. Toutefois, l'union des forces constructives, déjà manifeste, devrait faire pencher la balance du côté du succès :

1. Des politiques nationales judicieuses destinées à maintenir l'essor économique.
2. L'empressement à adopter des mesures de collaboration économique régionale propres à renforcer la position de tous les participants.
3. L'importance de la non-intervention comme contre-partie nécessaire de l'acceptation consciencieuse de la responsabilité des gouvernements de bien gouverner leurs populations.
4. La collaboration efficace des pays et organismes étrangers au développement économique de la région.

Il y a plus de trente ans, alors que j'entrais au Parlement pour la première fois, je me suis vivement intéressé à l'Amérique latine. Je m'y suis toujours intéressé depuis. C'est donc avec beaucoup de satisfaction que je vois s'accroître nos relations avec les pays de cette hémisphère, relations qui, j'en suis sûr, seront très avantageuses pour tous.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

EXTERNAL AID OFFICE

CANADA

BUREAU DE L'AIDE EXTÉRIEURE

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External
Affairs, at the graduation ceremonies
for the Hotel Dieu Hospital's School
of Nursing, Windsor, Ontario,
Sunday, June 4, 1967, at 3:00 p.m.

"CANADA'S MEDICAL AID PROGRAMMES IN
THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES"

It is a pleasure for me to be with you today, at this graduation ceremony for the Hotel Dieu Hospital's School of Nursing.

I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words about what Canada is doing in the field of health under our programmes of external aid.

No problem which confronts our world is more important than that of raising the living standards in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In this modern era, it has become increasingly clear that a world community which is part rich and part poor cannot be stable or peaceful. His Holiness Pope Paul VI expressed this fact in a simple but profound way, when he said that "development is the new name for peace".

At the present time, Canada's official external aid programmes stand at approximately \$300 million a year. In response to the formidable challenge of international development, it is the government's intention to raise the level of its aid programmes to an amount equal to one percent of Canada's national income. This goal will, we hope, be achieved in the early nineteen-seventies.

The main thrust of our aid programmes must necessarily be aimed at assisting the developing countries to achieve economic development and thus become self-sufficient. Economic development entails the full mobilization not only of physical but of human resources. In countries where the hazards of endemic and epidemic disease are high, there can be no full mobilization of human resources until these hazards have been effectively attacked on the basis of long-term programmes for the eradication of disease, and the establishment of proper facilities for treating them.

The need for medical assistance is particularly apparent in countries caught in the turmoil of conflict, such as Vietnam. A large proportion of our aid to Vietnam has, therefore, been concentrated in the medical field.

The supply of emergency hospital units, which are now being used at ten different Vietnamese provincial civilian hospitals to supplement existing facilities, and an immunization programme for Vietnamese children, are among the projects carried out there.

Another medical aid project in Vietnam which is, I think, particularly worthy of mention is the anti-tuberculosis clinic at Quang Ngai, which provides a badly needed service in a country where tuberculosis is the greatest hazard faced by the people, apart from the war. This clinic is operated by Dr. Alje Vennema, who has been an External Aid adviser there since March of 1965, and who has provided a service not only to tubercular patients but also to the many other people who are suffering from other causes.

Dr. Vennema has now been appointed director of Canadian medical aid services to Vietnam, and in this capacity he is exploring the possibility of extending our immunization programme to all Vietnamese children, and of extending other forms of medical assistance to the civilian population of the country.

I had talks with Dr. Vennema last month, and I asked his advice specifically on the scheme which has been proposed to bring injured Vietnamese children to this country for treatment. His advice to me, coupled with all the information we have been able to obtain from other sources, indicates that the substantial funds

required to bring Vietnamese children to Canada could be put to far better purpose in expanding the facilities and the quality of medical treatment in Vietnam. In addition, it has been pointed out that the environmental change and the shock of readjustment after treatment in Canada would likely complicate the physical ailments suffered by these children.

There has also been considerable discussion concerning the possibility of establishing a child rehabilitation centre in Saigon, along the lines envisaged in the report prepared for the Canadian Government by Dr. Gustav Gingras. While we have been prepared -- indeed, we are anxious -- to provide assistance of this nature, the South Vietnamese authorities have indicated that establishment of such a centre in Saigon would, in its view, have a relatively low priority, inasmuch as it would tend to duplicate existing facilities. Our own assessment confirms this view.

It is probable that a child rehabilitation centre would be more useful if it were located elsewhere than Saigon, in one of the areas of the country that have suffered more as a result of military operations. We are now actively studying this possibility.

Vietnam is not the only country receiving medical aid from Canada. We are providing help for both the sick of mind and of body all across the world. There is, for instance, a medical team of fifty specialists and assistants administering and training staff for a new 270-bed sick children's hospital in Tunis, the capital of Tunisia, which is aimed at reducing the high mortality rate of children there. Even further from home, we have supplied cobalt therapy units to hospitals in Burma, Pakistan, India, and just recently we agreed to send one for a radiotherapy centre in Singapore.

One project that comes to mind, in which a nurse has played a major role, is the psychiatric training programme which we have undertaken in the Caribbean islands of Trinidad and Tobago.

Miss Nessa Leckie, the assistant director of nursing education at the Douglas Hospital in Verdun, Quebec, is just back from a year at St. Ann's Hospital for Mental and Nervous Diseases in Port of Spain. When Miss Leckie arrived, she found the nurses were involved simply in custodial care of their patients because they had little training in therapeutic methods. During the past year she has given the nurses there the skills which will help them restore the health of their patients, and at the same time has given the nurses the enthusiasm to continue to use these skills now that she has gone.

I should add that her work there is not an isolated venture; it is part of a large scheme aimed at making Trinidad and Tobago self-sufficient in psychiatric services by 1970, a scheme for which Canada is also supplying psychologists and social workers.

All of our aid projects are not as large as this, however. We have found that what matters most is not the size of the project, but the quality of the personnel we send out. Sometimes just one person can make a major contribution to the development of a country.

Miss Adella Anderson is a nurse with the qualities that make it possible for her to make such a major contribution. She is a specialist in medical records and was working at the hospital in Salmon Arm, B.C., when she applied to go overseas under our External Aid programme. She was sent to Uganda, to set up a

medical records system there. You appreciate, I am sure, the need for such a comprehensive system, both for planning treatment for patients and for planning the future of the hospital. When Miss Anderson arrived, there were no properly-kept records, and even basic information like the incidence of disease was often impossible to find. She had to convince the doctors and nurses there to give her the information she needed on a regular basis, a difficult task because even necessary paperwork is easily pushed aside when new patients keep continually flooding into the wards. But she persevered, and soon had enough facts collected to start providing the doctors with badly needed information.

The system became so popular that she was asked to set up similar ones in the hospitals outside of Kampala, in the up-country. By the time she finished her work last year there was a proper medical records system operating in hospitals throughout the entire country, and she left Uganda with the knowledge that there was enough trained staff and enough enthusiasm to ensure that the system would continue to operate as it should. In fact, her work had become so well appreciated and so well known that as soon as she returned to Canada we received a request from neighbouring Zambia, asking specifically that we send her out to set up a medical records system in that country. She accepted and is now in Zambia continuing her work.

Another example of a nurse who has done much for the people of Africa is Miss Genevieve Donovan, an operating room nurse from Merrickville, Ontario, who went out to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Balantyre, Malawi, where she and an English nursing tutor organized a school to train nurses, the first such school in the

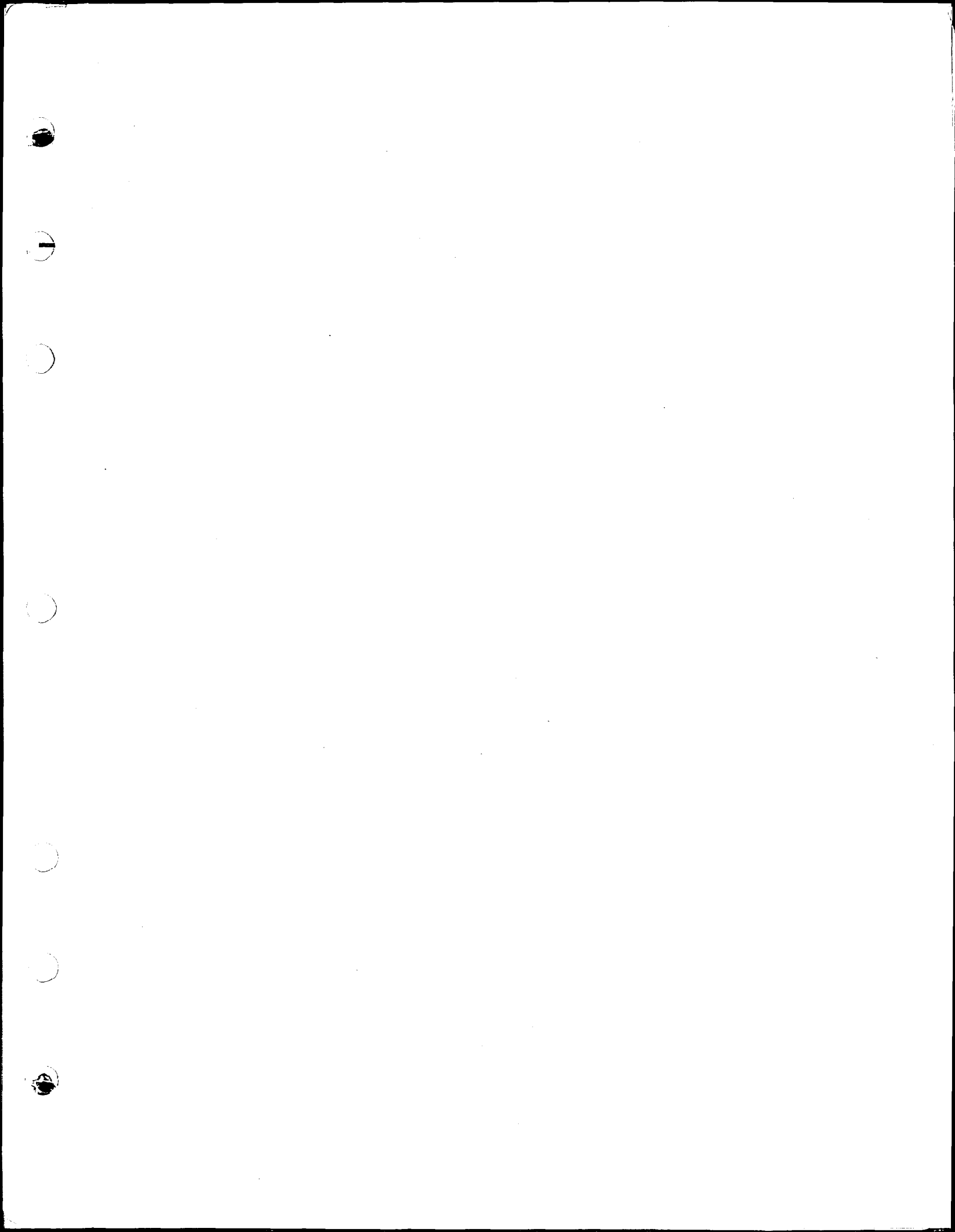
country. To give you some idea of the conditions under which she worked, when she arrived there were only three qualified doctors in a country of 3,000,000 people and nursing training was only available in neighbouring Rhodesia and South Africa. Now, there is a flourishing National School of Nursing from which Miss Donovan's first students will be graduating next year.

Besides Miss Donovan, External Aid sent out seven experienced nurses who worked on the wards of the hospital, raising the standards and acquainting the student nurses with the high calibre of nursing care for which Canadian nurses are known around the world.

With the nursing school well established, Miss Donovan has been switched to another assignment in Malawi. She is now in the process of setting up a system of registering nurses in the country to make sure the high quality of nursing now found is continued. An indication of the dedication such people have for their work, is that Miss Donovan spent the bulk of her biennial vacation last year at the College of Nurses of Ontario, studying the methods they use so she can adapt and apply them to conditions in Malawi.

In this interdependent world of ours, the experience gained by working in other countries can serve to deepen our understanding of the world and its peoples, and thus enrich our own lives. I am sure this has been one of the most important results which has flowed from the cases to which I have referred.

In conclusion, I would like to extend to all of you who are graduating today my sincere best wishes for success in the distinguished profession which you have chosen. The care of the sick and the injured is one of the highest callings open to men or women. Wherever you serve -- here in Windsor, or other parts of Canada, or overseas -- I know you will find immense personal satisfaction in undertaking this great humanitarian task.



PRESS RELEASE

Secretary of State
for External Affairs
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

COMMUNIQUE

Secrétaire d'Etat
aux Affaires extérieures
MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES-EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
to the District Convention of Rotary
Clubs, Calgary, June 9, 1967, 12:00 noon.

"CANADIANISM"

It is a great pleasure and honour for me to be in Calgary today, and to have this opportunity to speak at your District Rotary Convention.

In just 21 days Canada will celebrate its biggest birthday party ever. Because this event is of such importance to us, I would like to take advantage of this occasion to say something about Canada, and what it means to be a Canadian.

On July 1, our country will publicly minister to its memories in Ottawa, in Calgary and throughout the nation. Expo '67 has fired the imagination of all of us, and we will celebrate this birthday unabashedly and unreservedly. Expo '67 has helped to lift the national psychosis off the analyst's couch -- where it has too often been.

There is abroad in Canada today a spirit of heady confidence which is good to see. The world has come to Expo and with every compliment we stand just a little bit taller. And why not? Canada has stood tall in the past too, but we are sometimes driven to forgetfulness by the "Canadian-history-is-dull" school of thought.

Canadians ought to be proud of an East-West country from Atlantic to Pacific built in defiance of geography and economics. Canadians can be proud of the story of the West, a story of determination and enterprise. Canadians can reflect on World War I and be proud of what we accomplished. We were the first to take Vimy Ridge, where others failed. After that war we were on our way as a nation. The Statute of Westminster in 1931 recognized us formally as autonomous and independent, but the fact was already firmly entrenched.

In 1939 we picked ourselves up by our own bootstraps and forged a productive capacity in the next six years which, for a nation of some ten million, astonished the world. We suffered the pangs and felt the glories of Dieppe. We experienced the triumph of D-Day where one out of every five soldiers on those beaches on that day was a Canadian.

Following the peace, we well remember the influx of new Canadians and a new dimension began to take shape in Canada.

Every Canadian shares those memories. He has perhaps lived some of them as a good many in this audience have. He may share them through a member of his family -- or have been told about them, or even read about them.

We all share this tradition. It is these things -- and hundreds and hundreds of others -- which make each of us a Canadian.

These may seem like a lot of words to say "I am a Canadian" but so often we forget to say it at all. In this connection I am reminded of something I saw recently by Hugh MacLennan:

"If it be true that God turns His back on a people that falls in love with itself, there seems no immediate danger that he will turn his back on Canada."

The author has put his finger on a sensitive spot for Canada and a sensitive spot for me as well. There appears to me to be no doubt that Canadian capacity for carping self-criticism cannot be equalled by any other nation in the world. My simple answer to that is that I am bored by the proposition that we have an identity crisis.

Was there any identity crisis when the word came back from France that our boys took Vimy Ridge in 1917? Was there any

identity crisis when the radio waves were crackling with news of Canadian landings on June 6th, 1944? Is there any identity crisis when millions of Canadians huddle around their television sets for the seventh and deciding game of the Stanley Cup finals? Is there any identity crisis when they do the same thing for the Grey Cup final? Was there any identity crisis in the deep sense of personal loss which enveloped the country on the death of Governor General Vanier?

We have many issues to meet in Canada but one of them is not the identity issue.

In my opinion the greatest single problem facing Canada is the problem of national unity. It cannot be avoided, circumvented, ignored or wished away. I must say at once, however, that the situation has now passed the critical stage it was in a few years ago. We are past the climax. The time for a creative breakthrough is now, when ardour can be replaced by accommodation and understanding.

It is my feeling that the moment is ripe and the work has already begun. Paradoxical as it may seem the exchanges between the two founding nations are now franker but less vitriolic. There is now a dialogue instead of a diatribe. There is no use hoping for the good old days - the days when French Canada without revolution, quiet or otherwise, was tranquil but troubled. More troubled perhaps than we knew.

There have been over the years natural differences of outlook between Canadians of French and Anglo Saxon origins. As Canadians it was, is and will be important for us to understand these natural differences of outlook. Many efforts have been made in the

past towards this end. But perhaps we, in the past, were lacking in the candour and frankness between each other that the situation called for.

As one distinguished Canadian said about 20 years ago: "it is no good to gloss over the real things on which we have different ideas". It is true there are expressions of *bonne entente* on both sides, but one cannot build national unity simply on an exchange of compliments. The real compliment between friends is an honest exchange of views in the light of mutual understanding.

The evidence is clear that the two solitudes are beginning to break down. This is so because the growth in the communications media has made such a posture irrelevant -- and almost ludicrous -- in the world of the sixties, and, secondly, because of the growth of a third force in Canada -- Canadians who are neither of French Canadian nor Anglo Saxon origins. The development of this third force has compelled the other two groups in the country to examine their assumptions as to what kind of a Canada we are developing.

These changes in ways and attitudes at a time when Quebec is beginning to show an industrial and urban face to the rest of Canada, spells major changes for all Canadians. While intent at preserving her traditional social, cultural and linguistic values, Quebec has become more outward looking. It has become more determined in its resolve to see that conditions are such that Quebecers can work together with their fellow Canadians on the basis of complete equality towards the attainment of our national objectives, and can thus make their distinct contribution to the common good of the whole of Canada.

We see a new visage of old Quebec. She is crying out for a place in Canada that is vibrant and real, in tune with the sixties. Her view of her role sometimes seems to conflict with how other provinces view her role, or even in federal-provincial matters how I view her role in my job. But such differences that may arise should not cause the faint hearted among us to wring our hands and despair for unity.

There has always been a struggle, in a constitutional sense, over the powers divided in the British North America Act between the federal powers and the provincial powers. These struggles are not particularly French-English. Sir Wilfred Laurier upheld the provincial point of view when he felt it was right, although he was a Federal Prime Minister. Sir Oliver Mowat in Ontario was not a French-Canadian; nor was, more recently, Angus L. MacDonald of Nova Scotia. Both of these men among others fought hard and effectively for the provincial and regional point of view of the Canadian constitution.

It is, then, to take a very short view of history to identify Federal-Provincial struggles over constitutional powers solely as a French-English problem. It is part of the pendulum of history from which these struggles spring.

Of course, I would like to add that people in western Canada generally do not tend to look upon Federal-Provincial constitutional struggles as French-English problems to the same degree that exists in Ontario and Quebec and to a lesser degree in the Maritimes. But the basic point of these struggles is this. They provide a certain dynamic tension. These tensions flow from real differences held by men in government who see their responsibilities from the national viewpoint in one case and from a regional viewpoint

in the other. But these men only have one boss -- the Canadian citizen. He is a citizen of Ottawa and a citizen of Calgary.

Now that we are getting under way in our centennial year, perhaps some of you will recall the reservations some Canadians had a few years ago as the budgetary proposals for this year and Expo were first announced. Now that centennial is here, now that Expo is here, were we not wise to give ourselves this birthday party? We needed it, and we've gotten full value for every dollar spent.

Had Joseph Howe been alive in the last two years, when this matter of public expenditure was debated, he would not have taken such a narrow view. Inscribed on a tablet to his memory are the following words, his own:

"A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past."

To my mind those words give an eloquent reason why we have had a Centennial Year, why we spent the money we did on Expo, and why Canada deserves the best birthday party she can have.

I would like now to accept Howe's advice and refer to one of the "glories of the past". This man came after Howe yet he has been called, by one of his biographers, the First Canadian. He has been referred to as "the most Knightly, the most Kingly figure that ever trod the stage of Canadian public life". The difficulties of his office were immense. The two founding races each looked at his every move, his every decision to see if he went too far over to the "other side". He walked a tight rope upon which the political

viability of this country depended at a very important stage in its development. He lived to see his part finished. Laurier -- and there is a majestic ring in that simple last name because there was a majesty about the man -- dedicated his life to national unity in Canada.

Speaking shortly after his return from a visit to Europe, he used these words in referring to Canada:

"I had the privilege of visiting one of those marvels of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith, has made a harmonious whole, in which granite, marble, oak and other materials were blended. This cathedral is the image of the nation that I hope to see Canada become. As long as I live, as long as I have power to labour in the service of my country, I shall repel the idea of changing the nature of its different elements. I want the marble to remain marble. I want the granite to remain granite, I want the oak to remain oak ... I want to take all the elements and build a nation that will be foremost amongst the great powers of the world".

This is the imagery of a great Canadian. To read those lines dispells the dull dicta about Canadian history I spoke of earlier. Were Laurier alive today he would want the Anglo Saxons to remain Anglo Saxon, the French to remain French, the Ukrainian to remain Ukrainian, the German to remain the German, the Italian to remain the Italian, the Greek to remain the Greek and even the Americans to remain the Americans -- especially here in Calgary.

But above all Laurier would have said be Canadians --
immerse yourselves in the grander design, in the Canadian cathedral.

Laurier gave us a direction. Canada would be a
mosaic, not a melting pot. Our nationality was not created, it
evolved. We were not born; we were made. We can fashion ourselves
into any kind of a nation we choose to be.

The choice of what kind of a nation we want to be
cannot be divorced from the question of unity. Geography has made
regions. Extremists make divisions. Immigration gave us races.
Extremists make racism. The future then is very much in our hands.

A vibrant and articulate Quebec in the national public
life of Canada is, in my view, indispensable, for it gives a
linguistic buffer against the however-friendly, cultural bear hugs
of our neighbours to the south. In this sense we must guard against
cultural inundation.

The overflow of the communications media into Canada
is obvious. There are now some 200 million Americans who have
established to the south of us a very dynamic and vital society.
The addition to their population of 20 million Canadians who would
think in identical patterns with them would add little to their
overall views, and deny to mankind whatever benefit our independent
views have.

I believe I know our neighbours to the south, and I
am confident in saying that such a cultural inundation would be the
last thing they would like to see. It seems to me that as long as
Canadians are aware of the possibility of a cultural take over, they
will be prudent enough to take all necessary steps to prevent its
becoming a reality.

In this context it is amusing to recall that Stephen Leacock, the great Canadian humourist, once said that Canadians were so busy convincing Englishmen that they were not Americans, and they had to spend so much time in persuading Americans they were not Englishmen, that they had no time left to be Canadians.

These have been some of the things in Canada's past that have made Canada the great country I consider it to be. But what of the future? What does it hold for us? I am not going to hold any brief for myself as a soothsayer. There are so many new ideas being discussed today that it is difficult to do an honest day's work behind a desk and still keep up with the new ideas. But it is obvious that some of them are going to be very important for us as Canadians.

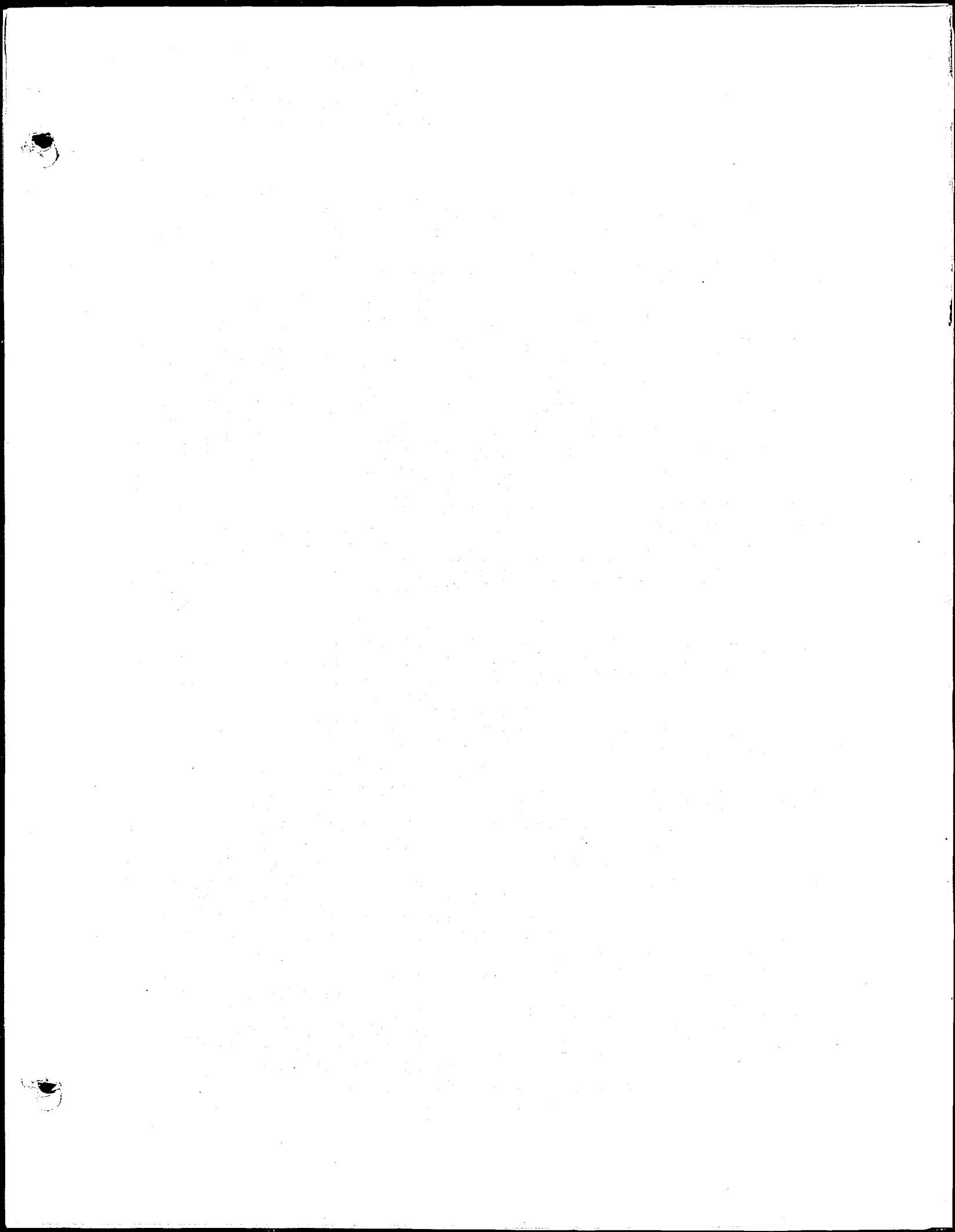
The problems brought about because of the achievements of the society of affluence are obvious. The restructuring of our society will occur to some degree with the growth of technological change, automation and cybernation. The changes in our population make-up, the fact that the median age of our population keeps getting younger and younger, and the prevalence of such phrases in the media as "relevancy gap", used to describe what is presented as a complete dichotomy between the views of anyone over 30 and anyone under 30, reveal the importance of these changes. There are the problems raised by sociologists who feel that some men in a modern, disassociated and alienated environment end up with a diminished quality to their lives.

We still have some residual problems from the social welfare side of Canadian life. We still need wars on poverty. We still need regional economic development programmes for certain hard core unemployment areas. And we will still need to adjust all our existing programmes and institutions to meet changing needs and conditions.

These would appear to be some of the problems facing Canada in the future. Judged by its past Canada also faces a brilliant future.

It faces a future of increased population, bigger and more attractive cities, especially at the center core of these cities, personal incomes increasing in real terms, expanded international trade, and highly developed and efficient trans-continental transportation and communications network.

There is no need to be timorous as we face the future. Macdonald, our first Prime Minister, and the Fathers of Confederation could not have been timorous or they would not have started. Laurier, later in our history, could not have been timorous or he would have quit. Canada was not timorous in 1917. Canada was not timorous with Expo '67. And Canada will not be timorous on July 1st, 1967 or during the next 100 years.



file

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Press Gallery
Mr. Rau (African & M.E.)
Mr. Pearson (UN.)
Mr. Collins (USSEA)

DE PAR
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PST102 JUN15

FOLLOWING IS MIDEAST SECTION OF ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED TODAY BY
SSEA TO THE ASSOC DE LA PRESSE DIPLO FRANCAISE AT 1400 HOURS
IN PARIS: QUOTE

OF COURSE, CDA HAS NO RPT NO HISTORICAL TIES WITH THE MIDEAST,
LIKE FRANCE HAS, NOR DO WE HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES THERE OF A TRADI-
TIONAL NATURE. FOR EXAMPLE, MIDEAST OIL PRODUCTION AND NAVIGATION
IN THE SUEZ CANAL DO NOT RPT NOT CONCERN US AS DIRECTLY AS THEY
DO OTHER COUNTRIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, CDA HAS BEEN DIRECTLY INVOLVED,
THROUGH THE UN, WITH THE PALESTINE QUESTION FROM THE MOMENT THE UN
WAS SEIZED WITH IT. IN 1956, OUR PRIME MINISTER, MR PEARSON, MADE
A VERY SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE CREATION OF A UN EMERGENCY FORCE.
A SUBSTANTIAL CDN PARTICIPATION TO THAT FORCE WAS MAINTAINED UNTIL
ITS RECENT WITHDRAWAL. THIS YEAR WE HAVE A VERY SPECIAL RESPONSIBI-
LITY ARISING OUT OF CDAS MEMBERSHIP ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL.
AND CDA IS ABOVE ALL INTERESTED BECAUSE OF THE DANGER FOR WORLD
PEACE CREATED BY EVENTS IN THAT AREA.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THIS CRISIS ARE WELL KNOWN. I SHALL
MENTION IN PASSING ONLY ONE ELEMENT WHICH HAS CONCERNED CDNS MORE
THAN OTHERS BECAUSE OF OUR NOW TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING ROLE.
I AM THINKING OF THE HASTY WITHDRAWAL OF THE UN EMERGENCY FORCE,
WHICH HAD MADE AN EXEMPLARY CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE FOR MORE THAN
TEN YEARS.

WITHOUT CONTESTING THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF ANY COUNTRY TO WITHDRAW
ITS CONSENT TO THE PRESENCE OF SUCH A FORCE ON ITS TERRITORY,
IT CANNOT RPT NOT BE DENIED THAT THE DEPARTURE OF UNEF ACCELERATED
THE WORSENING OF THE SITUATION AND WEAKENED THE UN PRESENCE JUST
AT THE TIME WHEN IT WAS MOST NEEDED.

FROM THIS UNFORTUNATE EPISODE WE CONCLUDE THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY
IN THE FUTURE TO BASE SUCH FORCES ON FIRMER FOUNDATIONS. WE WILL
HAVE TO BE SURE BEFOREHAND THAT THE UN IS CONSULTED ON THE ULTIMATE
FATE OF THE FORCES IT ESTABLISHES.

BUT WHAT IS THE SITUATION TODAY? TERRITORIES HAVE CHANGED HANDS.
NO RPT NO ONE--NEITHER THE GREAT POWERS NOR RPT NOR THE MIDDLE
AND SMALL POWERS NOR RPT NOR THE UN--WAS ABLE TO PREVENT WHAT HAS
HAPPENED. TODAY, ISRAEL DOES NOT RPT NOT FEEL MUCH OBLIGATION TOWARDS
ANY OF THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RESENTMENT OF THE ARAB POPULA-
TIONS TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE WEST IS AT A NEW HEIGHT. THE BREAK OF
DIPLO RELATIONS WITH USA AND BRIT BY MANY ARAB COUNTRIES IS JUST
ANOTHER SIGN OF THIS SITUATION. ALL IN ALL, WE ARE FACING ONE OF THE
MOST SERIOUS INTERNATL SITUATIONS SINCE 1945. NOW THAT A CEASEFIRE
HAS COME INTO EFFECT, WE FACE AN EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TASK: THE
OPENING OF A NEW SEARCH FOR A LASTING POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.
AND WHERE DO WE START?

UNTIL THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AND ITS RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE AND
SECURITY HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE ARAB STATES, THE MIDEAST WILL
BE CONFRONTED WITH THE DANGER OF A REPETITION OF THE EVENTS OF
1948-49, OF 1956, AND OF LAST WEEK. IF WE LIMIT OURSELVES TO THIS
QUESTION ALONE, WE CAN SEE THAT THE REALITIES OF THE CURRENT SITUATION
MAKE IT EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT EVEN TO BEGIN PROGRESS TOWARD SUCH

PAGE TWO PST102

A SETTLEMENT, AND THERE IS MORE TO IT: THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFLICT IS NOT RPT NOT SUCH AS TO MAKE THE ARAB COUNTRIES AMENABLE TO THE THESIS THAT ISRAEL HAS A RIGHT TO CONTINUED EXISTENCE IN PEACE AND SECURITY. NOR RPT NOR IS IT LIKELY TO BRING THEM TO ACCEPT THE NECESSITY OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, ON WHICH THE ISRAELIS, NOW IN A STRONG POSITION, WILL UNDOUBTEDLY INSIST. ANOTHER SERIOUS COMPLICATION IS THAT THE USSR WILL BE VIGOROUSLY ESPOUSING THE ARAB POSITION THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE DENIED THE FRUITS OF WHAT THEY CALL AGGRESSION, AND THAT THE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING SHOULD BE RESTORED IN ITS ENTIRETY. THIS IS A POSITION WHICH ALREADY APPEALS TO MANY AFROASIAN NATIONS. ISRAEL, FOR ITS PART, WILL FEEL LITTLE OBLIGATION TO HELP ANY NEGOTIATOR WHO, IN THE UN OR ELSEWHERE, WILL NATURALLY BE MORE CONCERNED TO RESTORE THE SITUATION TO ONE OF RELATIVE STABILITY THAN TO ADVANCE ISRAEL'S PARTICULAR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES.

I CONCLUDE THAT, GIVEN ALL THE DEEP-SEATED ANTAGONISMS AND THE CONFLICTING INTERESTS, THE ONLY HOPE OF PROGRESS LIES IN A COMBINATION OF NEGOTIATIONS AND APPEALS TO COMMON SENSE AND REASON, AND THAT THIS WILL DEPND IN LARGE PART ON AGREEMENT AMONG THE GREAT POWERS. THEY ARE THE ONLY ONES ABLE TO OFFER SOME GUARANTEE WHICH WILL INSPIRE CONFIDENCE. THE FRENCH EFFORTS TO BRING THE GREAT POWERS TOGETHER ARE COMMENDABLE, AND I BELIEVE THAT FRANCE SHOULD PERSIST IN THIS DIRECTION.

IN THE SITUATION I HAVE DESCRIBED, AND TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE IMMED CAUSES OF THE HOSTILITIES, I FEEL THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN PRESSING TASKS, ALL INTER-RELATED, WHICH OUGHT TO BE UNDERTAKEN.

FIRST, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF BRINGING ABOUT WITHDRAWAL OF THE ARMED FORCES OF ALL THE BELLIGERENTS. TOGETHER WITH OTHER ASPECTS WHICH I WILL MENTION, THIS IS ONE KEY ELEMENT IN WORKING TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS AND A LASTING SETTLEMENT.

SECONDLY, AS IT IS CLEAR THAT SUCH A SETTLEMENT IS NOT RPT NOT AN IMMED PROSPECT, SOME TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE. MORE PARTICULARLY, A UN PRESENCE OF SOME KIND WILL BE REQUIRED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDERS. THERE WILL BE NO RPT NO PEACE IF BOTH SIDES ARE LEFT TO FACE EACH OTHER WITHOUT SOME IMPARTIAL AGENCY INTERPOSED. THIS WILL CERTAINLY REQUIRE CONCESSIONS ON BOTH SIDES. YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT IN THE PAST ISRAEL HAS ALWAYS BEEN RELUCTANT TO ALLOW THE PRESENCE, ON ITS SIDE OF THE BORDER WITH EGYPT, OF THE UN TRUCE SUPERVISORY AGENCY.

IF CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOUR A CONTINUING UN PRESENCE IN THE MIDEAST FOR THIS PURPOSE, I THINK IT WILL BE EASIER TO BUILD ON EXISTING FOUNDATIONS. AN EXPANDED UNTSO-TYPE OF OPERATION, FUNCTIONING UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WOULD HAVE A FIRMR BASIS OF AUTHORITY AND OPERATION THAN UNEF, WHICH CAME INTO BEING THROUGH A RESLN OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT, FOR ALL COUNTRIES, OF PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF TIRAN IS ALSO AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN ANY SETTLEMENT. WE HOLD THAT NAVIGATION THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL SHOULD ALSO BE FREE

PAGE THREE PST102

TO ALL NATIONS, INCLUDING ISRAEL. THIS IS A MATTER OF RESPECTING THE PROVISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE CANAL.

WE CANNOT RPT NOT HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDEAST IF WE DO NOT RPT NOT FIND A SOLUTION TO STILL ANOTHER PROBLEM: THE PALESTINE REFUGEES. IT IS MOST DESIRABLE THAT THESE REFUGEES SHOULD NOT RPT NOT IN FUTURE BE A PAWN OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. THE UNRWA HAS FULFILLED A MOST USEFUL FUNCTION IN PROVIDING ESSENTIAL ASSISTANCE TO THESE REFUGEES. CDAS CONTRIBUTION COMES IN THIRD PLACE, AFTER THE USA AND BRIT. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE NOT RPT NOT BEEN ABLE TO FIND EFFECTIVE MEANS TO MEET THE GRIEVANCES OF THESE PEOPLE WHICH ARE ENDORSED BY ALL THE ARAB WORLD. THE RECENT HOSTILITIES HAVE CERTAINLY ADDED TO BOTH THEIR NUMBERS AND THEIR TROUBLES. A VERY HIGH PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SOLVING THIS PROBLEM IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE, INCLUDING RESETTLEMENT IN OTHER COUNTRIES AND THE RETURN OF A CERTAIN NUMBER TO ISRAEL. OF COURSE, IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO CONSIDER THIS QUESTION WITHOUT THINKING OF FUTURE SCHEMES OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. IT WOULD ALSO BE NAIVE TO BELIEVE THAT A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND FOR THE REFUGEES WITHOUT WORKING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE OF THIS ISRAELI-ARAB ISSUE.

FINALLY, I BELIEVE THAT THE ABSENCE OF A SOLUTION TO ALL THESE PROBLEMS HAS LED TO AN ARMS RACE IN THE MIDEAST. BESIDES HAVING A DEBILITATING EFFECT ON THE ECONOMIES OF THE REGION, THIS INFLATION OF MILITARY POWER HAS ITSELF PRECIPITATED EVENTS, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT SUPPLIER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THE GREAT POWERS, SHOULD TRY TO ARRIVE AT AN UNDERSTANDING WHICH WOULD HELP PREVENT A RECURRENCE OF THIS UNBALANCE AND OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT NOW CONFRONT US. THIS IS A PRECONDITION FOR ANY ENDEAVOUR TO IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE REGION.

I WILL NOT RPT NOT GO INTO THE OTHER PROBLEMS INVOLVED, SUCH AS THE QUESTION OF THE HOLY PLACES, SO IMPORTANT FOR THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD, AND THE QUESTION OF THE WATERS OF THE JORDON RIVER. BUT, BEFORE GOING ON TO THE NEXT TOPIC OF MY ADDRESS, I SHOULD LIKE TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF REOPENING MUTUAL COMMUNICATIONS AND UNDERSTANDING WITH THE ARAB WORLD, AS WELL AS THE VERY SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY WHICH RESTS ON ALL THOSE WHOSE RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS HAVE NOT RPT NOT BEEN AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CRISIS. THEY WILL HAVE TO WORK ON FINDING A JUST AND EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. INSTEAD OF BEING REBUFFED BY ILL FEELINGS ON ONE SIDE, OR BY EXCESSIVE DEMANDS ON THE OTHER, WE MUST ALL CALL FOR MODERATION.

WE CANNOT RPT NOT OVERLOOK THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUING CONFRONTATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, EVEN IF IT IS ONLY A QUESTION OF WORDS SO FAR. FRANCE, WITHIN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE OTHER GREAT POWERS TO GET THE AGREEMENT WHICH LED TO A UNANIMOUS RESLN ASKING THE TWO SIDES TO CEASE FIRE. BECAUSE OF THE RELATIONS FRANCE HAS WITH ALL NATIONS AND BECAUSE OF HER CONCILIATORY SPIRIT BASED ON REASON AND OBJECTIVITY, SHE IS IN A POSITION TO HELP REESTABLISH THAT PEACE AND COEXISTENCE WITHOUT WHICH THE MIDEAST CANNOT RPT NOT DEVELOP AND REGAIN ITS PLACE IN THE WORLD. AS FAR AS CDA IS CONCERNED, WE WILL USE ALL OUR RESOURCES, INCLUDING OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE UN, IN WORKING ON THIS LONG, HARD TASK OF FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION.

UNQUOTE

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Press Gallery
Mr. Pearson (U.N.)
Mr. Collins (USSEA)
Mr. Rau (A. & M.E.)

DE PAR

P 151049Z

TEP102 JUN15

SECTION SUR LE MOYEN-ORIENT DE L'ALLOCATION DONNEE PAR LE MINISTRE
A 1400 HEURES AUJOURD'HUI HEURE DE PARIS A L'ASSOCIATION DE LA
PRESSE DIPLO FRANCAISE SUIT: CIT

LE CDA NEST EVIDEMMENT PAS, COMME LA FRANCE, LIE AU MOYEN-ORIENT
PAR DES ATTACHES HISTORIQUES. IL NY A PAS NON PLUS DES INTERETS
AUSSI SUBSTANTIELS, NI DES RESPONSABILITES TRADITIONNELLES. PAR
EXEMPLE, L'ACCES A LA PRODUCTION PETROLIERE DU MOYEN-ORIENT ET LA
NAVIGATION MARITIME A TRAVERS LE CANAL DE SUEZ NOUS TOUCHENT MOINS
DIRECTEMENT QUE D'AUTRES PAYS. PAR CONTRE, LE CDA FUT INTIMEMENT MELE,
PAR L'INTERMEDIAIRE DES NATIONS UNIES, ET DES QUE CELLES-CI EN FURENT
SAISIES, A LA QUESTION DE PALESTINE. EN 1956, M. PEARSON, NOTRE PREMIER
MINISTRE, CONTRIBUA DE FACON TOUTE PARTICULIERE A LA CREATION DE
LA FORCE D'URGENCE DES NATIONS UNIES. UNE SUBSTANTIELLE PARTICIPATION
CDN A CETTE FORCE FUT MAINTENUE JUSQUA SON RECENT RETRAIT. CETTE
ANNEE, UNE RESPONSABILITE TOUTE SPECIALE INCOMBE AU CDA EN VERTU
DE SA PRESENCE AU CONSEIL DE SECURITE. CEST AUSSI ET SURTOUT LE
DANGER SUSCITE POUR LA PAIX DU MONDE PAR LES EVENEMENTS AU MOYEN-
ORIENT QUI INCITE LE CDA A S'INTERESSER A CETTE REGION.

LA GENESE ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE CETTE CRISE VOUS SONT CONNUS.
JE NE VEUX EN RETENIR ICI EN PASSANT QU'UN ELEMENT QUI NOUS A TOUCHE
DE PLUS PRES QUE D'AUTRES EN RAISON DE NOTRE ROLE, MAINTENANT
TRADITIONNEL, DANS LE DOMAINE DU MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX. JE PENSE AU
RETRAIT PRECIPITE DE LA FORCE D'URGENCE DES NATIONS UNIES, CETTE
FORCE QUI PENDANT PLUS DE 10 ANS AVAIT CONTRIBUE DE FACON EXEMPLAIRE
A LA PAIX.

SANS NIER LE DROIT SOUVERAIN D'UN PAYS A RETIRER SON ASSENTIMENT
A LA PRESENCE D'UNE TELLE FORCE SUR SON TERRITOIRE, QUI POURRAIT
CONTESTER QUE LE RAPPEL DE LA FUNU NAIT ACCELERE LA DEGRADATION
DE LA SITUATION, NAIT AFFAIBLI LA PRESENCE DES NATIONS UNIES AU
MOMENT OU ELLE ETAIT LE PLUS NECESSAIRE?

NOUS TIENS DE CE MALENCONTREUX EPISODE LA CONCLUSION QU'IL FAUDRA
A L'AVENIR ASSEoir DE TELLES FORCES SUR DES BASES PLUS SOLIDES.
IL FAUDRA S'ASSURER A L'AVANCE QUE LES NATIONS UNIES SOIENT CONSULTES
SUR LE SORT A RESERVER AUX FORCES QUELLES AURONT MISES SUR PIED.

MAIS OU EN SOMMES-NOUS AUJOURD'HUI? DES TERRITOIRES ONT CHANGE DE
MAINS, NI LES GRANDES PUISSANCES, NI LES MOYENNES OU PETITES, NI
L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES NONT PU PREVENIR CE QUI SEST
PASSE. AUJOURD'HUI, ISRAEL SE SENT TRES PEU DOBLIGATIONS ENVERS
LES NATIONS UNIES OU LES AUTRES. D'AUTRE PART, LE RESSENTIMENT DES
POPULATIONS ARABES A LEGARD D'ISRAEL ET DE L'OCCIDENT A ATTEINT UN
NOUVEAU SOMMET. LA RUPTURE DES RELATIONS DIPLOMATES DE MAINS PAYS
ARABES AVEC LES ETATS UNIS ET LA GRANDE BRETAGNE NEN EST QUE LE
REFLET. NOUS SOMMES FACE A L'UNE DES SITUATIONS INTERNATIONALES LES PLUS
DIFFICILES DEPUIS 1945. MAINTENANT QU'UN CESSER-LE-FEU EST ENTRE
EN VIGUEUR, IL NOUS RESTE LA TACHE LA PLUS ARDUE: METTRE EN MARCHÉ

PAGE DEUX TEP102

LE PROCESSUS DE RECHERCHE DUN REGLEMENT POLITIQUE. ET PAR OU COMMENCER?

JUSQUA CE QUE LES ETATS ARABES RECONNAISSENT L'EXISTENCE D'ISRAEL ET SON DROIT DE VIVRE EN PAIX ET SECURITE, LE MOYEN-ORIENT SERA LA SCENE DE SITUATIONS DANGEREUSES POUVANT AMENER LA REPETITION DES EVENEMENTS TRAGIQUES DE 1948-49, DE 1956, ET DE LA SEMAINE DERNIERE. MEME SI NOUS NE NOUS EN TENIONS QU'A CE SEUL POINT, IL FAUDRAIT ADMETTRE QUE LES REALITES DE LA SITUATION PRESENTE RENDENT TRES DIFFICILES MEME LA MISE EN MARCHÉ DE LA PHASE PRELIMINAIRE DUN REGLEMENT. IL Y A PLUS ENCORE: LE SORT DES ARMES N'EST CERTES PAS DE NATURE A AMENER LES PAYS ARABES A ACCEPTER LA THESE QU'ISRAEL A LE DROIT A LA PAIX ET A LA SECURITE. IL NE LES INCITERA PAS NON PLUS A ACCEPTER LA NEGOTIATION DIRECTE SUR LAQUELLE LES ISRAELIENS, MAINTENANT EN POSITION FORTE, INSISTENT A NOUVEAU. UNE AUTRE COMPLICATION GRAVE, C'EST L'APPUI VIGOUREUX DE LA POSITION ARABE PAR L'URSS ET L'INSISTENCE DE CETTE DERNIERE QU'ON NE PEUT PERMETTRE A ISRAEL DE S'APPROPRIER LES FRUITS DE CE QUELLE CONSIDERE SON AGRESSION ET QUE LA SITUATION DANS SON ENTIER DOIT ETRE RAMENEE A CELLE QUI PREVALEAIT AVANT L'OUVERTURE DES HOSTILITES. CERTAINS PAYS DU TIERS MONDE D'AFRIQUE ET D'ASIE INCLINENT DEJA DANS CETTE DIRECTION. IL NE FAUT PAS S'ATTENDRE EN OUTRE A CE QU'ISRAEL CONSIDERE QU'IL SERA DANS SON INTERET D'AIDER CES NEGOCIATEURS QUI, A LONGU OU AILLEURS, SERONT NATURELLEMENT PLUS INTERESSES A LA RESTAURATION DUNE STABILITE RELATIVE QU'A L'AVANCEMENT DES OBJECTIFS NATIONAUX ISRAELIENS.

J'EN CONCLUS, ETANT DONNE LES ANTAGONISMES PROFONDS ET LES INTERETS EN CONFLIT, QUE LE SEUL ESPOIR RESIDE EN UNE COMBINAISON DE NEGOCIATIONS ET D'APPELS AU BON SENS ET A LA RAISON, ET QUE CE CI NE PEUT ETRE MIS EN OEUVRE SANS UNE MESURE D'ACCORD ENTRE LES GRANDES PUISSANCES. ELLES SEULES SONT A MEME D'OFFRIR LES GARANTIES FERMES QUI PEUVENT INSPIRER CONFIANCE. LES EFFORTS DE LA FRANCE POUR AMENER LES GRANDES PUISSANCES A SE CONSULTER SONT LOUABLES ET LA FRANCE SE DOIT DE PERSISTER, A MON AVIS, DANS CETTE VOIE.

DANS CETTE SITUATION, TELLE QUE JE L'AI DECRITE ET COMPTE TENU DES CAUSES IMMEDIATES DES HOSTILITES, IL M'APPARAIT QUE CERTAINES TACHES PRESSANTES ET RATTACHEES LES UNES AUX AUTRES DOIVENT ETRE ENTREPRISES.

IL Y A TOUT D'ABORD LE PROBLEME DU RETRAIT DES FORCES ARMÉES DE TOUS LES BELLIGERANTS. CE RETRAIT CONSTITUE EVIDEMMENT AVEC LES AUTRES ASPECTS QUE JE VAIS MENTIONNER, UN ELEMENT-CLE DES NEGOCIATIONS ET DU REGLEMENT.

EN SECOND LIEU, COMME IL EST CLAIR QUE LE REGLEMENT ULTIME NE SERA PAS POUR DEMAIN, DES ARRANGEMENTS INTERIMAIRES DEVRONT ETRE PREVUS. PLUS PARTICULIEREMENT, UNE PRESENCE DES NATIONS UNIES--D'UNE NATURE OU D'UNE AUTRE-- SAVERERA NECESSAIRE DES DEUX COTES DES FRONTIERES. IL NE PEUT Y AVOIR DE PAIX SANS QU'UN TAMPON DE QUELQUE SORTE SOIT INTERPOSE ENTRE LES ADVERSAIRES ET NE LES EMPECHE DE SAFFRONTIER DIRECTEMENT. CE TAMPON NE POURRA ETRE MIS EN PLACE SANS CONCESSION DE PART ET D'AUTRES.

PAGE TROIS TEPI02

ON SE RAPPELLERA QU'ISRAEL A TOUJOURS MARQUE SA RETICENCE A LEGARD DE LA PRESENCE DE SON COTE DE LA FRONTIERE ISRAELO-EGYPTIENNE DE L'ORGANISME DES NATIONS UNIES CHARGE DE LA SURVEILLANCE DE LA TREVE EN PALESTINE.

SI LES CIRCONSTANCES SE PRESENTENT A UNE PRESENCE CONTINUE DE L'ONU AU MOYEN-ORIENT POUR AIDER A LA MISE EN OEUVRE D'UN REGLEMENT, IL SERA PLUS FACILE JE CROIS DE BATIR SUR CE QUI EXISTE DEJA. OPERANT SOUS L'AUTORITE DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE UN ORGANISME TEL L'ORGANISATION DE SURVEILLANCE DE LA TREVE A DES ASSISES PLUS SOLIDES, QUANT A SON AUTORITE ET A SON FONCTIONNEMENT, QUE LA FORCE D'URGENCE QUI, ELLE, N'AVAIT ETE CREEE QU'A PARTIR D'UNE RESOLUTION DE L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE.

LA RECONNAISSANCE DU DROIT DE TOUTS LES PAYS A LA LIBRE NAVIGATION A TRAVERS LE DETROIT DE TIRAN EST AUSSI UN ELEMENT ESSENTIEL A TOUT REGLEMENT. A NOTRE AVIS LA NAVIGATION A TRAVERS LE CANAL DE SUEZ DEVRAIT ELLE AUSSI ETRE LIBRE POUR TOUTE NATION, Y COMPRIS ISRAEL. IL S'AGIT ICI D'ASSURER LE RESPECT DES DISPOSITIONS DE LA CONVENTION INTERNATIONALE TOUCHANT LE CANAL.

IL EST UN AUTRE PROBLEME A RESOUDRE SANS QUOI IL NE PEUT Y AVOIR ESPERANCE DE STABILITE AU MOYEN-ORIENT. IL S'AGIT DU PROBLEME DES REFUGIES PALESTINIENS. IL EST HAUTEMENT SOUHAITABLE QUE CEUX-CI NE SOIENT PLUS A L'AVENIR LES PIONS DE LA POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE. L'OFFICE DE SECOURS ET DE TRAVAUX DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LES REFUGIES DE PALESTINE A RENDU D'INESTIMABLES SERVICES EN SUBVENANT AUX BESOINS ESSENTIELS DES REFUGIES. LE CDA FIGURE AU TROISIEME RANG DES CONTRIBUTEURS, APRES LES ETATS UNIS ET LA GRANDE-BRETAGNE. ON N'A PAS PU CEPENDANT REMEDIER EFFICACEMENT AUX GRIEFS DES PALESTINIENS QU'ENVERS TOUTE LA NATION ARABE. LES EVENEMENTS RECENTS ONT AJOUTE A LEUR NOMBRE ET A LEURS MALHEURS. IL IMPORTE DONC D'ATTACHER LA PLUS HAUTE PRIORITE AU REGLEMENT DE CETTE QUESTION EN ENVISAGEANT TOUTS LES MOYENS POSSIBLES, Y COMPRIS LA REINSTALLATION DANS D'AUTRES PAYS ET LE RETOUR D'UN CERTAIN NOMBRE D'ENTRE EUX EN ISRAEL. EVIDEMMENT, IL SERAIT ILLUSOIRE DE CONSIDERER CETTE QUESTION SANS LA LIER INTIMEMENT A DES PROJETS DE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE POUR LA REGION. IL SERAIT NAIF AUSSI DE SONGER QU'UNE SOLUTION SATISFAISANTE PUISSE ETRE APPORTEE A LA QUESTION DES REFUGIES AUTREMENT QUE DANS LE CONTEXTE D'UN REGLEMENT D'ENSEMBLE DU LITIGE ISRAELO-ARABE.

FINALEMENT, JE CROIS QUE C'EST PRECISEMENT L'ABSENCE DE SOLUTION AUX ELEMENTS MENTIONNES QUI A AMENE LA COURSE AUX ARMEMENTS CHEZ LES ETATS DE LA REGION. EN PLUS D'AVOIR UN EFFET NOCIF PRONONCE SUR LES ECONOMIES A FAIBLE RENDEMENT DE LA REGION, L'AUGMENTATION DU POTENTIEL MILITAIRE A DE LUI-MEME RAPPROCHE LE DANGER ET FAVORISE LE RECOURS AUX ARMES. IL EST IMPORTANT QUE LES PAYS FOURNISSEURS, TOUT PARTICULIEREMENT LES GRANDES PUISSANCES, EN ARRIVENT A UN ACCORD QUI PREVIENDRA LE RENOUVELLEMENT DU DESEQUILIBRE ET DES CIRCONSTANCES AUXQUELLES NOUS AVONS A FAIRE FACE. SINON, A QUOI SERVIRAIENT DES EFFORTS DE RELEVEMENT ECONOMIQUE?

PAGE QUATRE TEPI02

JE NE PUIS QUE MENTIONNER ICI LA QUESTION DES LIEUX SAINTS SI IMPORTANTS POUR LA CONSCIENCE UNIVERSELLE ET CELLE DU PARTAGE DES EAUX DU JOURDAIN.

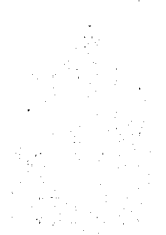
AVANT D'ABORDER LE SECOND THEME DE MON ALLOCUTION, JE VEUX SOULIGNER L'IMPORTANCE DE RETABLIR LE DIALOGUE ET LA COMPREHENSION RECIPROQUE AVEC LE MONDE ARABE, DE MEME QUE LA RESPONSABILITE TOUTE SPECIALE INCOMBANT A CEUX DONT LES RAPPORTS NONT PAS ETE ENDOMMAGES PAR LA PRESENTE CRISE. IL LEUR APPARTIENT DE TRAVAILLER A L'ELABORATION D'UN REGLEMENT JUSTE ET EQUITABLE. LOIN DE NOUS LAISSER REBUTER PAR LE RESSENTIMENT DES UNS ET PAR LES EXIGENCES DES AUTRES, IL INCOMBE A TOUS DE FAIRE APPEL A LA MODERATION ET A LA MESURE.

NOUS NE POUVONS ENCORE ECARTER LA POSSIBILITE D'UNE CONFRONTATION CONTINUE ENTRE L'EST ET L'OUEST, MEME SI ELLE N'EST JUSQU'ICI QU'UNE AFFAIRE DE MOTS. LA FRANCE A TRAVAILLE ETROITEMENT, DE CONCERT AVEC LES AUTRES GRANDES PUISSANCES AU SEIN DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE, POUR FAIRE ABOUTIR L'ACCORD QUI A PERMIS LA RESOLUTION UNANIME DEMANDANT AUX BELLIGERANTS D'ARRÊTER LES COMBATS. PAR LES RAPPORTS QUELLE ENTRETIENT AVEC TOUS ET PAR SON ESPRIT DE CONCILIATION REPOSANT SUR LA RAISON ET L'OBJECTIVITE, ELLE SAURA CONTRIBUER AU RETABLISSEMENT DE CETTE PAIX ET DE CETTE COEXISTENCE SANS LAQUELLE LE MOYEN-ORIENT NE PEUT ASSURER SON DEVELOPPEMENT ET RETROUVER SA GRANDEUR. LE CDA COMPTE POUR SA PART CONSACRER TOUTES LES RESSOURCES QUI LUI SONT DISPONIBLES, Y COMPRIS SON EXPERIENCE DE LONGUE DUREE, A CETTE LONGUE ENTREPRISE QUE SERA LA RECHERCHE D'UNE SOLUTION DURABLE.

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PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

ADVANCE TEXT
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Address delivered by the Secretary of State
for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin,
on the occasion of a ceremony held at the House
for Canadian Students in Paris on June 15, 1967,
at 6 p.m. (1 p.m. DST).

Mr. Minister,

Mr. Delegate General,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like first of all to thank Mr. Alain Peyrefitte, who was kind enough to honour this ceremony with his presence. We are aware, Mr. Minister, of your friendship toward Canada and the Canadian people. Your presence here this afternoon is another sign of this friendship and we are particularly happy that the very nature of this event enables us to perpetuate its memory in a concrete way. Your name engraved in stone will remind successive generations of students at the Canadian Students House of the friendship of a government that has always worked for a closer relationship between our two countries.

It is a great pleasure for me to have been invited to lay the first stone of this long awaited annex to the House. Nearly forty years ago, I had the privilege of staying here and I was able to appreciate the value of this institution, which means so much to Canadian students who come to Paris to complete their education. This centre, which facilitates the growth of new friendships between Canadian and French students and between Canadians themselves, is also a good place for the development of a better knowledge, among the young people, of the numerous countries represented in the "Cité Universitaire". There is a universal need to come to this great capital and benefit from the centre of French university life. It is a tribute to French culture, to this

undefinable synthesis of intellectual and moral qualities which brings an extra dimension to the life of twentieth century man. By the founding of this student home, Senator Marcellin Wilson gave to all those who have lived here since 1924 the opportunity of taking full advantage of the great wealth of French life. We are indebted to him for this and I wish here to pay tribute to his memory by thanking his grandson, Jean Ostiguy, who is continuing his remarkable work.

There was a time when the burden of putting into effect ideas such as the one which brought about the creation of this House were left by the governmental authorities to private initiative. That time is over and governments should now contribute financially to the continuation of certain particularly worthy projects. I now have the honour and the pleasure of representing the federal government which wished to associate itself with this work by giving to present and future generations of students a building that will meet present requirements. It is therefore a great pleasure for me to lay the first stone of the new wing of the Canadian Students House, which will enable twice as many students to contribute directly to a cause that is particularly dear to me, the development of cultural and intellectual ties between France and Canada.

PRESS RELEASE



CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

POUR PUBLICATION IMMEDIATE

PRIERE DE VERIFIER

Allocution prononcée par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
à l'occasion d'une cérémonie qui a eu lieu
à la Maison canadienne à Paris, le 15 juin
1967, à 18 heures. (1h. p.m. h.a.e.)

Monsieur le Ministre,
Monsieur le Délégué général de la Cité Universitaire,
Mesdames et Messieurs,

J'aimerais tout d'abord remercier monsieur Alain Peyrefitte d'avoir bien voulu honorer cette cérémonie de sa présence. Monsieur le Ministre, nous connaissons votre amitié pour le Canada et les Canadiens. Votre présence ici cet après-midi en est un nouveau témoignage et nous sommes particulièrement heureux que le caractère même de notre réunion permette d'en perpétuer concrètement le souvenir. Votre nom gravé dans la pierre rappellera à ceux qui se succéderont à la Maison Canadienne l'amitié d'un gouvernement qui a toujours oeuvré pour le rapprochement de nos deux pays.

Chers amis, je ne vous cacherai pas tout le plaisir que je ressens à procéder à la pose de la première pierre de l'annexe tant attendue de cette Maison. Il y a de cela bientôt 40 ans, j'ai eu le privilège de faire ici même un séjour qui m'a permis d'apprécier la valeur de cette institution et tout ce qu'elle représente aux yeux des étudiants canadiens qui viennent à Paris compléter leur formation. Ce lieu favorable à l'épanouissement de nouvelles amitiés entre Canadiens et Français, entre Canadiens eux-mêmes, est aussi un foyer propice au développement d'une meilleure connaissance entre les jeunes des nombreux pays représentés à la Cité. Le besoin de venir puiser aux sources mêmes du rayonnement universitaire de cette grande capitale est universel, et il est rassurant qu'il en soit ainsi. C'est un hommage à la culture française, à cet ensemble indéfinissable de qualités intellectuelles et morales qui apportent à l'homme du XXe siècle un indispensable supplément d'âme. En

fondant cette Maison, le Sénateur Marcellin Wilson a permis à tous ceux qui sont passés ici depuis 1924 de profiter au mieux des multiples richesses de la vie française. De cela, nous lui sommes redevables et j'aimerais saluer ici sa mémoire, en remerciant vivement son petit-fils, monsieur Jean Ostiguy, le continuateur de cette oeuvre remarquable.

Il fut un temps où les pouvoirs publics laissaient à l'initiative privée tout le fardeau de la réalisation d'idées aussi généreuses que celle qui a permis la création de cette Maison. Cette époque est révolue et les gouvernements doivent maintenant participer financièrement à la survie de certaines initiatives particulièrement louables. Or il se trouve que j'ai l'honneur et la joie d'être le représentant des pouvoirs publics fédéraux qui ont voulu s'associer à cette oeuvre en offrant à la jeunesse étudiante d'aujourd'hui et aux générations futures un bâtiment qui réponde aux exigences de l'heure. C'est donc pour moi un vif plaisir de poser la première pierre du nouvel immeuble de la Maison des étudiants canadiens qui donnera désormais à deux fois plus d'étudiants l'occasion de participer directement à cette cause qui m'est chère, celle du resserrement des liens culturels et intellectuels qui unissent la France et le Canada.



PRESS RELEASE



CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Advance text of
Speech by the Secretary of State for
External Affairs, the Hon. Paul Martin,
at the Fifth Emergency Special Session
of the United Nations General Assembly,
at noon, June 23, 1967.

"MIDDLE EAST QUESTION"

For the fourth time in the history of this organization the Assembly has been called into special session to deal with emergency conditions in the Middle East arising out of the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbours. It was barely twenty years ago that the first special session of the Assembly found itself involved with this persistently difficult problem arising from a conflict with a long and bitter heritage. It engages the anxious concern of the international community and in particular the adherents of three of the world's great religions. It is a problem moreover which could tarnish the name and weaken the influence of the United Nations unless we can control its immediate effects and remove its long term causes. My country has been closely associated with United Nations efforts to mediate in Palestine. A Canadian served on the UN Special Commission on Palestine in 1947. Canada was associated with negotiations which subsequently took place at the Third Session of the Assembly and which led to the Resolution of November 29, 1947. This Resolution provided for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and reserved a special status for

Jerusalem. We served on the Security Council in 1948-49 when the Palestine question was among the most important to be considered and when armistice agreements were arranged. We provided one of the early director-generals of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and a little later, the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization to which we have contributed observers since 1954. The present Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, took an intimate part in the negotiations which led to the establishment of UNEF. Canada supplied the first Commander, General Burns, and a sizeable contingent to the Force. UNEF was the first Peacekeeping Force to be established by the United Nations. I am convinced that its record of accomplishment and service will be a legacy upon which the United Nations will be able to draw in future. This record will be far more important in the verdict of history than the current differences of opinion over the circumstances of its withdrawal.

I do not claim that these facts give Canada any special insight into the Palestine problem or any special qualifications for solving it. They

do help to explain, however, why the Canadian people and the Canadian Government have followed recent events with anxiety. We have no substantial interests to further. We have no claims to make other than those which arise from a deep and legitimate concern for peace and justice in the Middle East, indeed in the world, and for the good name and reputation of the United Nations, our membership in which has been largely instrumental in involving us in these problems.

The issues are too grave and the potential consequences of our actions are too significant for partisan controversy about the subject of our debate. I would hope that this Special Session will contribute to the search for a solution in the Middle East. This hope is shared I know by other countries many of whom are represented here by their Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers. The opportunity is present not only for debate but for consultations and negotiations. One of the purposes of our Organization is to act as a centre "for harmonizing the actions of nations". If this is our common purpose then and only then can we be hopeful that diplomacy will take the measure of propaganda and that the common desire for peace will prevail.

Canada, as a member of the Security Council, joined Denmark in calling the Council together on May 24 to deal with the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. It is a sad misfortune that the Council was not able to act at that time. Nevertheless, it remains seized of the situation and I note in this respect references to the Council in the draft resolutions introduced by the USSR and the USA. We contributed to the decisions of the Security Council calling calling for a ceasefire. Failure of a particular resolution should not have led in our judgment to the interruption of the Council's work. We had ourselves put forward a resolution relating to the implementation of the ceasefire and were in the process of revising this resolution in consultation with others when this Special Session was requested. In our view these consultations should continue. The Security Council should deal with the resolutions before it. As we have often been reminded, the Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Here in this Assembly I would hope that we could establish some guidelines to assist the Council when it resumes its work.

The roots of this crisis go deep. Its development has been complex. No one Government can in our view be held wholly responsible for what has happened and impartial reports of the Secretary General support this assessment. It was on the basis of those reports that we were concerned first to prevent the conflict; then to stop it; and now to find the basis for a just and lasting peace.

In 1948-49 and in 1956-57 the Canadian Delegate at the Assembly emphasized that the peace and security of the Middle East depended primarily on the recognition of two facts: the first was that the new State of Israel had been born and that in part at least it owed its existence as a member of the international community to a recommendation of this Assembly approved by two-thirds of its members; the second was the obligation of the State of Israel, to quote the Canadian Representative speaking on November 22, 1948, to "place self-imposed limits on its demands". Mr. Pearson, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, stated here ten years ago: "We cannot but agree that if Israel has a right to live and prosper free from fear of strangulation from its neighbours the Arab States also have a

right to feel confident that Israel will not attempt to expand its territory at their expense".

These expectations remain valid. They must be the basis on which peace and security is built in the Middle East. We shall continue to do our part both as a Member of the Security Council and as a participant in the efforts of the United Nations to keep peace in the area to have them recognized and implemented. The international community has a right to expect that the parties to any dispute will make their best efforts, as they are required to do under the Charter, to find a peaceful means of settlement. At the same time, the United Nations has a responsibility to offer its services and if necessary to point the way towards such a settlement. In any event, this is the context in which my Government will judge the specific issues before us.

The position of Canada remains the same on these issues as it was in 1957. On January 18 of that year we stated in the Assembly that "there must be no return, if we can avoid it, to the conditions which helped provoke the initial military action". On that occasion Mr. Pearson recalled an earlier intervention in which he was even more specific.

This is what he said:

"What then - six months from now? Are we to go through all this again? Are we to return merely to the status quo ante? Such a return would not be to a position of security - but would be a return to terror, bloodshed, strife, incidents, charges and counter-charges and ultimately another explosion..".

It follows that Canada cannot support the resolution which was introduced by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on June 19. That resolution would take us back to the same situation which led to the outbreak of the war. It was only a few short weeks ago that Canada and other Members of the Security Council attempted to convince the Council that it should appeal to the parties to exercise restraint and to prevent the outbreak of war. Failure to take action then contributed to the tragic events which have since engulfed the Middle East. We must do all we can to prevent them happening again.

To this end I would make an urgent appeal to all concerned to put the common interest of all the peoples of the Middle East in peace and a better life above all else. It is not by condemnation and vituperation that the United Nations can find a way

out of the maze of hostility, suspicion and fear; it is by insisting that each party has the right to live in peace and security without fear of attack and by finding appropriate ways to guarantee this assurance. Military solutions to political problems are unacceptable. But onesided political solutions are no solutions at all.

We all seek, I assume, a peaceful and just solution. The chief responsibility for finding that solution must rest with the parties to the dispute. This organization, however, must help them to find it. I envisage two stages during which the United Nations might lend its assistance. Two United Nations bodies, the UN Relief and Works Agency and UNTSO, are still actively at work amongst the refugees and observing the ceasefire. They will continue to have an indispensable contribution to make. UN military observers, to whom I wish to pay special tribute, have already played a valuable role in observing the ceasefire and in reporting to the Secretary General. I would expect them to exercise a continuous responsibility as the withdrawal of Israeli forces takes place, particularly if arrangements can be made for this withdrawal which will result in demilitarized zones on both sides of the borders.

Since the inception of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees, the Canadian Government has consistently been among the highest contributors to that Agency. We have provided transportation facilities, food relief and funds for use by the Red Cross. The Canadian Government will be glad to consider provision of further assistance to the Agency for purposes of rehabilitation and reconstruction when a precise determination of needs becomes available.

Another United Nations body which is still extant is the Palestine Conciliation Commission. The function of conciliation is bound to be a vital one during the first stage on the road to a permanent settlement. Whether or not the Commission is the right organ to perform this function without changes being made both in its mandate and in its membership or whether a different procedure might be envisaged perhaps in the form of a Special Representative of the Secretary General I do not wish to say with certainty. Yet some UN Agency or Representative will be required, I believe, to maintain full contact with all Governments concerned and to prepare the way for subsequent negotiations looking towards a permanent peace.

I have been speaking of what are essentially means to an end. If peace and security in the area are to be assured, the withdrawal of Israeli forces, vital as it is, must be related to the other basic issues involved. There are a number of requirements essential to any enduring settlement which have already been mentioned by a number of distinguished statesmen. I would emphasize the following general principles:

First, respect for the territorial integrity of the nations of the area including provision for the security and the international supervision of frontiers.

Secondly, the rights of all nations to innocent passage through international waterways must be assured.

Thirdly, there must be an early and just solution of the refugee problem.

Fourthly, international concern for the preservation of special spiritual and religious interests in Jerusalem - Christian, Jewish and Muslim - must be recognized, perhaps by giving the United Nations an international supervisory responsibility for protection of these interests; nor should there be any precipitate action which might prejudice them.

It may be asked whether the approach I have outlined is realistic and whether the objective of permanent peace in Palestine is still not as difficult or impossible of accomplishment as it was in 1947. There is no doubt in my mind that the Permanent Members of the Security Council must work together if any settlement is to be durable. I recall that twenty years ago both the USA and the USSR supported the Assembly Resolution for the partition of Palestine. Events then took a different course. But there have been more recent examples of cooperation between the great powers on this issue, most notably the five resolutions adopted by the Security Council earlier this month. Two of these great powers are members of the Palestine Conciliation Commission. Indeed it was the Permanent Members who were responsible for selecting the Commission. That is the kind of precedent which I hope will be followed again.

There are other possible areas of cooperation between the Permanent Members which remain to be explored. One would be an agreement to control the flow of arms to the Middle East. An all-important byproduct of such an arrangement would be the application to economic and social development of some of the resources otherwise spent on maintaining substantial armed forces.

It seems self-evident that shipments of food are more important than shipments of arms. The Canadian Government, for its part, will continue its policy and practice of not sending military supplies to countries directly involved in this dispute.

A vital step forward in the achievement of durable peace and stability in the Middle East is to ensure that justice be done to the Palestinian refugees. These people for too long have been the losers in the tragic conflict of interests in the area. The problem is, however, of such magnitude that only a combination of methods can produce a solution. It would be an illusion to go on believing that the problem of refugees will simply be solved on the basis of their return to Israel. Similarly, Arab States could not be expected to shoulder alone the burden of resettling and integrating in Arab countries those refugees who might make this choice. An international effort in a United Nations context directed at regional economic development in the Middle East and related to resettlement is a prime requirement which members of the UN have an obligation to consider. Canada is prepared to play its part in such an international effort.

The conclusion I draw is that the stakes are simply too great, the dangers too obvious for the international community and the great powers in particular to let matters drift. The incidence of violence in the world has already reached the limits of international tolerance. Those of us who do not bear the responsibilities of world power may urge those who do exercise this power to do so with restraint and with wisdom. In addition I suggest all nations have an obligation to act with restraint and in particular not to threaten or take actions which carry the danger of widening a local conflict and of spreading the flames of war. If peace is indivisible then the highest loyalty is that which we owe to the welfare and security of the people of the world as a whole and to the obligations we have solemnly contracted under the United Nations Charter.

PRESS RELEASE

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

LE 23 JUIN 1967

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT L'HEURE
DU DISCOURS

VERIFIER TEXTE FINAL DU DISCOURS

Texte du discours que prononcera
à l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies
vers midi le 23 juin 1967

M. Paul Martin, secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
sur la question du Proche-Orient.

(5ème session spéciale d'urgence de l'Assemblée Générale)

"LA QUESTION DU PROCHE-ORIENT"

Pour la quatrième fois dans l'histoire des Nations Unies une session extraordinaire d'urgence de l'Assemblée a été convoquée pour traiter de problèmes pressants qui découlent au Moyen-Orient du conflit qui oppose Israël et ses voisins arabes. Il y a vingt ans à peine une première session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée était saisie de ce problème difficile et persistant né d'une hostilité remontant à très loin dans le temps et cause d'une grande anxiété au sein de la communauté internationale et en particulier chez les fidèles de trois des grandes religions du monde. C'est en outre un problème qui compromettra la réputation et affaiblira l'influence des Nations Unies si nous ne parvenons pas à en atténuer les effets immédiats et à en supprimer les causes éloignées.

Mon pays s'est étroitement associé aux efforts de médiation des Nations Unies en Palestine. Un Canadien était membre de la Commission spéciale pour la Palestine en 1947. Le Canada a pris part aux négociations qui ont eu lieu par la suite au cours de la troisième session de l'Assemblée et qui ont abouti à la résolution du 29 novembre 1947 qui consacrait le partage de la Palestine en états arabe et juif, un statut spécial étant prévu pour la région de Jérusalem. Le Canada était membre du Conseil de Sécurité en 1948-1949 lorsque la question de la Palestine était parmi les plus importantes à l'ordre du jour ainsi qu'au moment des accords d'armistice. Un Canadien a été l'un des premiers directeurs généraux de l'Office de Secours et de Travaux des Nations Unies et un peu plus tard Chef d'Etat-Major de l'organisme chargé de la surveillance de la trêve auprès duquel nous avons eu des observateurs depuis 1954. Le premier ministre actuel du Canada,

M. Lester Pearson, a pris une part active aux négociations qui ont abouti à l'établissement de la force d'urgence des Nations Unies. Le Canada a fourni à cette force son premier commandant, le Général Burns, de même qu'un contingent appréciable. La force d'urgence était la première expérience des Nations Unies dans le domaine du maintien de la paix. Je suis convaincu que ses états de service établissent un précédent sur lequel les Nations Unies pourront modeler leur action future. Aux yeux de l'historien ils auront beaucoup plus d'importance que les divergences de vues actuelles sur les circonstances de son retrait.

Je n'entends pas démontrer par l'énumération de ces faits que le Canada comprend mieux que d'autres le problème de la Palestine et qu'il est mieux en mesure de le résoudre. Cependant ces faits expliquent jusqu'à un certain point pourquoi le peuple et la population du Canada ont suivi avec anxiété les événements récents. Nous n'avons pas d'intérêts importants à défendre; le seul motif qui nous anime est le souci sincère et légitime de rétablir la paix et la justice au Moyen-Orient et de fait dans le monde et de conserver à l'Organisation des Nations Unies sa bonne réputation puisque c'est dans une large mesure parce que nous en faisons partie que nous sommes amenés à nous préoccuper de ces problèmes.

Les questions en jeu sont trop graves et les conséquences possibles de nos actes sont trop importantes pour que nous permettions que le parti pris domine nos débats. J'espère que cette session spéciale nous mettra sur la voie d'un règlement au Moyen-Orient. D'autres pays, je le sais, dont plusieurs sont représentés ici par leurs Chefs d'Etat et par leurs Ministres des Affaires étrangères, partagent cet espoir. L'occasion nous est offerte non seulement d'engager un débat mais de procéder à des consultations et à des négociations. Un des buts des Nations Unies est de contribuer "à harmoniser les actes des nations". Si nous sommes animés de cette intention, mais à cette condition seulement, nous pouvons espérer que la diplomatie éclipsera la propagande et que notre désir commun de paix finira par l'emporter.

A titre de membre du Conseil de Sécurité le Canada, de concert avec le Danemark, a demandé que le Conseil soit convoqué le 24 mai pour étudier la question du Moyen-Orient où la situation se gâtait. Il est regrettable que le Conseil n'ait pas pu agir à ce moment-là. Quoi qu'il en soit, il continue d'être saisi de la question; je note à cet égard qu'il est fait mention du Conseil dans les projets de résolution présentés par l'Union soviétique et les Etats-Unis. Nous avons participé aux décisions du Conseil de sécurité concernant le cessez-le-feu. A notre avis le rejet d'une résolution en particulier n'aurait pas dû aboutir à une interruption des travaux du Conseil. Nous avons nous-mêmes présenté une résolution relative à l'exécution du cessez-le-feu et nous étions à reviser cette résolution en consultation avec d'autres lorsqu'on a demandé la convocation de la présente session extraordinaire. A notre avis ces consultations devraient se continuer; le Conseil devrait étudier les résolutions dont il est saisi. Comme on nous l'a répété souvent la responsabilité principale du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité repose sur lui; j'espère que l'Assemblée pourra dégager certains principes directeurs de nature à l'éclairer lorsqu'il reprendra son travail.

Les racines de la crise sont profondes. Aucun gouvernement selon nous ne peut être tenu entièrement responsable des événements ainsi que l'attestent les rapports objectifs du Secrétaire-général. C'est en nous fondant sur ses rapports que nous avons voulu d'abord prévenir le conflit et plus tard l'enrayer et que nous voulons maintenant jeter les fondements d'une paix juste et durable.

En 1948-1949 et de nouveau en 1956-1957, la délégation canadienne à l'Assemblée avait souligné que la paix et la sécurité au Moyen-Orient reposaient avant tout sur l'acceptation de deux faits: premièrement, que le nouvel état d'Israël était né et que, dans une certaine mesure du moins, il devait son existence à une recommandation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies approuvée par les deux tiers de ses membres; deuxièmement, que l'Etat d'Israël était tenu "de limiter de son propre gré ses exigences" suivant les paroles mêmes prononcées par le représentant

canadien le 22 novembre 1948. Il y a dix ans M. Pearson, alors Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, déclarait: "nous ne pouvons que convenir que si Israël a le droit d'exister et de s'épanouir sans avoir à craindre d'être étouffé par ses voisins, les Etats arabes ont aussi le droit de s'attendre qu'Israël ne tentera pas de s'agrandir à leurs dépens".

Ces espoirs sont encore valables. C'est sur eux que doivent reposer la paix et la sécurité du Moyen-Orient. Tant à titre de membre du Conseil de Sécurité que par notre participation aux efforts de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour maintenir la paix dans la région, nous continuerons de faire notre part pour en assurer la réalisation. La communauté internationale a le droit de s'attendre que les parties à tout différend feront tout ce qu'elles peuvent, comme l'exige la charte, pour en arriver à un règlement. En même temps, les nations sont tenues d'offrir leurs bons offices et au besoin d'ouvrir la voie à un règlement. En tout cas, c'est dans cette optique que mon gouvernement jugera les questions précises qui nous sont soumises. L'attitude du Canada à cet égard est la même qu'en 1957. Cette année-là, le 18 janvier, nous avons déclaré ici même "qu'il faut éviter si c'est possible de revenir à l'état de choses qui a contribué à provoquer l'ouverture des hostilités". M. Pearson était revenu sur une de ses interventions antérieures où il s'était exprimé encore plus clairement. Voici ce qu'il disait: "Qu'arrivera-t-il... dans six mois? Est-ce que tout sera à recommencer? Reviendrons-nous simplement au status quo antérieur? Ce serait un retour non pas à un régime de sécurité... mais plutôt à la terreur, aux effusions de sang, aux tensions, aux incidents, aux accusations et aux contre-accusations et en définitive à une nouvelle explosion..."

Il s'ensuit que le Canada ne peut appuyer la résolution présentée le 19 juin par le Président du Conseil des Ministres de l'Union soviétique. Cette résolution nous ramènerait aux conditions qui ont mené à l'ouverture des hostilités. Il y a quelques semaines à peine le Canada et d'autres membres du Conseil de Sécurité ont

tenté de convaincre le Conseil qu'il se devait de lancer un appel à la modération et d'engager les parties à renoncer à la lutte armée pour donner au monde le temps de se ressaisir. Une résolution comme celle-là aurait pu contribuer à écarter les hostilités. Négliger d'agir c'était contribuer à précipiter les événements tragiques qui se sont déroulés depuis au Moyen-Orient. Nous devons maintenant tout mettre en oeuvre pour en empêcher la répétition.

A cette fin je demande avec instance à tous les intéressés de placer au-dessus de tout l'intérêt commun de tous les peuples du Moyen-Orient dans la paix et l'amélioration de leurs conditions d'existence. Ce n'est pas par des condamnations ni par des reproches que les Nations Unies pourront nous libérer du climat actuel d'animosité, de méfiance et d'appréhension. C'est en proclamant que chacune des parties a le droit de vivre dans la paix et la sécurité sans crainte d'être attaquée et en trouvant des moyens de leur fournir cette assurance. On ne peut accepter de solutions militaires à des problèmes politiques. Mais les solutions politiques boiteuses ne nous mèneront nulle part.

.../6

Nous recherchons tous, je le suppose, une solution juste et pacifique. C'est avant tout sur les parties en cause que repose la responsabilité de trouver cette solution. Les Nations Unies cependant peuvent prêter leur concours. J'entrevois deux étapes au cours desquelles les Nations Unies pourraient offrir leur aide. Deux organismes des Nations Unies, l'Office de secours et de travaux et l'Organisme chargé de la surveillance de la trêve, sont encore activement à l'oeuvre au sein des réfugiés et voient à l'observance du cessez-le-feu. Leur rôle continuera d'être indispensable. Les observateurs militaires des Nations Unies à qui je tiens à rendre un hommage particulier ont déjà joué un rôle utile en renseignant le Secrétaire Général sur la façon dont le cessez-le-feu est observé. Je souhaiterais qu'ils continuent d'assumer cette responsabilité au moment du retrait des forces israéliennes surtout si ce retrait s'accompagne d'un accord établissant des zones démilitarisées de part et d'autre des frontières.

Depuis l'établissement de l'Office de secours et de travaux des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés palestiniens, le Gouvernement canadien a toujours été aux premiers rangs de ceux qui ont le plus contribué à son oeuvre. Nous avons fourni des moyens de transport et des vivres et nous avons mis des fonds à la disposition de la Croix Rouge. Le Gouvernement canadien envisagera volontiers la possibilité d'une nouvelle assistance à des fins de réadaptation et de reconstruction lorsque l'étendue des besoins aura été déterminée avec précision.

La commission de conciliation pour la Palestine est un autre organisme des Nations Unies qui continue d'exister. La conciliation jouera forcément un rôle d'importance capitale lorsque les premiers pas seront amorcés sur la voie d'un règlement définitif. Je ne saurais dire avec certitude si la commission est vraiment l'organisme tout désigné pour accomplir cette fonction sans que des changements soient apportés à son mandat ou à sa composition ou s'il faudrait recourir à une autre procédure, la nomination par exemple d'un représentant spécial du Secrétaire Général. J'imagine

qu'il faudra de toute façon qu'un organisme ou un représentant des Nations Unies reste en contact constant avec tous les gouvernements intéressés et prépare la voie à des négociations ultérieures en vue d'en arriver à une paix permanente.

Jusqu'ici j'ai parlé en somme de moyens d'atteindre une fin. Pour que la paix et la sécurité soient assurées dans la région le retrait des forces israéliennes, tout essentiel qu'il est, doit être relié aux autres questions fondamentales qui sont en jeu. Plusieurs hommes d'Etat distingués ont déjà mentionné certaines conditions sans lesquelles aucun règlement durable n'est possible. Je voudrais pour ma part insister sur les principes généraux suivants :

PREMIEREMENT le respect de l'intégrité territoriale des nations de la région y compris la sécurité et la surveillance internationale des frontières.

DEUXIEMEMENT les droits d'accès inoffensif aux eaux internationales doivent être reconnus à toutes les nations.

TROISIEMEMENT il faut trouver sans tarder une solution équitable au problème des réfugiés.

QUATRIEMEMENT il importe de tenir compte du souci qu'ont les nations de préserver le caractère spirituel et religieux unique de Jérusalem à la fois pour les Chrétiens, les Juifs et les Musulmans peut-être en confiant aux Nations Unies la responsabilité internationale de voir à la protection de ces intérêts qu'il faut également éviter de compromettre par une action précipitée.

On se demandera peut-être si ce que je préconise est vraiment pratique et si l'objectif d'une paix permanente en Palestine n'est pas aujourd'hui aussi difficile ou impossible à réaliser qu'en 1947. Bien entendu pour en arriver à un règlement durable il faudra que les membres permanents du conseil de sécurité travaillent de concert.

Je me souviens qu'il y a vingt ans les Etats-Unis et l'Union Soviétique avaient tous deux appuyé la résolution de l'assemblée touchant le partage de la Palestine. Par la suite les événements ont pris une tournure différente. Mais nous avons eu des exemples plus récents de collaboration sur ce sujet entre les grandes puissances notamment

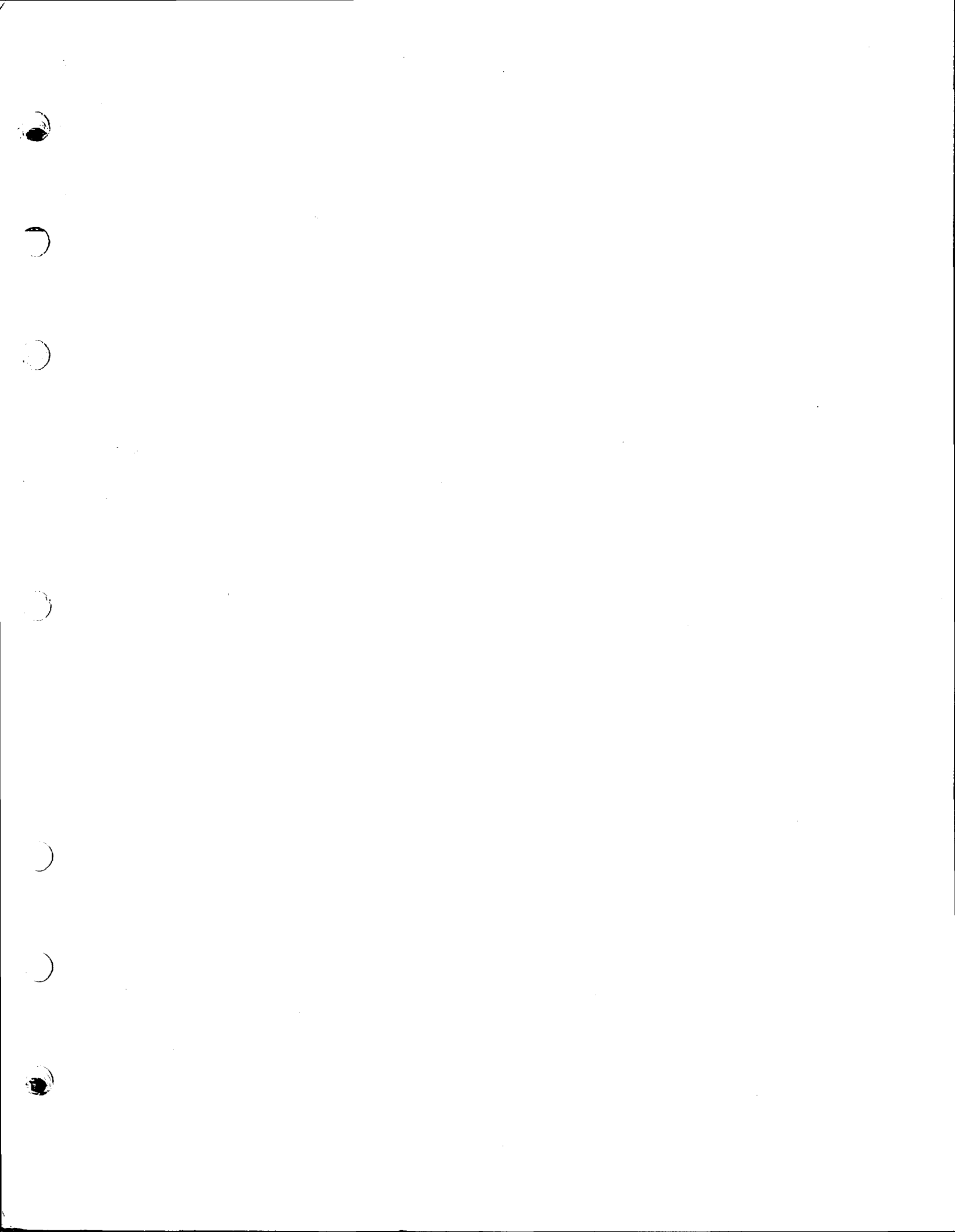
à l'égard des cinq résolutions adoptées par le conseil de sécurité plus tôt ce mois-ci. Deux de ces puissances font partie de la commission de conciliation pour la Palestine; de fait ce sont les membres permanents qui étaient chargés de déterminer la composition de la commission. Voilà un précédent qui, je l'espère, ne restera pas sans lendemain.

Il reste à exploiter d'autres domaines où la collaboration entre les membres permanents serait possible par exemple un accord de contrôle sur les expéditions d'armes au Moyen-Orient dont une conséquence de première importance serait l'affectation à des fins de développement économique et social de certaines ressources qui autrement seraient consacrées au maintien de puissantes forces armées. Il saute aux yeux que les envois de vivres sont plus importants que les expéditions d'armes. Pour sa part le Gouvernement canadien entend rester fidèle à sa politique en s'abstenant d'expédier des fournitures militaires aux pays directement engagés dans le conflit actuel.

En faisant en sorte que justice soit rendue aux réfugiés palestiniens on ferait un pas décisif vers l'établissement d'une paix et d'une stabilité durables au Moyen-Orient. Depuis trop longtemps ces réfugiés sont les perdants dans le tragique conflit d'intérêts qui se livre. Le problème est cependant d'une telle ampleur qu'on ne pourra le résoudre qu'en recourant simultanément à plusieurs moyens. Il serait oiseux de continuer à s'imaginer que le problème pourrait être réglé par le simple retour en Israël des réfugiés palestiniens. D'autre part on ne peut s'attendre que les Etats arabes assument à eux seuls le fardeau du rapatriement et de la réintégration dans les pays arabes des réfugiés qui choisiront cette option. Un effort international dans les cadres des Nations Unies orienté vers le développement économique régional du Moyen-Orient est une condition préalable que les membres des Nations Unies se doivent de considérer. Le Canada est prêt à participer à cet effort international.

Ma conclusion c'est que l'enjeu est vraiment trop important et le danger trop évident pour la collectivité internationale et en particulier pour les grandes puissances pour que nous nous contentions d'attendre les événements. Le degré de

violence dans le monde a déjà atteint son point de saturation. Ceux d'entre nous qui n'ont pas les responsabilités propres aux puissances mondiales peuvent engager ceux qui ont en main ce pouvoir à ne s'en servir qu'avec retenue et sagesse. Tous les Etats à mon avis ont le devoir d'agir avec modération et d'éviter en particulier les menaces ou les actes qui risquent de propager un conflit local et d'attiser les flammes de la guerre. Si la paix est indivisible notre premier devoir doit être d'assurer le bien-être et la sécurité de tous les peuples du monde et de nous acquitter des obligations que nous avons solennellement contractées aux termes de la charte des Nations Unies.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Remarks by the Secretary of State for
External Affairs, the Hon. Paul Martin,
at the unveiling of the Ukrainian
Centennial Plaque, National Library,
Ottawa, on July 31, 1967, at 5:30 p.m.

In this Centennial Year, we have many occasions to celebrate the achievements of our country during the last one hundred years, and reflect on the rich pattern of events which have made Canada what it is today.

In those one hundred years, there are few stories with more interest, drama and significance for the country as a whole than the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers in 1891, and their pioneer life in the new land. The spirit of those first settlers and their descendants was reflected in an address directed to a former Governor-General (Lord Tweedsmuir) some years ago:

"We have found more than richness of soil, for we have found freedom to express our thoughts and the right to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, and an opportunity for our cultural and economic development, at the same time playing our part in the spiritual and material growth of Canada."

Today there are more than half a million Canadians of Ukrainian origin, most of them born in Canada. Members of the Ukrainian community have enriched Canada greatly by their contributions to its political, agricultural, industrial and professional development. By preserving their identity within the larger community of Canada, they have added something of great value, of strength and colour, to the Canadian character.

It is the glory of Canada that we can all be Canadians without conforming to a uniform cultural standard, without ceasing to be ourselves. Ours is a nation whose people are tolerant of differences and who appreciate the value of cultural diversity. Our destiny can be denied only by ourselves.

Because Canada is what it is, I am deeply honoured to have this opportunity to pay tribute to the contribution which has been made to Canada by those of its citizens whose traditions and culture are drawn from the Ukraine. This Centennial Year is an occasion for remembering not only the achievement of Confederation one hundred years ago, but also the many and varied achievements of all of Canada's peoples in the intervening years. May our celebrations this year serve as an inspiration for even greater achievements, as individuals, as peoples, and as a country in the years ahead.

I think it is most fitting in this Centennial Year that the Ukrainian contribution to the structure of Canada should be commemorated by the placing of this plaque in our new National Library.

It was one of the Fathers of Confederation, Joseph Howe, who said:

"A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead,

repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifice and glories of the past."

We in Canada are not only preserving our great public structures, but as a dynamic and growing country we are building new ones, such as this Library. And it is, I believe, a matter of pride and satisfaction that it will be embellished by symbols like this plaque, reminders of the "sacrifice and glories of the past", and the promise of the future.

I am deeply honoured to be present here today, to unveil the Ukrainian Centennial Plaque. May it serve as an inspiration to us all, in our efforts to build a Canada more fully aware of itself, and of its great destiny.

PRESS RELEASE

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE MOMENT DU DISCOURS

PRIERE DE VERIFIER

Allocution de M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
à l'occasion du dévoilement de la Plaque
ukrainienne du Centenaire à la Bibliothèque
nationale, à Ottawa, le 31 juillet 1967,

à 17 h.30

En cette année du Centenaire, nous avons souvent l'occasion de célébrer les hauts faits de notre pays durant les cent dernières années et de méditer sur la magnifique mosaïque des événements qui ont fait du Canada ce qu'il est.

Au cours de ces cent années, il y a eu peu d'événements plus intéressants, plus émouvants ou plus gros de conséquences pour le pays tout entier que l'arrivée, en 1891, des premiers colons ukrainiens et la vie de pionniers qu'ils menèrent dans ce pays nouveau. On retrouve l'esprit de ces premiers colons et de leurs descendants dans une requête à l'adresse d'un ancien gouverneur général, Lord Tweedsmuir, il y a quelques années:

"C'est beaucoup plus que la fertilité d'un sol que nous avons trouvé, c'est la liberté d'exprimer nos pensées et le droit d'adorer Dieu selon les dictées de notre conscience, c'est l'occasion de poursuivre notre développement culturel et économique tout en participant à la croissance spirituelle et matérielle du Canada."

Aujourd'hui, il y a plus d'un demi-million de Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne, dont la plupart sont nés au Canada. Ils ont beaucoup enrichi le Canada par leur apport à son développement politique, agricole, industriel et professionnel. En conservant leur identité au sein de la grande collectivité canadienne, les membres de la communauté ukrainienne ont apporté un très précieux élément de couleur et de force au caractère du Canada.

Ce qui fait la gloire du Canada c'est que nous puissions tous être Canadiens sans nous conformer à un type uniforme de culture, sans cesser d'être nous-mêmes. Notre nation est de celles où les groupes ethniques savent tolérer les différences et apprécier à sa valeur la diversité des cultures. Nous sommes maîtres de notre destinée; nous seuls pouvons nous y opposer.

Le Canada étant ce qu'il est, c'est pour moi un grand honneur d'avoir l'occasion de rendre hommage à l'apport fait au Canada par ceux de ces citoyens dont les traditions et la culture sont originaires de l'Ukraine. Cette année du Centenaire est une occasion de se rappeler non seulement l'avènement de la Confédération il y a cent ans, mais aussi les réussites nombreuses et variées de tous les groupes ethniques du Canada au cours des années qui se sont écoulées depuis. Puissent nos célébrations cette année inspirer des réalisations plus grandes encore, aux particuliers, aux groupes ethniques et à toute la nation au cours des années à venir.

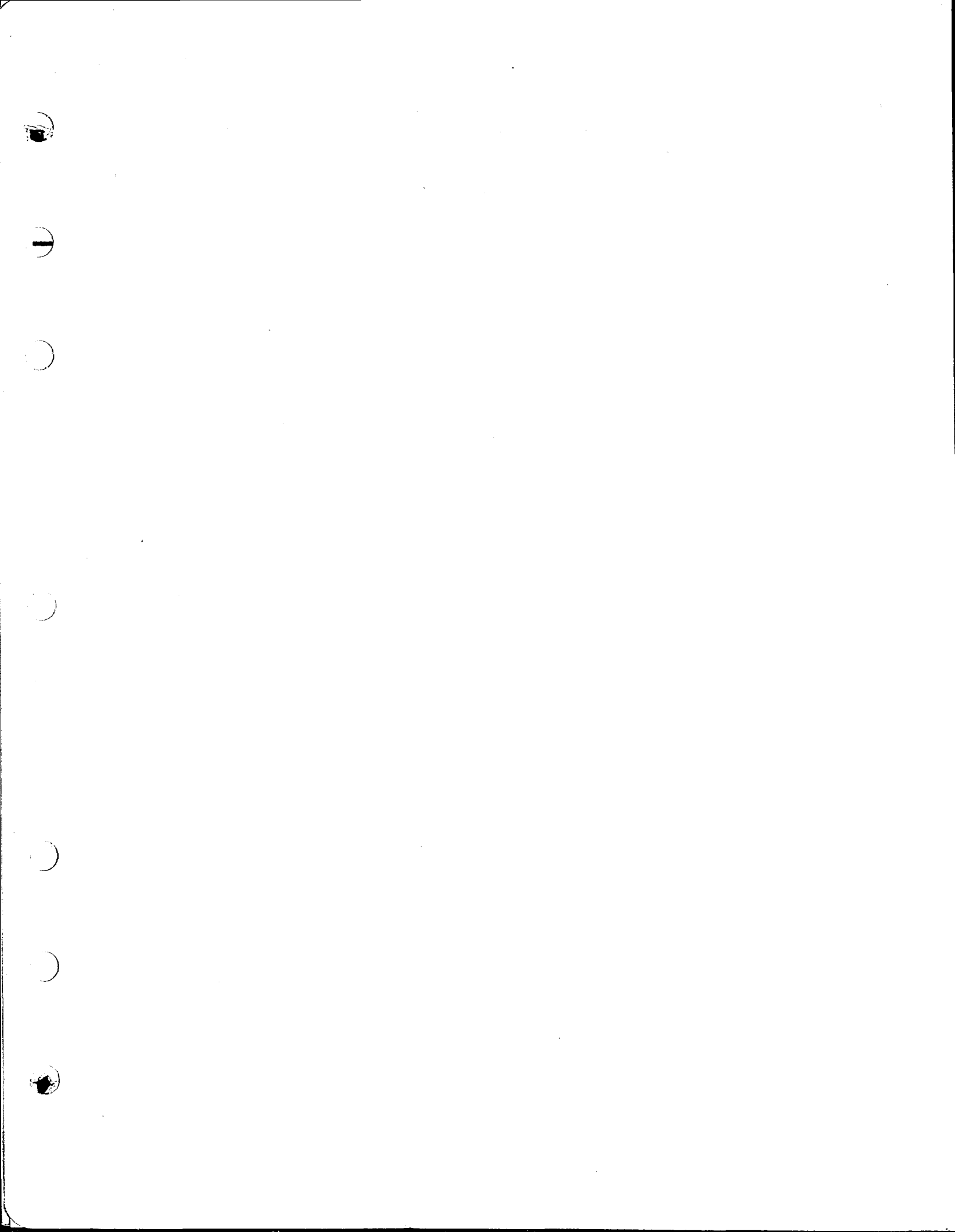
En cette année du Centenaire, rien ne saurait être plus approprié, à mon avis, que de commémorer l'apport fait par la communauté ukrainienne à l'édifice du Canada en posant cette plaque dans notre nouvelle bibliothèque nationale.

Un des Pères de la Confédération, M. Joseph Howe, disait:

"Une nation qui est sage conserve ses dossiers, rassemble ses archives, orne les tombes de ses illustres disparus, rénove ses édifices publics célèbres et nourrit la fierté et l'amour de la nation par le rappel constant des sacrifices et des gloires du passé."

Au Canada, nous ne nous contentons pas de conserver nos grands édifices publics mais, pays dynamique en pleine croissance, nous en construisons de nouveaux, telle cette bibliothèque. Et c'est, je crois, un sujet de fierté et de satisfaction qu'elle soit embellie par des symboles comme cette plaque, souvenirs des "sacrifices et des gloires du passé" et promesses d'avenir.

C'est pour moi un grand honneur d'être ici aujourd'hui pour dévoiler la Plaque ukrainienne du Centenaire. Puisse cette plaque nous servir d'inspiration à tous dans nos efforts pour bâtir un Canada de plus en plus conscient de sa valeur et de sa haute destinée.



PRESS RELEASE



CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE MOMENT DU DISCOURS

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Allocution de M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
à la cérémonie d'ouverture des Fêtes du
Centenaire à Hamilton, le 13 août 1967,
à 13h.30.

"LE CENTENAIRE DU CANADA ET L'UNITE NATIONALE"

Je suis enchanté d'être invité à participer aujourd'hui au "Hamilton Happening" et, au nom du gouvernement du Canada, à couper le ruban qui inaugure officiellement les Fêtes du Centenaire.

L'emploi du mot "happening" pour désigner les manifestations du jour m'intriguait, parce que j'ai toujours eu l'impression que "happening" signifiait une rencontre spontanée entre un petit groupe de personnes. Comment le mot peut-il s'appliquer à une occasion solennelle comme celle-ci, qui a été préparée pendant des mois par la Chambre de commerce des jeunes et à laquelle sont présents des dizaines de milliers de gens? La réponse réside, je crois, en ceci que, malgré la préparation, tous ceux qui participent au "happening" ont une impression de spontanéité, un sentiment de liberté et beaucoup d'enthousiasme. Pour ma part, je trouve que le "Centenaire" tel qu'il est célébré ici à Hamilton est un magnifique "happening", tout à fait dans le ton d'un centenaire.

C'est aujourd'hui une journée de réjouissances; toutefois, nous devons réfléchir, je crois, sur quelques-unes des principales raisons pour lesquelles nous célébrons l'anniversaire de notre pays.

La première, c'est que nous aimons toutes les aventures couronnées de succès, et le Canada est précisément cela. Notre pays a été bâti consciemment, à partir de nombreux éléments disparates et en dépit des attraits d'ordre géographique et économique du Sud. Une fois les obstacles surmontés, nous nous sommes attachés pendant cent ans à forger des liens, des institutions et des ententes rassemblant ainsi des groupes ethniques différents pour former des régions et des provinces. Nous pouvons être fiers de nos efforts.

Toutefois, même si nous avons beaucoup accompli, il reste de nombreuses tâches pressantes à parachever, dont la plus importante est, à mon avis, d'affermir davantage l'unité nationale.

Il y a des gens qui prétendent que la seule façon de réaliser l'unité de notre pays, c'est de n'en pas être conscient et de laisser les difficultés s'aplanir d'elles-mêmes. Bref, ils prétendent qu'il n'est besoin d'aucun effort particulier. Je ne suis pas d'accord. Dans le passé, une telle attitude a pu suffire à calmer certains esprits, mais on en constate l'insuffisance dans le fait que les Canadiens en grande majorité ne croient pas qu'on puisse d'un coup de balai refouler l'unité nationale sous le tapis, celui-ci eut-il 4,000 milles de longueur.

Des Canadiens d'un bout à l'autre du pays commencent à se rendre compte que cette question est d'une importance vitale pour notre avenir, et ils sont prêts à faire quelque chose pour la régler. Il y a quelques années, on ne comprenait guère les aspirations des autres régions du pays. Quand les désaccords n'étaient pas simplement passés sous silence, ils étaient la cible de propos fielleux. Je crois qu'aujourd'hui, en dépit de divergences évidentes entre divers éléments du Canada, nous faisons preuve d'une plus grande maturité dans le domaine de notre vie nationale. En plus d'être l'occasion merveilleuse de nous réjouir, l'année du Centenaire semble nous stimuler à faire de plus grands efforts pour mieux comprendre notre vie nationale et trouver les moyens de régler nos différends.

Au milieu de 1967, les Canadiens reconnaissent, je crois, comme le disait récemment le premier ministre, que: "le Canada a eu...deux peuples fondateurs, deux langues et deux cultures, anglaise et française, et avec ces origines, notre pays ne peut survivre, voire même se développer, que si la majorité anglophone accepte pleinement la minorité francophone comme élément spécial sur le plan linguistique, ethnique et culturel, au sein

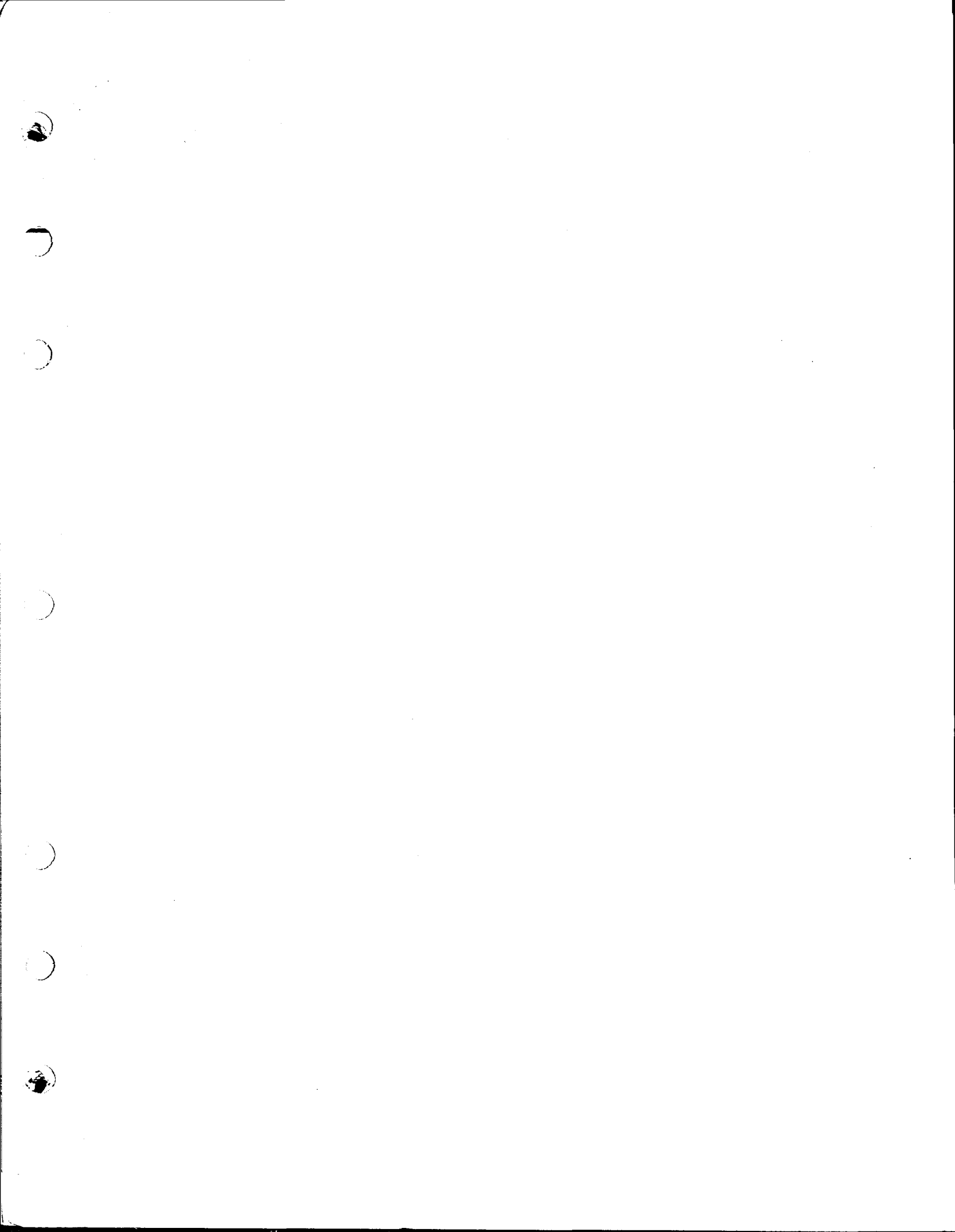
de l'Etat canadien, où le "fait français" a tous les moyens voulus pour s'affirmer et se développer, mais où il n'a pas besoin d'une entité politique distincte pour consacrer son identité culturelle et linguistique."

Nous devrions aussi reconnaître qu'en préservant cette identité, les Canadiens-français sont prêts à travailler sur un pied de parfaite égalité avec tous les Canadiens à la réalisation des objectifs nationaux.

Cependant, le tableau exclusif des divergences entre Canadiens de langue anglaise et Canadiens de langue française ne donne pas une image fidèle de notre pays ni de ses problèmes actuels. Les ancêtres de plus du quart de notre population ne viennent ni des Iles britanniques ni de la France. Les Canadiens dont les origines diffèrent de celles des deux peuples fondateurs ont un apport important à faire à notre vie nationale, en tant qu'individus et en tant que groupes, et leur présence exercera sans aucun doute une influence de plus en plus considérable sur l'évolution du Canada.

Le problème de l'unité du Canada existait en 1867; il existe encore aujourd'hui. Je crois qu'il existera encore dans 100 ans. Malgré ce problème, le Canada est devenu une réalité en 1967; il est aujourd'hui un pays fort et dynamique; et j'ai confiance que le Canada sera encore plus fort dans 100 ans, lors de son deuxième centenaire. Nous, Canadiens d'origines et d'aspirations diverses, nous sommes résolus à faire en sorte qu'il le soit. Dans toutes les provinces, nous sommes prêts à faire des sacrifices pour notre pays, à notre façon.

Notre progrès jusqu'ici est attribuable à l'effort et à l'imagination des Canadiens. A l'avenir, il dépendra aussi exclusivement des Canadiens.



PRESS RELEASE



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Speech by the Secretary of State for
External Affairs, the Hon. Paul Martin,
at the opening of the International
Seminar of Rendez-vous '67 (Centennial
Project of the Canadian Red Cross Society),
Ottawa, August 14, 1967 at 9:30 a.m.

"RED CROSS YOUTH AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS"

In 1967, governments, private organizations and individuals have put forth a tremendous effort to celebrate our centennial year. Expo '67, the Pan Am games, and literally thousands of other projects represent an unprecedented desire among Canadians to express their feelings for their country. But of all the ideas which have been spawned throughout the length and breadth of Canada this year, I can think of none which is more exciting, imaginative and constructive than the Red Cross's Rendez-vous '67. What could be more appropriate in this country which is 100 years "young" in 1967 than a project

- which puts the accent on youth,
- which stresses personal relationships, and
- which focusses on the whole world?

Even the name is a happy choice, for "Rendez-vous" succinctly expresses the concept of a meeting place through the use of a single word which has meaning in both Canada's national languages.

This morning I should like to pay tribute to the Canadian Red Cross for conceiving the idea of Rendez-vous '67, and in particular, to Red Cross Youth which has been instrumental in bringing it to fruition. The success of this experiment which is evident even now might well lead to its being repeated in different form or on a different scale as Rendez-vous '68.

Let's hope so.

Despite the importance of domestic issues in all our countries, perhaps the most serious challenge for the future lies not within but between nations. In the quest for international peace and security, I sometimes see the world community as a man on a treadmill whose speed is gradually increasing and making him run harder just to stay in the same place. Instead of being able to express satisfaction at the prospects for a durable and stable peace, we must be grateful for the necessary - but surely minimal - achievement of having so far avoided nuclear war and having prevented the spread of lesser conflicts.

As you know, the Red Cross' founder, Henri Dunant, based the Red Cross movement on the belief that "all men are brothers". If M. Dunant was correct in his assessment of human nature, then the urgent task of preventing fratricide, of reducing the struggle of brother against brother, still remains to be done.

The search for peace involves not only the prevention of violent conflict, but also the attainment by people of all countries of adequate standards of living. I fear that if the gap between rich and poor is not closed, or at least prevented from widening, meaningful relationships between the world's people may become virtually impossible.

The problem of economic development, therefore, is one of vital concern to Canadians as well as to citizens of less developed countries.

The scope for initiative in this rapidly changing and interdependent world is as unlimited as it is necessary. As an example, Canada has for many years had an expanding programme of external aid which amounts this year to about \$300 million. But in the face of the growing need the government has taken the decision to increase its contribution to international development to an amount approximately equal to one per cent of its Gross National Product by the early 1970's. Along side governments, young people and voluntary organizations such as the Red Cross also have a vital role to play. To succeed, a combination of international understanding and practical projects will be required.

Because of its voluntary nature, the Red Cross is accepted in a great many situations where particular countries are unable to act; it thus fulfills a unique and essential role in the world community in relief, education and other humanitarian activities. The Canadian government has been pleased to work closely with the Red Cross, for example in the provision of relief funds and assistance in disaster areas. An example of this co-operation has been the government's provision of funds, emergency supplies

and transportation to the Red Cross for use in the Middle East. These activities have been harmoniously co-ordinated without a duplication of effort in our respective areas of responsibility in international affairs. I am sure that the future will provide opportunities for you, as Red Cross Youth and later as Senior Red Cross members to play a part in this kind of joint attack on human suffering.

A further idea which has been put forward by Red Cross Youth members themselves is the question: In addition to the "pound of cure" now being devoted to the relief work, is there a place in a voluntary movement such as the Red Cross for an "ounce of prevention". I don't know the answer to this question, but what I can say is that the "ounce of prevention" - if I might suspend the laws of gravity for a moment - will have to be a very heavy one because the requirements of development aid are prodigious. I shall be interested to hear the outcome of your deliberations on health education, food and nutrition particularly in relation to development programmes.

One hears a good deal of talk today about young people and their deficiencies - how they have rejected the tutelage of their elders, have become alienated from society and are unprepared to assume responsibility.

Probably you have heard this kind of criticism whether you are Finnish or Australian, Mexican or Tanzanian. I find such talk unperceptive and unduly pessimistic. If you have rejected the example of another generation, perhaps you have had reason to do so. The mid-20th century world with all its defects was not created by you but by your elders. You have become simply the inheritors of it.

On the one hand, you are familiar with the new environment: the communications media, mass organizations, even the idea of rapid change itself. At the same time you are sufficiently detached from any responsibility for the origins of the situation to harbour few regrets about altering what does not stand up to critical examination. All that I would ask is that the questioning and examination do not exclude a search for answers - for improving the quality of life. For you the future is one of enhanced opportunity and responsibility in a world where the stakes are higher than ever before. Whatever your country, whatever your heritage, whatever your individual capacities, a great deal will depend upon the way you respond to the challenge.

But before this audience, I feel somewhat like the preacher who devotes his sermons to an exposition of the value of church-going, when the assembled congregation has already demonstrated an acceptance of his moral by being there in the first place. It is superfluous for me to speak to you about responsibility and service. I understand that among the criteria for your selection to take part in "Rendez-vous '67" has been the willingness to serve and to assume responsibility. As you have been chosen from 80 million Red Cross Youth members - I never cease to marvel at that huge enrollment for service - it would be odd indeed if you didn't possess the motivation and approach to world problems which I have been talking about.

As important as the practical programmes which you will discuss in the seminar will be the opportunities

- for exchanging ideas
- for getting to know Canadians from all parts of the country and young people from around the world, and
- for coming to grips with the inevitable differences that divide individuals, regions and countries from each other.

As Secretary of State for External Affairs in Canada, I am particularly concerned about the last problem:

how to deal with the international differences that divide. In this regard several points might be noted.

First of all, it is important to realize that when countries differ, in many vital cases the disagreement cannot be wished away or ignored. In private life, if you have a falling out with somebody, you can often choose not to meet that person again. You can find a new job or join another club to avoid him. In international relations, countries with differences must continue to take each other into account whether or not they like each other.

Secondly, it would be naive to believe that we have much prospect of creating a world without differences, that is a goal for the millenium. What we must do is learn to deal with inevitable differences in a mature fashion: to handle our problems short of war and preferably in a productive and positive way.

Thirdly, in all probability the solution of international differences is unlikely without international understanding. Even if the great problem of development is beaten, even if nuclear weapons are controlled or eliminated, the world will still not be secure and prosperous while nation states remain at loggerheads over issues of territory, power or prestige.

It is a theme of your study sessions that

increased knowledge will bring the increased understanding so necessary for international harmony, progress and prosperity. I would agree to a point, but it is sobering to consider how often in the past, war has erupted between countries which were all too well known to each other. Knowledge did not prevent conflict and may well have caused it. So I would prefer to turn the proposition around and say that without knowledge, there is little hope for understanding. To borrow the language of science: knowledge is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for international understanding.

Also necessary are goodwill, a sense of perspective and the ability to compromise. I am not asking you to forsake or compromise or betray ideals, particularly if they are ideals of compassion and service. It must be remembered, however, that many social and political values are not the same from society to society. What is an ideal of great importance in one community may be of much less significance in another. Above all, don't mistake a policy in the interest of your group, your country or yourself for an immutable principle. To do so, is to make the accumulation of knowledge irrelevant and conflict inevitable.

Participating in this conference, you have already taken hurdles that many individuals and nations never seem to have been able to get over. Although representing

more than forty countries, you have demonstrated that you share a common purpose in advancing education, world health, and assistance to others. In addition, you have a common and very valuable vehicle in the Red Cross which you can use to overcome other obstacles. I hope that these basic advantages of common purpose and forum will provide the basis in your discussions for you to gain knowledge and achieve an understanding of different viewpoints. You will need every bit of understanding to counter the preconceptions and prejudices which exist in all of us and which weaken our ability to serve and solve international problems. Ultimately, your knowledge and understanding will impose on you even greater responsibilities at home in molding attitudes among your own people whether in Czechoslovakia or Chile, Canada or the Congo.

In concluding, Madame Chairman, may I compliment you on the example which you have provided this morning in assuming responsibility and dispatching it with efficiency and charm. I am sure that the coming eight days will prove of great profit to you and your friends as a cross-section of young people from 45 countries. Concern - even outrage - at the condition of your fellow men everywhere when mixed with a dedication to service and a willingness to appreciate other points of view should provide the ingredients for discussions of lasting value.

People everywhere will be looking to see the impact of Rendez-vous '67:

- on you as individuals
- on the Red Cross Youth organization
- and on all the people in your countries.

I wish you well in your deliberations.

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE MOMENT
DU DISCOURS

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Discours de M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
à l'occasion de la première réunion du cycle
d'études international de "Rendez-vous '67",
projet du centenaire de la Société canadienne
de la Croix-Rouge, à l'Université Carleton,
le lundi 14 août 1967, à 9h.30 du matin

LA CROIX-ROUGE DE LA JEUNESSE ET L'ENTENTE INTERNATIONALE

En 1967, les gouvernements, les organismes privés et les particuliers déploient de grands efforts pour la célébration de notre Centenaire. L'Expo 67, les Jeux panaméricains et des milliers d'autres projets dénotent chez les Canadiens un désir sans précédent d'exprimer ce qu'ils ressentent pour leur pays. Parmi toutes les idées qui ont germé d'un bout à l'autre du Canada cette année, il me semble que la plus neuve, la plus exaltante et la plus constructive est celle de "Rendez-vous 67 de la Croix-Rouge". En effet, que pourrait-il y avoir de plus approprié pour un pays qui, en 1967, fête un siècle de jeunesse, qu'un projet qui met l'accent sur la jeunesse, met en relief les relations personnelles et débouche sur le monde entier?

Le nom même est bien choisi, car "Rendez-vous" exprime de manière succincte l'idée d'un lieu de réunion, par l'emploi d'un seul mot qui est plein de sens dans les deux langues nationales du Canada.

Ce matin, j'aimerais rendre hommage à la Croix-Rouge du Canada pour avoir conçu l'idée de Rendez-vous 67 et, en particulier, à la Croix-Rouge de la Jeunesse à qui nous devons la réalisation de ce projet. Le succès de cette entreprise que nous pouvons constater dès maintenant, pourrait bien mener à une reprise de cette idée sous une forme différente ou à une échelle différente à l'avenir. Espérons qu'il y aura un Rendez-vous 68.

Pour les Canadiens peut-être comme pour les autres pays, malgré l'importance des questions nationales, le défi le plus pressant pour l'avenir ne vient pas de la vie intérieure de la nation, mais de ses rapports avec les autres nations. Dans la recherche de la paix internationale et de la sécurité, je vois parfois la communauté mondiale comme un homme sur une trépigieuse dont la vitesse augmente graduellement, et qui est forcé de courir toujours plus vite pour ne pas reculer. Nous ne pouvons pas nous dire satisfaits des perspectives actuelles d'une paix durable, mais nous devons être reconnaissants d'avoir pu accomplir la tâche indispensable, mais certes minime, qui consistait à éviter la guerre nucléaire et à empêcher la multiplication des luttes de moindre envergure.

Vous savez sans doute que le fondateur de la Croix-Rouge, Henri Dunant, s'est inspiré de la croyance que "tous les hommes sont frères" pour établir son mouvement. Si M. Dunant ne s'est pas trompé dans son jugement sur la nature humaine, il faut dire que la tâche urgente d'empêcher le fratricide, d'étouffer les combats entre frères, est loin d'être terminée.

La recherche de la paix n'implique pas seulement qu'il faille prévenir les conflits violents. Il faut, en outre, permettre à tous les hommes de tous les pays de jouir d'un niveau de vie convenable. Si on ne réussit pas à diminuer l'écart entre riches et pauvres, ou du moins à empêcher qu'il ne s'accroisse, je crains qu'il devienne pratiquement impossible aux hommes d'établir entre eux des relations qui en valent vraiment la peine. La question du développement économique prend donc une importance vitale pour tous les Canadiens, comme pour les citoyens de pays moins évolués.

Dans un monde en état constant de devenir, où règne de plus en plus l'interdépendance, la place faite à l'initiative est aussi illimitée qu'elle est nécessaire. Par exemple, depuis de nombreuses années, le Canada a un programme d'aide extérieure qui s'est développé graduellement au point d'atteindre, cette année, un montant de l'ordre de 300 millions de dollars; toutefois, vu les besoins grandissants des pays, le Gouvernement a décidé d'augmenter sa contribution au développement international, de sorte qu'au début des années soixante-dix elle s'élèvera à un p. 100 environ du produit national brut. De concert avec les gouvernements, les groupes de jeunesse et les organismes bénévoles, tels que la Croix-Rouge, ont un rôle essentiel à jouer. Pour réussir, il est nécessaire que la compréhension internationale s'accompagne de l'application de projets d'ordre pratique.

En raison de son caractère bénévole, la Croix-Rouge est acceptée dans bien des circonstances où certains pays ne peuvent intervenir. Cet organisme joue donc un rôle unique et essentiel dans le monde dans le domaine des secours, de l'éducation, des oeuvres humanitaires. Le gouvernement canadien, a toujours été heureux de travailler en étroite collaboration avec la Croix-Rouge, en fournissant par exemple de l'aide et des fonds de secours à des régions victimes de désastre. Le Canada encore dernièrement a mis à la disposition de la Croix-Rouge des fonds, des approvisionnements d'urgence et des moyens de transport qui seront utilisés au Moyen-Orient. Ces activités ont été coordonnées de façon harmonieuse sans qu'il y ait conflit ni chevauchement des efforts déployés dans les domaines dont nous sommes respectivement responsables sur le plan international. Je suis convaincu qu'à l'avenir, d'autres occasions vous seront offertes, en tant que membres de la Croix-Rouge de la Jeunesse et, plus tard, en tant que membres adultes, et vous permettront de prendre une part active dans cet assaut concerté contre la souffrance humaine.

Un autre sujet de réflexion que les membres de la Croix-Rouge de la Jeunesse ont eux-mêmes soulevé, consiste à savoir si, en plus de la "livre de guérison" que l'on consacre actuellement au soulagement de la souffrance, il y a place, au sein d'un mouvement bénévole tel que la Croix-Rouge, pour une "once de prévention". Je ne connais pas la réponse à cette question, mais je puis dire que "l'once de prévention" - si je puis faire abstraction des lois de la gravité pour un moment - devra être très lourde, car les besoins d'aide pour le développement sont prodigieux. J'aimerais connaître les résultats de vos délibérations sur l'enseignement de l'hygiène, la nourriture et l'alimentation particulièrement en ce qui a trait aux programmes de développement.

On discute beaucoup de nos jours de la jeunesse et de ses défauts, de la façon dont les jeunes se sont libérés de la tutelle de leurs aînés, dont ils se sont détachés de la société et sont devenus inaptes à y assumer des responsabilités. Que vous soyez Finlandais ou Australien, Mexicain ou Tanzanien, vous avez sans doute entendu ce genre de critique. Pour ma part, je la trouve superficielle et d'un pessimisme excessif. Si vous avez rejeté l'exemple de la génération précédente, c'est que vous aviez peut-être des raisons de le faire. Car le milieu du vingtième siècle, avec tous ses défauts, n'est pas votre oeuvre, mais celle de vos aînés. Vous n'en êtes que les héritiers.

D'une part, le nouveau milieu vous est bien connu: les grands moyens de communication, les organisations de masse, même l'idée d'évolution rapide. D'autre part, vous êtes suffisamment détachés de toute responsabilité quant aux origines de cet état de choses pour ne pas nourrir de regrets quand vous modifiez ce qui ne résiste pas à un examen critique. Tout ce que je demande, c'est que l'interrogation et l'examen n'excluent pas une recherche des solutions visant à améliorer la qualité de la vie. L'avenir vous offre des occasions et des responsabilités accrues dans un monde où l'enjeu est plus important que jamais. Quel que soit votre pays, quel que soit votre patrimoine, quelles que soient vos capacités individuelles bien des choses dépendront de la façon dont vous relèverez le défi.

Devant cet auditoire, je me sens un peu comme le prédicateur qui discourt sur l'importance de venir à l'église alors même que l'assemblée des fidèles a déjà démontré par sa présence qu'elle reconnaît ce principe. Il est inutile pour moi de vous parler de responsabilité et de service. Je crois savoir que votre désir de servir et d'assumer des responsabilités est précisément un des critères qui vous ont conduit à participer à "Rendez-vous '67". Vous avez été choisis parmi 80 millions de membres de la Croix-Rouge de la Jeunesse, le nombre élevé d'inscriptions ne cesse de m'émerveiller, - cela démontre que vous possédez la motivation et l'attitude qu'il faut vis-à-vis les problèmes mondiaux dont j'ai parlé.

D'une aussi grande importance que les programmes pratiques dont vous discuterez dans vos séminaires seront toutefois les occasions

- d'échanger des idées
- de connaître des Canadiens de toutes les régions du pays et des jeunes de diverses parties du monde, et
- de faire face aux inévitables différences qui séparent les individus, les régions et les pays.

A titre de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures du Canada, je m'intéresse particulièrement au dernier de ces problèmes: comment aborder les divergences internationales qui désunissent. A cet égard, on peut noter plusieurs points.

En tout premier lieu, il importe de reconnaître que lorsque des pays diffèrent d'opinion, le désaccord dans bien des cas ne peut être ignoré ni supprimé par la force du souhait. Dans la vie privée, si vous vous querellez avec quelqu'un, vous pouvez souvent décider de ne plus rencontrer cette personne. Vous pouvez trouver un nouvel emploi ou entrer dans un autre cercle pour l'éviter. Dans les relations internationales, les pays qui sont en désaccord doivent continuer à tenir compte les uns des autres quelle que soit la nature de leurs sentiments.

Deuxièmement, il serait naïf de croire que nous pouvons édifier un monde sans divergences; un tel objectif ne serait réalisable qu'à l'âge d'or. Ce qu'il convient de faire, c'est apprendre à aborder les inévitables divergences avec une grande maturité d'esprit, c'est-à-dire à résoudre nos problèmes sans guerre et de préférence d'une manière productive et concrète.

Troisièmement, en réalité, la solution des divergences internationales n'est guère possible sans compréhension internationale. Même si l'on vient à bout du grand problème du développement, même si les armes nucléaires sont contrôlées ou éliminées, le monde ne connaîtra ni prospérité ni sécurité tant que les nations resteront en conflit sur des questions de territoire, de puissance ou de prestige.

Le thème de vos séances d'études suppose que l'accroissement des connaissances amènera la compréhension élargie qui est si nécessaire à l'harmonie internationale, au progrès et à la prospérité. J'en conviens jusqu'à un certain point, mais il est bon de se rappeler comment dans le passé, la guerre a souvent éclaté entre pays qui se connaissaient très bien de part et d'autre. Cette connaissance n'a pas empêché le conflit et peut même très bien l'avoir causé. Aussi je préfère retourner la proposition et dire que sans la connaissance, il existe peu d'espoir de compréhension. Pour emprunter le langage de la science: le savoir est une condition nécessaire mais non suffisante à la compréhension internationale.

Ce qu'il faut aussi c'est de la bonne volonté, le sens de la perspective et la faculté d'accommodement. Je ne vous demande pas de renoncer à vos idéaux, de les compromettre ou de les trahir, surtout si ce sont des idéaux de compassion et de service. Il faut se rappeler, néanmoins, que beaucoup de valeurs sociales et politiques ne sont pas les mêmes d'une société à une autre. Un idéal de grande importance pour une communauté peut en avoir beaucoup moins pour une autre. Avant tout, ne prenez pas pour un principe immuable une politique qui est dans l'intérêt de votre groupe, dans celui de votre pays ou dans votre intérêt personnel. Agir de la sorte revient à rendre les connaissances accumulées inutiles

et le conflit inévitable.

En participant à cette conférence, vous avez déjà franchi des obstacles que beaucoup de personnes et de nations semblent n'avoir jamais été capables de surmonter. Bien que représentant plus de quarante pays, vous démontrez que vous avez un but commun visant à favoriser l'éducation, la santé mondiale et l'aide mutuelle. De plus, vous avez en la Croix-Rouge un moyen collectif très précieux, dont vous pouvez vous servir pour surmonter d'autres difficultés. J'espère que ces avantages fondamentaux d'un but et d'un forum en commun constitueront l'assise de vos entretiens où vous enrichirez vos connaissances et où vous arriverez à comprendre des points de vue différents. Il vous faudra toute la compréhension possible pour vous dégager des idées préconçues ou des préjugés qui existent en chacun de nous et qui affaiblissent la capacité de servir et le désir de résoudre les problèmes internationaux. Finalement, vos connaissances et votre compréhension vous imposeront des tâches plus lourdes encore qui consisteront à façonner certaines attitudes chez vos compatriotes, que ce soit en Tchécoslovaquie, au Chili, au Canada ou au Congo.

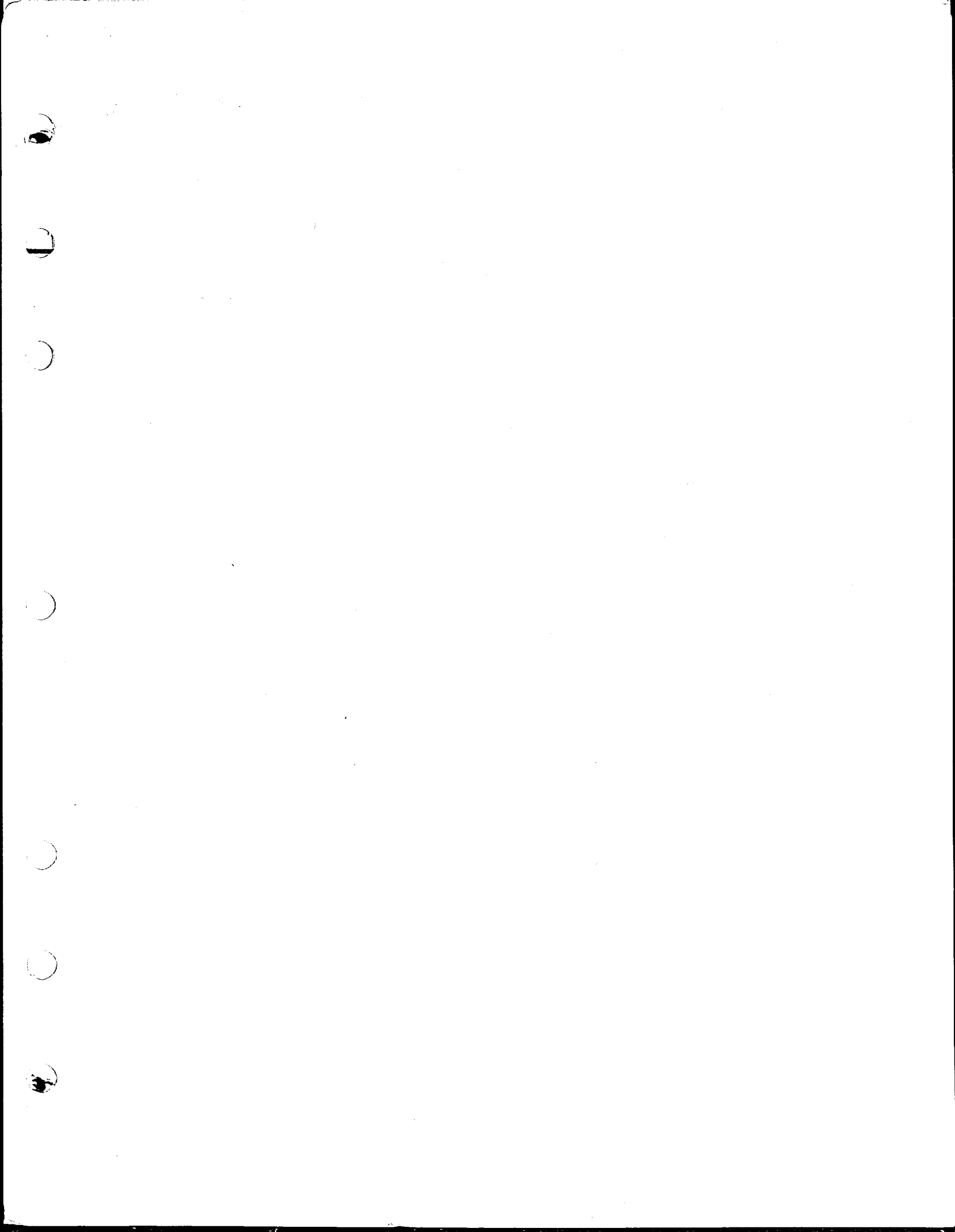
Pour conclure, Madame la Présidente, je vous fais compliment de l'exemple que vous avez donné aujourd'hui en assumant cette tâche dont vous vous êtes acquittée avec grâce et talent. Je suis certain que les huit prochains jours seront extrêmement profitables pour vous et pour vos amis, qui représentent divers milieux de jeunes de 45 pays.

L'inquiétude, voire l'indignation, devant le sort de nos semblables partout dans le monde, lorsqu'on y ajoute l'esprit de service et la bonne volonté de reconnaître d'autres points de vue, devraient fournir un alliage d'éléments précieux pour des entretiens d'une valeur durable.

Partout, on s'intéressera aux incidences que Rendez-vous 67 aura

- pour vous, en tant que personnes,
- pour la Croix-Rouge de la Jeunesse,
- et pour les peuples de vos pays.

Je vous souhaite un grand succès dans vos délibérations.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
at the final meeting of the Briefing
Conference for External Aid Teachers,
Ottawa, August 25 at 7:15 p.m.

"NEW PERSPECTIVES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE"

I am very pleased to have this opportunity of speaking to you at this last formal meeting before you leave for your overseas assignments. Indeed, I feel a great sense of pride when I see English and French-speaking teachers from all parts of our country working together in a common cause.

My conversations with Canadians from all walks of life have convinced me of the widespread support in this country for programmes of assistance to the developing countries. This is clearly indicated by your presence here tonight.

Initially, our contributions to international development took the form of reconstruction loans to various European countries following World War II, and it was not until 1951 that Canada, as a founding member of the Colombo Plan, embarked on its own bilateral programme and became an aid-giving nation within the context of economic development assistance. Although we extended our bilateral assistance programmes to the Caribbean area in 1958, only after 1960 did our aid programme really show substantial growth. Since then,

- a permanent Aid Office has been established in Ottawa,
- we have initiated aid programmes in both English and French-speaking countries in Africa, and
- we have embarked on an expanded programme of technical and capital assistance.

While we have every right to be proud of our past efforts, this is no time for complacency. Indeed, it is particularly discouraging that while many developing countries have made significant economic advances, the gap between the

rich and poor nations is widening. A redoubled effort is required on the part of both donor and the recipient countries if this dangerous trend is to be reversed. The developed world must be prepared to meet the challenge by drawing more deeply from its vast reservoir of knowledge, resources, skills and ingenuity.

The Government intends to meet the challenge head-on. Although our development assistance programmes are already substantial, by the early 1970's we hope to double our present allocations for aid purposes to make our total yearly contributions roughly one per cent of our Gross National Product. We also intend to improve the quality of our programmes.

For the past year we have been undertaking a thorough and searching review of our programmes and policies in order to draft a new blueprint for our future development assistance efforts:

- we have been examining the needs of recipient countries;
- we have entered into more intensive discussions with other donor agencies and countries; and
- we have been assessing more precisely Canada's own capacity to assist.

A new format for our aid programmes is now being worked out to enable the private sector in Canada, the provinces and the federal government to co-operate in establishing what I am confident will be the best aid programme undertaken by any donor country.

Under the new pattern, much more attention will be paid to the forward planning of programmes especially tailored to meet the key needs of developing countries. In other words we will, in co-operation with the governments of developing countries, identify those sectors of their economies which require priority treatment and we will mobilize Canadian resources to help with the solution of the problems involved. At the same time, we will stress much more strongly the elements of continuity and co-ordination in order that our programmes will have the maximum impact. Whenever possible we will attempt to support comprehensive projects involving a combination of various forms of assistance such as the provision of teachers and advisers overseas, training programmes in Canada, and possibly capital assistance as well.

In the field of education, for example, I can envisage that, in a particular country, we might concentrate on helping to introduce the new Mathematics. This could involve not only sending out teachers to the secondary schools but the assignment of educational advisers to the Ministry of Education and the provision of training programmes for local teachers who, after a period of time, would take over from Canadian personnel. I am convinced that an approach along these lines will yield a substantially higher return from the human and material resources we are investing in aid.

The implementation of this new approach, especially when it is seen in the context of a substantial expansion in our over-all aid activities, will require a considerable degree

of co-operation and supervision of our programmes in the field. Consequently, the Government intends to strengthen administration in the field by making arrangements for additional personnel in our diplomatic missions to assist with the job of administering and co-ordinating our overseas activities and of devising and promoting additional schemes that will improve the Canadian contribution. Opportunities will also be provided for the Ottawa staff of the External Aid Office to make regular field inspections in an attempt to ensure co-ordination of effort between Canada and the field.

If we are effectively to mobilize Canadian resources in support of the development plans of the emerging nations, it will require the active involvement and co-operation of all segments of the Canadian community. The enthusiasm which Canadians have demonstrated for our aid activities must be consolidated and channelled into new constructive opportunities for participation. To this end, the Aid Office will increase its efforts to promote the participation of the private sector, voluntary organizations and various individuals who are anxious to support aid activities.

There are many Canadians on non-governmental overseas aid assignments - experts working through the United Nations or one of its specialized agencies, teachers sent abroad under the sponsorship of Canadian voluntary societies and young volunteers serving with CUSO, the Canadian University Service Overseas.

To-night, I would like to tell you something about the newest organization to join the ranks of these internationally-minded voluntary organizations. It is called Canadian Executive Service Overseas and its purpose is to make available to developing nations the invaluable services of top-flight Canadian business and

professional men. Its president is Claude Hebert, a prominent Montreal businessman, who has undertaken to launch this new venture. He is supported by a board of directors drawn from the highest levels of Canadian companies and professions.

CESO will undertake to provide senior company executives and professional men on relatively short-term assignment to give entrepreneurial advice and assistance in tackling some of the tough and complex development problems faced by industries and governments in the developing countries. Most of them will be senior executives with a life time of experience - men who have been looking for the opportunity to play active roles in the challenging work of international development assistance. CESO is a non-profit corporation formed with the co-operation of Canadian University Service Overseas and the encouragement of the External Aid Office and will have a working relationship with both organizations. Its first volunteers are to go abroad this fall. Initially, their assignments will be in French and English-speaking Africa but we can anticipate the growth of an organization that eventually will participate in the progress of many other nations with which Canada is in development partnership.

This then is the blueprint for the future of our development assistance programmes. As Canadians, I think we are well-suited to carry out the high purposes which underlie these efforts. Our history and cultural diversity equip us, both as individuals and as a nation, to make a significant contribution to the economic advancement of the developing world.

Of equal importance to the impact which our programmes have overseas, is the effect which our participation in this great international enterprise has as a unifying influence within our

own country. Canadians are taking an increasing pride in the independent and constructive role that their country is playing within the world community. We have become aware of the potential that Canada has to contribute not only to development needs but also to peace and stability in the world. Each year larger numbers of our citizens from all parts of our country have been stepping forward to offer their many talents and skills for service overseas. They are all participating in a common cause and sharing important experiences, which, in turn, unite us by increasing our internationalism and our appreciation and tolerance of other cultural values, both abroad and at home.

You have been selected for service overseas because you have demonstrated professional competence in your work here in Canada and because you possess the characteristics which I have been discussing. I am certain that you will carry out your assignments with skill and diplomacy. From this point on the challenge of the assignment is yours alone and I wish you every success.

PRESS RELEASE

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

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NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT LE
MOMENT DU DISCOURS

PRIERE DE VERIFIER

Discours prononcé par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
à la réunion finale des Journées d'instructions
destinées aux enseignants de l'Aide extérieure,
Ottawa, le 25 août à 7 h. du soir

"NOUVELLES PERSPECTIVES DE L'AIDE INTERNATIONALE AU DEVELOPPEMENT"

Je suis particulièrement heureux d'avoir l'occasion de m'adresser à vous au cours de cette dernière réunion qui précède votre départ outre-mer. Je ne puis m'empêcher de ressentir de la fierté lorsque je vois des citoyens d'expression anglaise et d'expression française venus de toutes les régions de notre pays prendre part ensemble à une oeuvre commune.

Les entretiens que j'ai eus avec des Canadiens à tous les niveaux de l'échelle sociale m'ont convaincu de l'appui général qu'on donne dans notre pays aux programmes d'aide destinés aux pays en voie de développement. Voilà qui est clairement indiqué par votre présence ici ce soir.

Au début, notre apport au développement international prenait la forme de prêts de reconstruction versés aux pays européens, à la suite de la deuxième guerre mondiale; ce n'est qu'en 1951 que le Canada, à titre de membre fondateur du Plan de Colombo, s'est lancé dans l'exécution de son propre programme bilatéral et qu'il est devenu un pays donateur dans le contexte de l'assistance au développement économique. Même si nous avons fait profiter la région des Antilles de nos programmes d'aide dès 1958, ce n'est qu'après 1960 que ces programmes ont vraiment pris de l'ampleur. Depuis,

- un bureau permanent d'aide extérieure a été établi à Ottawa,
- nous avons pris l'initiative de programmes d'aide dans les pays anglophones et francophones de l'Afrique, et

- nous avons entrepris l'exécution d'un programme intensif d'aide technique et d'assistance-équipement.

Même si nous avons toutes les raisons d'être fiers des efforts que nous avons faits dans le passé, l'heure n'est pas à la complaisance. En réalité, il est très décevant de constater que, malgré les progrès économiques marqués de plusieurs pays en voie de développement, l'abîme qui sépare les nations riches des nations pauvres s'approfondit. Un effort redoublé s'impose des deux côtés -- tant de la part des donateurs que des récipiendaires -- pour freiner cette tendance. Le monde développé doit relever le défi en puisant plus généreusement dans son vaste réservoir de science, de ressources, de compétence et d'ingéniosité.

Le Gouvernement compte faire face à la réalité et aux exigences. Même si notre assistance a déjà été substantielle, nous espérons doubler, dès les premières années '70, nos apports actuels aux programmes d'aide, de sorte que notre contribution annuelle atteigne environ 1% de notre produit national brut. Nous entendons aussi améliorer la qualité de nos programmes.

Durant l'année qui vient de s'écouler, nous avons ré-examiné en profondeur nos programmes et nos objectifs afin d'établir un nouveau plan pour nos programmes d'aide futurs.

- Nous avons étudié les besoins des pays bénéficiaires;

- Nous avons eu des entretiens plus fréquents et plus complets avec les autres organismes et pays donateurs;
- Et nous avons essayé d'arriver à une appréciation plus précise des possibilités d'assistance du Canada.

Nous procédons actuellement à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle formule de programmes d'aide qui permettra au secteur privé canadien, aux provinces et au gouvernement fédéral de se donner la main pour établir ce qui, j'en suis convaincu, sera le meilleur programme d'aide jamais entrepris par un pays donateur.

En vertu de cette nouvelle formule on accordera plus d'attention à la facture de programmes spécialement conçus pour répondre aux exigences premières des pays en voie de développement. Autrement dit, de concert avec les gouvernements des pays en voie de développement, nous entendons identifier les secteurs économiques qui méritent un traitement prioritaire et nous mobiliserons les ressources canadiennes pour contribuer à la solution des difficultés qui se soulèveront. Du même coup, nous mettrons l'accent sur les éléments continuité et coordination, afin que nos programmes aient un maximum de portée. Chaque fois que ce sera possible, nous essayerons d'appuyer des projets de caractère général où se retrouveront plusieurs formes d'assistance, telles

que l'envoi à l'étranger d'enseignants et de conseillers, l'exécution de programmes de formation au Canada, ainsi peut-être qu'une assistance-équipement.

Dans le domaine de l'éducation, par exemple, je conçois très bien que nous puissions, pour un pays donné, concentrer notre aide sur l'introduction des nouvelles mathématiques. Cela ne voudrait pas seulement dire l'envoi de professeurs aux écoles secondaires, mais aussi l'affectation de conseillers en éducation au Ministère approprié et l'élaboration de programmes de formation pour les enseignants du pays qui, après un certain temps, prendraient la relève du personnel canadien. Je suis persuadé qu'une telle optique donnera d'excellents résultats et nous permettra de tirer le meilleur profit possible des ressources humaines et matérielles que nous consacrons à l'aide extérieure.

Il est clair que l'application de cette nouvelle méthode, surtout si l'on tient compte de l'expansion considérable que prendront nos entreprises globales d'aide extérieure, exigera beaucoup de coordination et de contrôle sur place. En conséquence, le Gouvernement se propose de renforcer l'administration locale de ses programmes en prenant des mesures pour augmenter le personnel de nos missions diplomatiques. Ces employés supplémentaires aideront à gérer et coordonner nos entreprises outre-mer et à mettre au point et promouvoir de nouveaux projets qui augmenteront l'apport du Canada. Le personnel du Bureau de l'aide extérieure à Ottawa aura l'occasion de faire l'inspection sur place de façon régulière, afin d'assurer la coordination des efforts entre le Canada et ses collaborateurs à l'étranger.

Si nous voulons combiner de façon efficace les ressources multiples du Canada et les plans d'expansion des pays en voie de développement, il nous faut la collaboration active de tous les secteurs de la communauté canadienne. L'enthousiasme

que les Canadiens ont témoigné pour nos entreprises d'aide extérieure doit être exploité et canalisé vers de nouveaux débouchés qui favoriseront une participation utile. A cette fin, le Bureau de l'aide extérieure accroîtra ses efforts pour favoriser la participation du secteur privé, des organismes volontaires et des individus soucieux d'appuyer notre activité dans le domaine de l'aide.

Ce sont là les grandes lignes de nos programmes d'assistance au développement. Les Canadiens, je pense, sont aptes à réaliser l'idéal qui est à la base de ces efforts. Notre histoire et notre diversité culturelle nous permettent, tant individuellement que nationalement de contribuer généreusement aux progrès économiques des pays en voie de développement.

Plusieurs Canadiens s'occupent déjà de programmes d'aide outre-mer indépendamment du Gouvernement. Ils travaillent sous l'égide des Nations Unies ou de l'un des organismes spécialisés de cette organisation; des enseignants sont envoyés à l'extérieur par des sociétés volontaires canadiennes et, de même, de jeunes volontaires se dévouent au Service universitaire canadien outre-mer.

Ce soir, j'aimerais vous dire un mot d'un organisme qui vient tout juste d'entrer dans les rangs de ces organisations volontaires qui s'intéressent au progrès international. Il porte le nom de Service administratif canadien outre-mer. Sa tâche est de mettre à la disposition des nations en voie de développement les précieux services de Canadiens éminents du monde des affaires et du monde professionnel. Le président de cet organisme est M. Claude Hébert, un Montréalais éminent qui a entrepris de lancer ce projet. Il a la collaboration d'un conseil d'administration formé d'hommes triés sur le volet, aux plus hauts paliers de l'industrie et des professions au Canada.

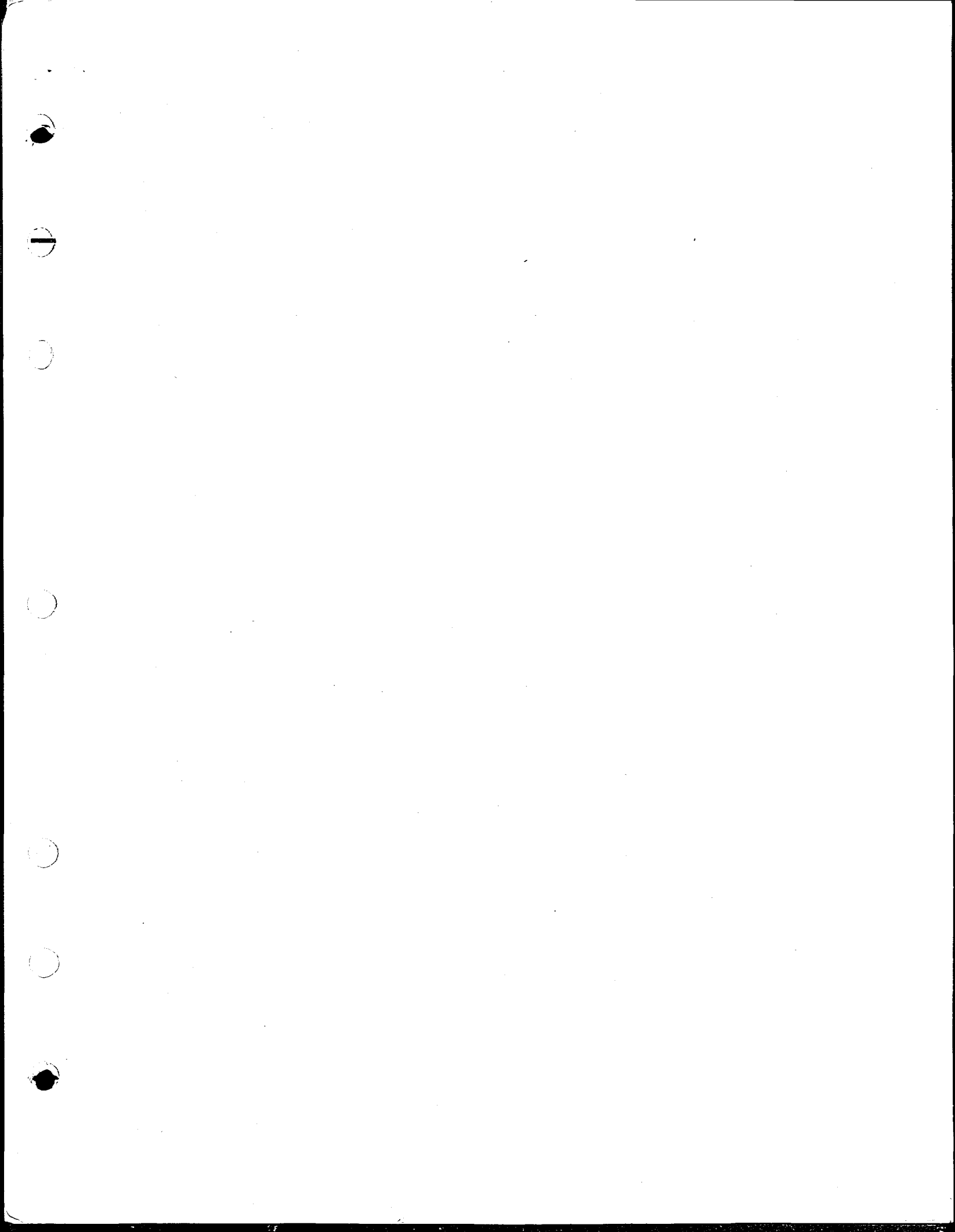
SACO verra à recruter des dirigeants du monde industriel et professionnel, engagés pour de brefs mandats, à prodiguer leurs conseils pour mener à bien la tâche complexe que représente la solution des problèmes des industries et des gouvernements des pays en voie d'évolution. La plupart d'entre eux sont des administrateurs chevronnés qui ont acquis au cours de leur carrière une expérience étendue. Ils ont saisi l'occasion de jouer des rôles actifs dans le domaine de l'assistance au développement international. SACO est une corporation à but non lucratif formée avec la coopération du service universitaire canadien outre-mer et l'encouragement du Bureau d'aide extérieure. SACO collaborera avec les deux. Ses premiers volontaires doivent partir à l'automne. Au début, ils seront postés dans l'Afrique francophone et l'Afrique anglophone, mais nous pouvons prévoir la croissance de cet organisme qui, éventuellement, contribuera au progrès de plusieurs autres nations, au développement desquelles le Canada s'est associé.

Le passé historique du Canada est tel qu'il permet aux Canadiens de mieux comprendre les aspirations des jeunes nations et de les aider plus efficacement à réaliser leurs programmes d'expansion. Par ailleurs, il existe des affinités entre les Canadiens et les gens de différentes cultures parce que la nôtre est bivalente.

Le développement international est un défi et je vous ai expliqué pourquoi les pays industrialisés doivent le relever de concert avec les pays neufs. J'ai décrit aussi comment le Canada a réagi dans cette conjoncture et je vous ai donné certaines des raisons pour lesquelles nous le jugeons apte à participer avec succès au développement international. De plus les avantages qui découlent de notre contribution à cette grande entreprise mondiale sont importants, car ils favorisent l'unité de notre pays. Les Canadiens sont de plus en plus fiers de l'indépendance et de l'initiative de leur pays dans le rôle qu'il joue au sein de la communauté internationale. Nous savons aujourd'hui que le Canada dispose de ressources qui lui permettent non seulement d'aider au développement économique mais de participer également au maintien de la paix et de la stabilité dans le monde. Chaque année, un nombre croissant de

nos concitoyens, qui appartiennent à toutes les régions du Canada, offrent leurs divers talents et leurs compétences à nos services d'outre-mer. Ils collaborent tous à une oeuvre commune et partagent des expériences importantes qui ont pour effet de nous unir, tout en élargissant notre horizon international, nous enseignant aussi à comprendre et à apprécier la valeur des autres cultures, à l'étranger et chez nous.

Vous avez été choisis pour servir outre-mer, parce que vous avez fait preuve de compétence professionnelle dans votre travail, ici au Canada, et parce que vous avez du caractère; ce sont les qualités indispensables que je viens de décrire. Je suis sûr que vous accomplirez votre mission avec tact et savoir-faire. Il n'appartient plus qu'à vous d'entrer dans l'arène et de relever le défi; je vous souhaite le plus entier succès.



PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANADA

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Speech by the Hon. Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
at the International Day Luncheon of
the Directors of the Canadian National
Exhibition, Toronto, August 26, 1967,
at 12:15 p.m.

"CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT"

It was in 1963, not long after I became Secretary of State for External Affairs, that I first had the pleasure of addressing the directors of the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto. In our centennial year, I am delighted to have the opportunity of returning to this great Exhibition and of meeting you again.

We are all aware of the rapid growth of interest in and concern for foreign affairs which has been taking place in Canada. The Government welcomes this public interest and we think that it deserves a continuing exposition of government policy. Today I would like to speak to you about some of the major areas of Canadian foreign policy and the ways in which we have been striving to achieve our goals in these areas.

Most Canadians are fully cognizant of the complexities of foreign affairs. In this field of human relations, as in others, "the truth" - to quote Oscar Wilde - "is seldom pure and never simple." What governments have to do - and what we have been doing in Canada - is to take a hard look at all sides of the many problems - and then adopt policies which will

- conform to the country's basic principles
- reflect domestic realities
- have long term validity, and
- take into account the position of other countries.

Among the objectives underlying Canadian foreign policy are world peace, the rule of law, the dignity of man, economic growth and the preservation of national unity. Canadians are generally agreed on this. Today I would like to discuss

some policies we are pursuing in order to achieve these underlying objectives. The list is long - foreign aid, NATO, peacekeeping, arms control, China, Vietnam - but it reflects an important point about Canadian involvement in and attitude toward the world. Increasingly we are becoming concerned about problems in all parts of the globe through the United Nations, through our participation in alliances, or through bilateral relations with many countries. We are concerned about the whole gamut of relations among countries, whether they be political, economic or cultural. And we are particularly concerned with the opportunities for a positive contribution to the solution of international problems in all these areas.

The first major area of foreign policy that I would like to mention is underdevelopment and foreign aid. Some have argued that even if development is a problem in the poor countries, it is not Canada's problem and that we need not become involved. To my way of thinking no point of view could be more short-sighted: the needs are so great and the alternatives to rapid growth so unacceptable that more not fewer resources must be channelled to the less developed countries. Canadians have acknowledged the need and have responded positively to the idea that Canada has a significant part to play in ^{the} development of the Third World. Over the past two decades our country has built up an aid programme which this year will exceed \$300 million in equipment, expertise, training and commodities. We have active programmes around the world in Asia, Africa and the West Indies. You may be aware of the fact that some other aid-giving countries have been levelling off their contributions or actually allowing them to decline. In the face of this movement we have even greater responsibility to

set an example by maintaining, out of an expanding economy, the upward trend of our foreign aid.

We are doing just that. It is the Government's firm intention to increase our aid budget significantly in the next five years. We are committed to raising our contribution to one per cent of our Gross National Product by the early 1970's. In dollar terms we can look to annual expenditures of over half a billion dollars within five years.

It will be our intention to undertake these substantial increases without impairing or endangering commitments or important initiatives in other areas. It would be the height of irresponsibility to sacrifice - as was suggested in a recent criticism of Canadian foreign policy - our policies on the whole spectrum of world problems (and especially those associations and commitments directed towards collective security) in order to satisfy one requirement. Canada has, and will continue to have, a balanced foreign policy which takes into consideration all the relevant issues.

Another major concern of Canada is the preservation of peace and security in the nuclear age. Some people have argued that world conditions are such that Canada could reduce radically or even dispense with its military contributions towards collective and co-operative defence arrangements.

As to NATO, no one would deny that significant changes have taken place in the years since the Alliance was founded: Europe has recovered economically and is better able to provide for its own defence; in addition, tension in Central Europe has declined, bringing some improvement in East-West relations. Yet

we would do well to remember:

- that there is no peace settlement in Europe and no immediate prospect of one;
- that a prime source of tension - the division of Europe, and more particularly of Germany - continues;
- that the USSR is militarily stronger than it has ever been in the past and retains massive forces in Eastern Europe; and
- that, despite its progress, Europe alone could not withstand a revival of Soviet political pressure, let alone the pressure of Soviet military power.

In other words, while there has been undoubted progress in Europe, we have not reached the point where the West can safely dispense with NATO's military strength for defence against aggression.

This does not mean that NATO countries will not be prepared to join the countries of the Warsaw Pact in measures calculated to reduce tension further, in any way that could bring about a mutual reduction of forces. In this and in other ways, NATO can make an important contribution to the growth of confidence necessary to reach a mutually agreeable settlement in Europe. This will help in "building bridges to the East".

How do we see Canada's role?

First - Canada will continue to work through NATO and through every other possible channel, bilateral or multi-lateral, for progress towards detente in Europe.

Second - Canada will contribute its fair share to NATO's collective defence needs, given that the security of Europe contributes to the security of Canada. If in this way we can help to maintain stability in the Atlantic region, it is surely to our advantage to do so.

Third - Canada has persistently advocated that the members of NATO examine the future purposes and structure of the organization. We are in the midst of that examination now.

Fourth - The precise nature of our military commitment is not fixed. It will vary according to changing military requirements, to the contributions of our partners, to what we can best and most economically contribute. The level of forces contributed to NATO has traditionally been a matter for collective rather than unilateral decision. We continue to believe that individual contributions to the military strength of NATO should be the subject of consultation among the members of the Alliance.

But whatever the shorter-term requirements and patterns, the long-term goal in NATO remains to reach a settlement between East and West such that NATO, in its military aspect may no longer be essential to our security.

Another security issue is the question of renewing the NORAD, or North American Air Defence Agreement, in 1968. The Government is now studying the future of NORAD. There is one point which should be emphasized now because it is apparently not widely understood, that is, that NORAD is an air defence arrangement which does not now - nor would its renewal - in any way entail or imply a commitment by Canada to accept or participate in any American anti-ballistic missile system which might be deployed for space defence at some future date. We hope, of course, that the United States will succeed in convincing the USSR to accept a moratorium on ABM deployment so that the question of North American arrangements will not arise.

Recently, there has been some confused criticism of the concept of peacekeeping and Canada's role in United Nations activities in this field. The position of the Canadian Government on this question is clear; we recognize that peacekeeping and efforts at "peacemaking" should be pursued simultaneously. Peacekeeping forces contribute to the restoration or creation of conditions within which political settlements may become possible and meanwhile help prevent a deterioration in the situation. Our objective in supporting United Nations peacekeeping activities has been to buttress the ability of the Organization to hold the ring while the parties to a dispute attempt to settle their differences. We have, however, always taken the position that the parties should meanwhile make every effort to reach a settlement. Instead of belittling peacekeeping because of the problems which United Nations forces have encountered - for example in the Middle East - critics should devote their energies to suggesting ways to strengthen the UN's ability to discharge its primary responsibility for peace and security and to ensure that future UN forces will have better terms of reference for carrying out their mandate.

Canada has not simply been playing a passive role in the peacekeeping field. From the creation of the first force Canada has made a concrete contribution by participating in most peacekeeping operations. We have also sought whenever possible to promote movement by the parties towards a settlement.

I am convinced that Canadians want us to go on making a contribution to UN peacekeeping in spite of the undoubted

difficulties - and certainly in spite of the claim of one observer recently that peacekeeping is a "vestigial" Canadian interest. To my mind, far from being "vestigial", peacekeeping is a forward-looking idea, which has proved its usefulness. This is certainly not the time to turn away from the United Nations and back to international conditions as they existed earlier in this century.

When new peacekeeping forces are required (and one does not have to be a prophet to predict that crises will arise in future) I am sure that Canadians will wish the Government to be ready to respond, if we are requested to participate and if the decision of the Security Council makes it feasible and appropriate for us to do so.

Recently one observer of our external relations thought that Canada should, as a new direction, assign a high priority to disarmament and non-proliferation. I was amazed, not at the goals themselves, but at the idea that anyone could suggest that Canada has not attached fundamental importance to these goals. Canada is dedicated to the goal of general and complete disarmament and we have participated actively in every international disarmament/^{forum}and in every disarmament effort since World War II in attempting to achieve that end. Despite political impediments, some progress has been made in the initial steps of limiting armaments, for example, through the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the Outer Space Treaty. Canada played an active part in the achievement of both these international accords and was among the first signatories. On the proliferation of nuclear weapons, we have not only refused to develop these

weapons ourselves, but have contributed to the discussions that have just two days ago resulted in the tabling of a non-proliferation treaty in the Geneva disarmament talks. In the future, as in the past we will pursue every possible avenue to reach agreement on the reduction and eventual abolition of armaments.

In China today, we see anarchy and xenophobia, the source of which seems to be more the product of purely Chinese facts than of pressures or attitudes outside China's borders. Whatever the cause of current conditions, however, the task of learning to live with the Chinese has become more difficult. It is not easy at the present time to establish diplomatic relations with Peking when every Chinese action is a negation of those principles and customs which over the years have allowed continued meaningful contact between governments.

Last year in the United Nations General Assembly, I outlined what the Government considered to be a reasonable basis for seating Communist China but there was insufficient support for this idea to warrant submission of a resolution which could be brought to a vote. Although there is obvious difficulty in resuming any initiative at this moment in the light of the present situation on the mainland and in Hong Kong, there has been no change in our views as to the need for a reasonable and just solution of this problem. The proposals made by Canada at the last Assembly for representation of both Peking and Taiwan in the General Assembly and for the participation of Peking in the Security Council as a permanent member remain valid as the most practicable solution to the problem.

Concerning the war in Vietnam, Canadians have - and have had from the beginning - one basic aim: to see the end of hostilities. As a result the Canadian Government has worked unceasingly to find ways in which this aim might be realized. It must be realized not only because of the tragic cost to the Vietnamese people but also because of the danger which continued fighting holds for world peace.

A basic guide line in our approach has been that to be helpful, any suggestion or initiative must have some prospect of acceptance by the parties themselves. It has been with this point in mind that we have explored the possibilities with both sides and tried to put forward some points that could provide the basis for the creation of an atmosphere in which a dialogue might be undertaken. Particularly we have sought a means of easing hostilities, including both the end of the bombing and the end of infiltration into the South, as a prelude to wider agreement. In addition, Canada has tried to keep open the possibility of the International Control Commission playing a role in paving the way for a peaceful settlement or in helping to implement the settlement. We have also indicated that we would be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to proposals for an international presence in Vietnam as part of the settlement process.

So far neither Canada nor any other country or person of goodwill has hit upon a formula which both sides could accept. But the tragic consequences of the war demand that we persist in doing what we can to find a solution. I can assure you - we shall persist.

I should now like to summarize my remarks on Canada's contributions to peace and development, but you will understand that I have been dealing with some but not all the important areas of Canadian foreign policy:

first In our growing economy, the Government is expanding its foreign aid programme which should approximate 1 per cent of Gross National Product annually/^{with} in the next five years. Our dedication to foreign aid must not, however, detract from other imperatives of Canadian policy;

second We are seeking detente between East and West and the maintenance of peace through the United Nations. As we draw closer to these objectives, we will be less dependent upon regional defence alliances for collective security. Meanwhile NATO and Canada's contribution to it must be responsive to changing circumstances;

third Peacekeeping is an important means of contributing to the preservation of peace; we support it as a concept and as a positive role for Canada to play abroad;

fourth We are dedicated to the goal of disarmament and arms control and will continue to participate in international efforts to achieve this goal;

fifth The present internal turmoil in China does not make it easy to establish relations with that country. We shall not abandon our view that the United Nations should adopt a rational approach in favour of China's membership;

sixth We want an end to the war in Vietnam and will persist in our efforts to seek ways of bringing about a cessation of hostilities and a permanent settlement;

In each one of the issues that I have been discussing, Canada has a policy which is forward looking and positive. In each case, Canada as an affluent and mature nation has been making an effective contribution to world peace and world economic development.

Canada's policy is balanced, responsible and based on reality. But it is no less imaginative for being balanced, no less independent for being based on reality, no less far-sighted for being responsible.

PRESS RELEASE



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Discours prononcé par M. Paul Martin,
secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures,
au déjeuner de la Journée internationale
des administrateurs de l'Exposition nationale canadienne,
à Toronto, le 26 août 1967, à 12h. 15.

"APPORTS CANADIENS A LA PAIX ET AU DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL"

C'est en 1963, peu après ma nomination au poste de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, que j'ai eu pour la première fois le plaisir de prendre la parole à une assemblée des administrateurs de l'Exposition nationale canadienne à Toronto. En cette année de notre Centenaire, je suis particulièrement heureux d'avoir l'occasion de revenir à cette importante Exposition et de me trouver de nouveau avec vous.

Nous sommes tous conscients de l'intérêt toujours grandissant que le public canadien porte aux affaires étrangères. Le Gouvernement voit cette tendance d'un oeil favorable et nous estimons que cet intérêt de la part du public justifie des exposés fréquents de la politique gouvernementale. J'aimerais vous parler aujourd'hui de certains des principaux secteurs de la politique étrangère canadienne et des moyens que nous employons pour atteindre nos objectifs dans ces domaines.

La plupart des Canadiens ont pleinement conscience de la complexité des affaires étrangères. Dans ce secteur des relations humaines, comme en d'autres, "la vérité - pour emprunter une citation d'Oscar Wilde - est rarement pure et jamais simple". La ligne de conduite des gouvernements, ligne que nous avons suivie au Canada, doit être d'étudier objectivement tous les aspects des nombreux problèmes, et d'adopter des politiques qui

- seront conformes aux principes fondamentaux du pays
- seront le reflet des réalités nationales
- sont valables à long terme et
- tiennent compte de la position des autres pays.

Parmi les principes qui sont à la base de la politique étrangère du Canada se trouvent - la paix mondiale - le règne du droit - la dignité de l'homme - la croissance économique et la préservation de l'unité nationale. Les Canadiens sont généralement d'accord sur ces idéaux. J'aimerais exposer aujourd'hui certaines des politiques que nous poursuivons afin d'atteindre nos objectifs fondamentaux. La liste en est longue: aide étrangère, OTAN, maintien de la paix, contrôle des armements, Chine, Vietnam, mais elle reflète l'essentiel du rôle du Canada et de son attitude sur le plan mondial. Nous nous occupons de plus en plus de problèmes qui existent dans toutes les parties du monde, par l'intermédiaire des Nations Unies, par notre participation à des alliances, ou dans le cadre de nos relations bilatérales avec de nombreux pays. Nous nous intéressons à toute la gamme des relations entre pays, que ces rapports soient politiques, économiques ou culturels. Et nous nous soucions particulièrement des occasions qui se présentent de fournir un apport positif à la solution des problèmes internationaux dans tous ces domaines.

Le premier secteur important de politique étrangère dont j'aimerais parler est le sous-développement et l'aide étrangère. De l'avis de certains, même si le développement pose un problème dans les pays pauvres, ce n'est pas le problème du Canada et nous n'avons pas à nous en occuper. Il n'est pas d'opinion aussi étroite à mon point de vue. Les besoins sont si importants et les solutions autres que celles de la croissance rapide si inacceptables qu'il convient d'acheminer plus de ressources et non pas moins, vers les pays peu développés. Les Canadiens ont reconnu cette nécessité et ont réagi d'une manière positive à l'idée que le Canada a un rôle important à jouer dans le développement du Tiers Monde. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, notre pays a édifié un programme d'aide qui dépassera les 300 millions de dollars sous forme d'outillage, de services, de cours de formation et de denrées. Nous aidons activement l'Asie, l'Afrique et les Antilles. Vous savez sans doute que d'autres pays fournisseurs d'aide ont stabilisé ou même réduit leur apport. Devant une telle attitude, il me fait plaisir de signaler que le Canada s'acquitte de ses responsabilités et donne l'exemple, en maintenant la courbe ascendante de son aide à l'étranger.

Le Gouvernement a la ferme intention d'accroître considérablement, durant les cinq prochaines années, son budget d'aide à l'extérieur. Nous nous sommes engagés -- et j'ajoute de grand coeur -- à porter notre contribution à environ un pour cent de notre produit national brut au début des années '70. Nous pouvons prévoir des dépenses annuelles d'un demi-milliard ou plus, d'ici cinq ans. Nous avons l'intention de réaliser ces accroissements majeurs sans que, pour autant, les initiatives ou engagements importants d'un ordre différent en souffrent ou soient compromis. Ce serait le summum de l'irresponsabilité que de sacrifier, comme on l'a suggéré récemment dans des critiques touchant la politique étrangère canadienne, notre ligne de conduite relative à l'ensemble des problèmes du monde entier (surtout à l'égard des alliances et des engagements touchant la sécurité collective) pour satisfaire à une seule exigence. Le Canada a adopté et continuera à suivre une politique étrangère qui tienne compte de toutes les difficultés dont il peut faciliter la solution.

Un autre grave sujet de préoccupation pour le Canada est la sauvegarde de la paix et de la sécurité à l'époque nucléaire. Certaines personnes soutiennent que la situation mondiale est telle que le Canada pourrait réduire sensiblement ou même supprimer sa participation militaire aux dispositifs de défense coopérative et collective.

Pour ce qui est de l'OTAN, personne ne niera que des changements importants se sont produits au cours des années qui ont suivi sa fondation: l'Europe s'est économiquement rétablie et est plus en mesure d'assurer sa propre défense; en outre, la tension qui régnait en Europe centrale a diminué et permis une amélioration dans les relations entre l'Est et l'Ouest. Toutefois, nous ferions bien de nous rappeler:

- qu'aucun règlement de paix n'existe en Europe et que rien ne permet d'en espérer un bientôt;
- qu'une cause première de tension, le partage de l'Europe, et surtout le partage de l'Allemagne, existe toujours;
- que l'URSS est militairement plus forte que jamais et maintient des effectifs militaires considérables en Europe orientale;
- que, malgré ses progrès, l'Europe laissée à elle-même ne pourrait pas résister à une renaissance des pressions politiques soviétiques et encore moins à leur puissance militaire.

En d'autres termes, même s'il y a eu des progrès indubitables en Europe, nous n'en sommes pas arrivés au point où l'Occident peut en toute sécurité se passer de la force militaire de l'OTAN pour se défendre contre l'agression.

Cela ne veut pas dire que les pays de l'OTAN ne sont pas disposés à se joindre aux pays du Pacte de Varsovie pour ce qui est de l'adoption de quelque mesure que ce soit qui serait destinée à atténuer la tension et à permettre de réduire les effectifs militaires de part et d'autre. De cette façon et par d'autres voies également, l'OTAN peut être d'un grand concours au rétablissement de la confiance nécessaire à un règlement qui serait satisfaisant pour tous en Europe. Cela aidera à nous rapprocher de l'Est, à "faire le pont vers l'Est".

Comment envisageons-nous le rôle du Canada?

Premièrement: Le Canada continuera de travailler par l'intermédiaire de l'OTAN et par toute autre voie, bilatéralement ou multilatéralement, à créer la détente en Europe.

Deuxièmement: Le Canada fera sa juste part pour satisfaire aux besoins de l'OTAN sur le plan de la défense collective, étant donné que de la sécurité de l'Europe dépend en partie la sécurité du Canada. Si nous pouvons ainsi aider à maintenir l'équilibre dans la région atlantique, nous avons certainement avantage à ce faire.

Troisièmement: Le Canada n'a pas cessé de recommander aux membres de l'OTAN qu'ils examinent les objectifs à long terme et la structure de l'Organisation. Cet examen est actuellement en cours.

Quatrièmement: La nature précise de notre participation militaire n'est pas déterminée. Elle variera suivant les besoins militaires variables, l'apport de nos Alliés et nos propres moyens et la façon la plus pratique et la plus économique de les utiliser. L'importance des effectifs fournis à l'OTAN a toujours fait l'objet d'une décision collective plutôt qu'unilatérale. Nous croyons encore que les contingents particuliers qui forment l'effectif militaire de l'Alliance doivent être établis après consultation entre les membres de l'Alliance.

Quels que soient cependant les besoins et les modalités à court terme, l'objectif à longue échéance de l'OTAN consiste à assurer un règlement tel entre l'Est et l'Ouest que l'OTAN, sous sa forme militaire, ne soit plus indispensable à notre sécurité.

Un autre problème qui se pose dans le domaine de la sécurité est celui du renouvellement de l'Accord sur la défense aérienne de l'Amérique du Nord, ou NORAD, en 1968. Le gouvernement étudie présentement ce que sera NORAD à l'avenir. Il y a une idée qu'il faut souligner à ce sujet, parce qu'elle ne semble pas bien comprise,

c'est que NORAD, qui est un accord sur la défense aérienne, n'implique en aucune façon que le Canada doive donner maintenant, -ou plus tard si le traité devait être reconduit-son adhésion ou participer à un réseau américain quelconque de missiles antimissiles que l'on déploierait pour la défense spatiale. Nous espérons, bien entendu, que les Etats-Unis réussiraient à convaincre l'URSS d'accepter un moratoire sur le déploiement des missiles antimissiles, de sorte que la question d'ententes nord-américaines ne se posera même pas.

Tout dernièrement, on a pu entendre des critiques confuses sur l'idée du maintien de la paix et le rôle du Canada dans les activités des Nations Unies dans ce domaine. La position du gouvernement canadien est bien définie à cet égard: nous reconnaissons que le maintien de la paix et les efforts de conciliation doivent être poursuivis simultanément. Les forces de maintien de la paix contribuent à la restauration ou à l'établissement de conditions qui permettent éventuellement des règlements politiques. En soutenant les activités de maintien de la paix des Nations Unies, nous avons eu pour objectif d'appuyer l'Organisation dans son rôle qui est de ne permettre aucune intervention au préjudice de l'une des parties pendant que celles-ci essaient de régler leurs différends. Nous avons toujours été d'avis, toutefois, que les parties doivent déployer tous leurs efforts dans l'intervalle pour parvenir à un règlement. Au lieu de décrier l'idée du maintien de la paix à cause des difficultés que les contingents des Nations Unies ont rencontrées, au Moyen-Orient par exemple, les critiques devraient appuyer nos efforts pour rendre l'ONU plus capable de jouer son rôle essentiel de gardien de la paix et de la sécurité et faire en sorte que les armées futures des Nations Unies soient plus en mesure de s'acquitter de leur mandat.

Mais le Canada ne se contente pas de servir en paroles la cause du maintien de la paix. Dès la mise sur pied de la première force du genre, le Canada a fourni un apport concret en participant aux opérations. Nous avons toujours cherché, chaque fois que c'était possible, à encourager les parties à négocier.

Je suis convaincu que les Canadiens tiennent à ce que nous poursuivions nos efforts, en dépit des difficultés inévitables, voire en dépit d'un observateur qui prétendait récemment que le maintien de la paix fait figure de "vestige" parmi les préoccupations du Canada. A mon avis, loin d'être un "vestige", le maintien de la paix est une idée clairvoyante dont l'utilité n'est plus à démontrer. Ce n'est certes pas le moment de se détourner des Nations Unies et de revenir aux conditions qui existaient sur le plan international à une époque antérieure de ce siècle.

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'être prophète pour prédire que de nouvelles crises séviront dans l'avenir et qu'on aura de nouveau besoin d'une force militaire pour le maintien de la paix. Je suis certain que les Canadiens voudront que le Gouvernement réponde de façon positive, si l'on nous demande de participer à une telle force et si la décision du Conseil de Sécurité nous rend la chose possible et nous convient.

Un observateur de nos relations extérieures a formulé l'avis récemment que le Canada devait, en guise de politique nouvelle, accorder la primauté aux questions du désarmement et de la non-prolifération. Ce ne sont pas ces objectifs qui m'ont étonné, mais l'idée qu'on puisse insinuer que le Canada n'y a pas attaché beaucoup d'importance. Le Canada s'est effectivement efforcé d'assurer le désarmement général et complet et, à cette fin, nous avons participé de façon active à toutes les conférences internationales sur le désarmement depuis la seconde guerre mondiale. En dépit des entraves politiques, les démarches initiales en vue de limiter l'armement ont obtenu du succès: témoin, le traité d'interdiction partielle des essais nucléaires et le traité sur l'espace

extra-atmosphérique. Le Canada a beaucoup contribué à la conclusion de ces accords internationaux et il en a été un des premiers signataires. Quant à la dissémination des armes nucléaires, non seulement avons-nous refusé de fabriquer nous-mêmes de telles armes, mais nous avons participé aux discussions qui ont abouti, il y a seulement deux jours, à la soumission d'un traité de non-dissémination à la conférence de Genève sur le désarmement.

Comme par le passé, nous ne ménagerons à l'avenir aucun effort pour en arriver à une entente sur la réduction et l'abolition éventuelle des armements.

La Chine d'aujourd'hui offre un spectacle d'anarchie et de xénophobie qui semble résulter de ce qui se passe à l'intérieur de la Chine elle-même plus que de pressions ou d'attitudes de l'extérieur. Toutefois, quelle que soit la cause de la situation actuelle, il est de plus en plus difficile d'apprendre à vivre avec les Chinois. Il n'est pas facile à l'heure actuelle d'établir des relations diplomatiques chinoise équivalent à la négation des principes avec Pékin, alors que chaque initiative/et coutumes qui, au cours des âges, ont permis le maintien de relations utiles entre les gouvernements.

Nous avons exposé à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, l'an dernier, ce qui nous semblait être une base raisonnable sur laquelle s'appuyer pour accepter la Chine communiste. Cependant cette idée n'a pas reçu un appui suffisant pour justifier la soumission d'une résolution qui aurait été mise aux voix. Bien qu'il soit difficile à l'heure présente, compte tenu de la situation qui règne en Chine continentale et à Hong Kong, de revenir à la charge nous n'avons pas changé d'opinion sur la nécessité d'une solution juste et raisonnable de ce problème. Nous maintenons encore que les propositions formulées par nous à la dernière assemblée, concernant la représentation de Pékin et de Taïwan à l'Assemblée générale et la participation de Pékin au Conseil de sécurité à titre de membre permanent, demeurent valables et offrent la solution la plus pratique qui soit au problème.

Quant à la guerre au Vietnam, les Canadiens n'ont et n'ont eu depuis le début qu'un seul désir, celui de voir cesser les hostilités. C'est pourquoi, le gouvernement canadien a toujours cherché par tous les moyens à atteindre cet objectif. Il faut y arriver, non seulement en raison des pertes énormes que subit le peuple vietnamien mais aussi en raison du danger que présente pour la paix mondiale la poursuite des hostilités.

Notre attitude s'est inspirée du principe fondamental selon lequel toute proposition ou initiative, pour être utile, doit avoir quelque chance d'être acceptée par les parties en cause elles-mêmes. C'est en tenant compte de ce principe que nous avons étudié la situation avec les deux parties et que nous avons essayé de formuler certaines propositions pouvant servir de base à la création d'une atmosphère où le dialogue serait possible. Nous avons surtout cherché un moyen de restreindre les hostilités, y compris à la fois la cessation des bombardements et la cessation de l'infiltration dans le Sud, comme prélude à un accord plus général. En outre, le Canada n'a rien ménagé pour permettre à la Commission internationale de contrôle de jouer son rôle dans l'aplanissement des voies qui mèneront à un règlement pacifique ou dans la mise en oeuvre d'un tel règlement. Nous avons aussi fait savoir que nous sommes disposés à envisager avec beaucoup de sympathie toute proposition tendant à l'établissement d'une présence internationale au Vietnam en vue d'un règlement.

Jusqu'ici, ni le Canada ni aucun autre pays, ni même une personne de bonne volonté n'a trouvé une formule que pourraient accepter les deux parties. Mais les conséquences tragiques de la guerre exigent que nous mettions tout en oeuvre pour trouver une solution. Je puis vous assurer que nous n'y manquerons pas.

J'aimerais maintenant résumer mes observations sur les apports du Canada à la paix et au développement, mais vous comprendrez que je n'ai évidemment traité que de certains des aspects importants de la politique étrangère du Canada et non de tous les secteurs de cette politique.

le gouvernement élargit
Premièrement, dans le cadre d'une économie en expansion, /actuellement son programme d'aide extérieure, lequel devrait s'élever à près de 1 pour cent du produit national brut d'ici cinq ans. Notre zèle sur le plan de l'aide extérieure ne doit pas nous détourner cependant des autres impératifs de la politique canadienne.

Deuxièmement, nous recherchons la détente entre l'Est et l'Ouest, ainsi que le maintien de la paix, par l'entremise des Nations Unies. Au fur et à mesure que nous nous rapprocherons des objectifs visés, nous compterons de moins en moins sur les alliances régionales de défense pour la sécurité collective. Entre-temps, le rôle de l'OTAN et celui du Canada au sein de l'OTAN doivent évoluer et s'adapter aux circonstances nouvelles;

Troisièmement, les opérations pour le maintien de la paix sont importantes pour la sauvegarde de la paix; nous appuyons ce concept comme tel et en autant qu'il permet au Canada de jouer un rôle positif à l'étranger;

Quatrièmement, nous ne ménageons aucun effort pour faire accepter le désarmement et le contrôle des armes et nous continuerons de participer aux efforts internationaux pour arriver à ce résultat.

Cinquièmement, les bouleversements intérieurs actuels de la Chine ajoutent des difficultés à l'établissement de relations avec ce pays. Nous demeurons d'avis que les Nations Unies doivent adopter une attitude plus rationnelle vis-à-vis la participation de la Chine communiste;

Sixièmement, nous voulons la fin de la guerre au Vietnam et nous persévérons dans nos efforts pour faire cesser les hostilités et faciliter un règlement permanent.

Le Canada a une politique clairvoyante et positive à l'égard de chacun des problèmes dont je vous ai parlé. Dans chaque cas, le Canada a agi en nation prospère et raisonnable en participant au maintien de la paix mondiale et au développement économique dans le monde.

La politique du Canada est pondérée, prudente et fondée sur la réalité. Toutefois, elle ne manque pas d'imagination parce qu'elle est pondérée, ni d'indépendance parce qu'elle se fonde sur la réalité et, pour prudente qu'elle soit elle n'en est pas moins clairvoyante.

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