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AFRICA-CANADA RELATIONS

REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY

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SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

AND MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR

THE CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

FOLLOWING HIS TOUR OF WEST AFRICA

APRIL 13 TO 26, 1975

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report seeks to give an account to the House of Commons and to the people of Canada of the official visits which I paid from April 13 to 26, as Secretary of State for External Affairs and Minister responsible for the Canadian International Development Agency, to five West African Countries, namely Nigeria, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Ghana.

I was accompanied by Mr. Yvon Beaulne, Director-General for African and Middle Eastern Affairs at the Department of External Affairs, Mr. Jacques Gérin, Vice-President of the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. Maldwin Thomas, Director-General for Pacific, Asia and Africa in the Department of Industry, Trade & Commerce, and several other advisers. The group also included seven Canadian journalists, and on their behalf, I wish to thank the numerous African political figures who granted interviews and generally facilitated their work. The arrangements for our tour had been carefully planned by Canadian missions in Lagos, Abidjan, Yaoundé and Accra.

This visit to West Africa was one of the first diplomatic initiatives I had an opportunity to undertake since assuming responsibility for the Department of External Affairs and CIDA. It was in keeping with the Government's foreign policy which, while adhering to the traditional objectives of Canadian diplomacy, has sought in recent years to broaden and develop Canada's relations with many areas of the world in which the Canadian presence had not yet been adequately asserted.

In other words, our diplomacy is broader in scope; and its sphere of activity is becoming world-wide.

The House will recall that in the early sixties, the Government undertook to strengthen Canada's ties with Africa and to give greater impetus to her relations with that vast continent, where some thirty new nations were struggling, under invariably difficult conditions, to meet the formidable challenges with which history had confronted them: their emergence from colonial status, the consolidation of national political institutions, the development of regional and continental co-operation transcending the boundaries arbitrarily established in the colonial era, economic and social development, the restoration and integration of traditional cultures, the struggle against racism and colonialism in the southern regions.

Canada had an obligation to support the efforts of these nations to the best of its ability. For this reason, the Government considered it important to consolidate and strengthen the ties which Canada had established with the English-speaking African nations within the Commonwealth. It was necessary, however, to extend Canadian diplomatic representation to the French-speaking African countries without delay, to establish with their governments bilateral development programmes and contribute to their financing, and to organize with them programmes of cultural and technical co-operation on both a multilateral and a bilateral level.

Social dynamics in French Canada and particularly in Quebec during this period greatly contributed to the achievement of these major Canadian diplomatic objectives in Africa. I recall the key developments: the opening of six new Canadian embassies in the Maghreb and in French-speaking Africa and the accreditation of these heads of missions in all the other French-speaking countries on the continent; the mission of the Honourable Lionel Chevrier in 1968, which committed more than forty million dollars to development projects in French-speaking Africa; the rapid expansion of CIDA's economic support and technical assistance programmes in these countries, for which the total budget this year will be some \$105 million; Canada's active participation, with several African and European countries, in the creation of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation and the gradual emergence of the terms under which the provinces--especially Quebec--could become associated with the Canadian presence in Africa, particularly in the field of economic co-operation.

It was thus appropriate, in the light of these developments, to reassess Canada-Africa relations with a number of our partners--the more so since the Government had decided, following the last United Nations Special Session on Development, to conduct a systematic review of its relationship with the Third World. Had any doubts remained in my mind in this regard, the arguments invoked by the African ambassadors in Ottawa--both during my private talks with them and at the

two "continental" dinners at which I had the honour recently to be guest, then host, before my departure--would have quickly dispelled them.

Such is the background of my African tour. But these five official visits revolved around general themes and focused upon common objectives which I shall describe in this introduction. Issues relating to individual countries will be dealt with in the third part of my report.

In the first place, I considered the time had come to give Canada's relations with West Africa a fresh impetus. The governments of that region had to be informed of the directions which we felt these relations might take; and we had to find out how they themselves envisaged the future. Moreover, various criticisms have been levelled recently in Canada against some of CIDA's development projects in Africa and certain aspects of our policy in southern Africa; and I was anxious to ascertain for myself the feelings of the African governments concerned. More important still, I felt it would be useful to consult with five African nations in quite different economic situations before finalizing new guidelines for the Canadian International Development Agency.

In the same vein, I wanted to assure West African governments of Canada's wish to intensify and diversify her bilateral relations with them as with other areas of the world. For historical reasons, the bonds between Canada and Africa

have been forged primarily in the crucible of various multi-lateral institutions--the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the Commonwealth, and Francophone institutions, in particular, the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. Moreover, for economic reasons (particularly), these ties have until now been centred on development assistance. While continuing to strengthen these multilateral relations and to increase its co-operation with Africa in the field of development, the Government feels that Canada-Africa relations have now reached the "differentiation" stage, in that we see more clearly the characteristics of each country and are thus in a position to give our relations with each of them a more specific orientation, within the framework of an overall policy that will be more flexible, more finely tuned and more ambitious. The accent will thus be on bilateral relations; but we will also endeavour to give these relations a broader base and to build up areas that have until now been somewhat neglected, despite our obvious mutual interests, such as trade, industrial co-operation, private investment and cultural exchanges.

Secondly, I wanted to point out to my African counterparts that we in Ottawa have felt for some time the necessity of consulting with them on a more regular basis and over a broader range of international questions than has been the case in the past. Political consultations are of no value unless both sides approach them with open minds, with relatively

flexible positions and with a willingness to be influenced by others. Despite the declarations that have recently resounded through various international arenas--particularly the United Nations--I had the impression that these qualities essential to any dialogue were characteristic of many of our African friends, and especially of those who had invited me to visit them.

Anxious to ensure that Canada's positions retained the flexibility and open-mindedness that are so necessary for negotiation and compromise, I wanted to confirm this intuition before the next United Nations Special Session on Development. The questions relating to the developing countries' demands for a new international economic order had therefore to be accorded high priority on the agenda we proposed to our hosts, together with questions of international security.

The House is aware of the deep concern felt by the Government, and by the people of Canada, at the continued existence of racist regimes in Southern Africa, the blatant violation of human rights and the continuing political tensions created by this situation on a continent which needs to devote all its efforts to the consolidation of its political structures and the economic and social development of its peoples. The House is also aware that certain initiatives taken by South Africa in the wake of the liberation of the Portuguese territories, and the cautious but positive reactions to these moves

in several other African capitals, raised some hope of achieving through negotiation the orderly liquidation of the colonial and racial strongholds of Rhodesia and Namibia. In line with the desire of the Canadian Government to take all appropriate steps to hasten this process, I wanted to seek the views and impressions of my hosts on these events, as well as on the present state of pan-African solidarity and co-operation in multilateral organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

I wished also to put forward certain Canadian views, particularly on the law of the sea, world food problems, multilateral trade negotiations within GATT and ways in which the African states would implement the agreement they recently concluded in Lomé with the European Community in their dealings with third countries.

Honourable Members have no doubt noticed that in two of the states I visited, Ivory Coast and Upper Volta, French is the official language, while a third, Cameroon, which like Canada is officially bilingual in French and English, is also a member of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. This visit, therefore, gave me the opportunity to review with three governments matters relating to the French-speaking Community and to discuss certain projects in particular the establishment of a multilateral fund for technical co-operation under the auspices of the Agency. The other two countries I

visited, Nigeria and Ghana, are two of Canada's staunchest friends within this association of English-speaking countries; consequently, it was my intention to review Commonwealth affairs with them.

Finally, since bilateral consultations between friendly countries can be arranged only rarely at the level of heads of government and only occasionally at the ministerial level, I wanted to discuss with my hosts ways of achieving closer consultation between our countries at the diplomatic and administrative level.

Allow me to add some personal considerations. In many respects, Africa had always remained at the edge of my consciousness, as is the case with many Canadians. Canada had the advantage of developing her relations with Africa free from the burden of a colonial past. Yet, despite the traumatic effect colonialism had on relations between African peoples and former colonial powers, it has nevertheless given the latter an insight into Africa that Canada did not possess. History has been kind to Canada in sparing her the horrors of slavery; but, consequently, those of African origin are few in Canada and, unlike other Western Hemisphere nations, we cannot rely on the cultural and ethnic ties created by these forced migrations to nurture our relations with Africa.

These were my personal reasons for wishing to visit Africa as soon as possible after my appointment as Secretary

of State for External Affairs. It was my first visit to the heart of the black continent, and it has done much to broaden my imagination and understanding. In two weeks, after crossing the Atlantic and the Sahara, we covered more than five thousand miles without ever straying very far away from the Gulf of Guinea: in this rather exhausting way we came to realize the vastness of the African continent. From the bustling metropolis of Lagos to the plains of Kano which, despite their blood-red earth and flamboyant trees, strangely resemble our own Prairies; from the high Mossi plateau surrounding Ouagadougou to the lush wooded vales of Yamoussoukro and the refinement of Abidjan; from the comfortable heights of Yaoundé to the sunny streets of Accra, Africa flaunted before us the vast diversity of her climates, habitats, peoples, languages and cultures.

During these two weeks, we were received by four heads of state, held talks with five foreign affairs ministers and met numerous ministers, government officials and other African personalities. We became acquainted with the Canadian ambassadors, diplomats and CIDA representatives stationed in the countries visited, and we gained an appreciation of the way in which the Canadian presence is being maintained in this part of the world. We also met a large number of Canadians whom various private missions brought to West Africa; were able to meet and talk with groups of Canadian experts working under often difficult conditions; visited development projects supported by Canada and realized at first hand the value placed

on them by our hosts.

Everywhere we went we found the same warmth, the same friendliness, the same sense of brotherhood that are so typically African. Everywhere we went people expressed, with a simplicity for which we were grateful to our hosts, the appreciation of Africans for the contribution Canada is making toward their social and economic development. Nowhere was there an attempt to conceal the difficulties inherent in this development, nor those encountered by African governments in their efforts to achieve a political ideal very similar to that of Canadians: unity in diversity. The welcome extended to us in Africa was in reality a tribute to the Canadian people as a whole.

II GENERAL THEMES

Our discussions with African leaders confirmed that Canada and the governments of the five countries that I visited view the major problems facing the world at large and particularly Africa within common, or at the very least convergent, perspectives. This was the more remarkable since these discussions were unusually candid. I am of course not disclosing any conversations held in confidence with my hosts but nevertheless shall draw on public statements as well as adding my own impressions and conclusions. Neither party attempted to hedge on any of the issues discussed, to blunt the salient points of our policies or to conceal the several differences of appreciation and emphasis that naturally arose from different, if overlapping, national interests. If the means we favoured were occasionally different, a number of our goals were substantially the same; and the understanding we found of Canadian policy is a tribute to the effectiveness of the diplomats accredited in our respective capitals.

Our discussions are summarized under four general headings. But the House should note that these exchanges of views ranged further afield to encompass, in particular, the work then going on in Geneva on the reform of the Law of the Sea. We took the opportunity to clarify a number of Canadian positions on this issue, particularly in the few areas where

they diverged somewhat from those agreed to by African countries. At the same time, we gained additional insight into the circumstances and conditions that are particular to Africa, such as the special interests of landlocked countries and the greater importance for these of negotiating equitable arrangements for the sharing of marine resources in the international domain. It might be added that a number of other mutual concerns were discussed, such as the situation in the Middle East and Indo-China as well as recent political developments in other African Countries.

1. Relations between developing countries and the industrialized world

Our talks in Africa on the whole nexus of problems raised by the evolving relationship between developing and industrialized countries were part of a general process of consultations undertaken by the Government in preparation for the Seventh Special Session on Development of the United Nations General Assembly, next fall. The Prime Minister's recent visits to the Caribbean and his attendance at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Jamaica are very much part of the same process; and we expect to pursue these consultations at various levels with friendly countries, both developed and developing, in the months to come.

The House is aware that developing countries are seeking a major transformation of the international economic

system. They maintain that the traditional trade, monetary and financial arrangements were designed to operate in the interests of the developed countries and that consequently they are inherently biased against the developing world. They want a new economic order in which they would have a greater voice in the making of decisions and which would be oriented more towards their particular needs and interests. In their judgment, only a new system could accelerate the economic development of their countries.

We expressed to our hosts the Canadian Government's view that the dramatic political initiatives taken recently by the Third World at the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly their call for a "new international economic order", were part of the historical movement triggered by decolonization and the accession to independence of African and Asian peoples. Canada supported the efforts of Third World countries to accelerate their development and bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth in the world; but we had been somewhat concerned by the strains which some of these initiatives had placed upon international institutions: not so much because we sought to preserve within these organizations the power of the industrialized minority, but because we wanted to maintain and even improve their effectiveness for the resolution of international conflicts,

be they military, political or economic in nature.

We were also concerned by the danger of confrontation which appeared at the last United Nations Session. The Canadian Government feels that only an open dialogue, leading to proper negotiations and to genuine consensus, could gradually bring about the adjustments in the world economic system that developing countries are seeking.

We pointed out that if any progress is to be registered towards that goal, the international community would have to go beyond statements of principles and search for practical solutions to the very real problems raised by the Third World. The economic interests of the "haves" and the "have-nots" did not appear to us as irreconcilable as claimed by some: indeed, there were several areas where these interests were convergent. Paramount in this respect is the restoration of a higher yet sustainable rate of growth in the world economy, concerted efforts to restrain inflationary pressures and cooperative action to correct the financial imbalances consequent upon the very steep rise in the price of oil since 1973. I cited many other potentially fruitful areas for cooperation between developing and developed countries: multilateral trade negotiations, efforts to increase the volume and effectiveness of international development assistance, the working out of more appropriate commodity trade arrangements between producers and consumers, and so forth.

There are unquestionably issues where the demands of the Third World would conflict with the economic interests of developing countries; but there again we feel that a hard line would in the short run be counter-productive. Resolutions, after all, even when carried by a substantial majority, could only be implemented with the active cooperation of the minority; further transfers of technology, on terms which recognize the needs of potential users but which also satisfy the rights of those who had developed the technology; access to markets would hardly be improved if industrialized countries were driven to short-term protectionist measures in order to protect employment in the more vulnerable sectors of their economy.

For our part, mindful of the legitimate interests of Canadians and the equally legitimate claims of developing peoples, we seek to maintain an open mind on these complex questions, to explore all avenues for change and to define flexible positions in anticipation of the concrete and substantial negotiations we hope for. Accordingly, the Canadian Government has established an inter-departmental committee to review the full range of its economic relations with the Third World; and I assured my hosts that their views would be seriously taken into account in the work of this committee.

The House will be pleased to hear that my interlocutors were generally sympathetic to the Government's approach. All of them expressed their hope of overcoming the threat of confrontation that ensued from the last United Nations session, which they attributed to a number of related factors: the impatience of developing countries, the lack of progress registered by them on many fronts after years of persistent effort, the impact of world inflation, the energy crisis and its financial consequences, which placed numerous developing countries in dire economic straits.

Thus, I found that West African leaders had a very clear perception of their countries' fundamental economic interests and assessed shrewdly the means by which these could be enhanced. All of the strongly supported the opening of an effective dialogue between developed and developing countries and agreed that progress could only be accomplished by dealing from now on with specific problems, the solution of which could never be static and final, but rather of a continuing process of adjustment.

I found a general understanding that developed countries could not be expected to drastically alter their economic policies overnight. It was recognized that many of the adjustments sought by developing countries would create economic difficulties in the industrialized world, at least

in the short run, so that these adjustments would have to be carefully planned and phased in gradually.

However, developing countries would expect, in return, similar consideration for their own pressing needs. The government leaders I met are far more preoccupied with the immediate problems of their peoples than with rhetoric. Obviously they feel bound by pan African and Third World solidarity; yet they are anything but intransigent. What they seek are better terms of trade with the industrialized world, particularly high and stable prices for their agricultural products and raw materials. Their positions are clear, but flexible: they are ready for dialogue.

Given her size, her diversified economy and international trade and her membership in OPEC, it was natural that Nigeria should have formed precise views on the changing relationship between developing countries and the industrialized world. I quote from the statement made by Foreign Minister Okoi Arikpo at the dinner he gave in my honour:

"We are fully conscious of the fact that if we are to obtain optimum results from the plan, (Nigeria's Third National Development Plan) a prime requisite for success is the need for a favourable economic climate the world over. We are all aware of the series of grave economic crises that have plagued

the world over the past years. We cannot pretend that a solution has yet been found to these complex problems or that we are nearer to finding a solution to them. It is our view that as long as those nations who wield immense and massive economic power are not prepared to diagnose correctly the basic cause of the crisis, so long will the necessary remedial measures elude us. For our part, we are convinced, and indeed, we are on record as stating that 'the tragedy of our times is that, in spite of the political advances of the past generations, the world economic order has remained firmly rooted in its nineteenth century foundation, where military and technological power regulate market prices'. Together with other developing countries, we have repeatedly maintained that an economic system which enables a small proportion of the world's population to enjoy the larger proportion of the world's output and wealth is clearly inequitable, and could not continue indefinitely. Again, we have often stated, and we still assert, that mankind cannot remain for ever divided into producers of cheap raw materials and manufacturers of expensive manufactured goods.

Erroneous and misleading impressions have been created in certain quarters that the current

international monetary and economic crisis is a result of recent decisions taken by members of OPEC to obtain a fair price for the oil. The truth, as we have often times pointed out, is that the action by oil-producing countries merely sought to bring the price of oil in line with the general increases in world prices of raw materials, and the more astronomical increases in the prices of manufactured goods, and that the basic cause of the crisis lies elsewhere. We remain convinced that the solution to the present crisis lies in the willingness on the part of all the nations of the world to establish a new economic order which will benefit both the developing as well as the developed countries and not the perpetuation of the old order based on the dominance of a few nations."

Similar views were conveyed to me in Ouagadougou by the Voltaic Foreign Minister, Lt. Col. Saye Zerbo:

"In the area of multilateral international cooperation, Upper Volta is very favourably disposed to the opening of serious dialogue between the developed countries and the developing countries, in order that we may together work out

the ways and means to establish harmoniously a new world economic order. In this regard, Canada has already adopted a commendably enlightened attitude in certain fields. This was particularly evident at the world food conference, where Canada was one of the few developed countries to make firm commitments".

During our lengthy meeting with President Félix Houphouët-Boigny at Yamoussoukro, he gave a characteristically penetrating outline of the political context in which relations between the industrialized world and the developing countries are evolving.

The President stressed that the Ivory Coast pursues a policy of peace in Africa, founded upon neutrality, and that this objective cannot be attained with any degree of permanence unless détente between the two superpowers continues, together with the narrowing of political disagreement between East and West. Referring to events in Indo-China and the Middle East, the Ivorian Head of State expressed the view that there could be no conflict anywhere in the world which did not inevitably result in a confrontation between the two ideologies. Africa, he noted, has so far been spared the devastating effects of this rivalry, and its continued preservation from the same should be a prime goal of the Africans themselves, since their underdeveloped continent has

a great need of peace in order to accelerate its development. For this reason, Ivory Coast is dedicated to the pursuit of three major foreign policy objectives:

- (a) peace within each country, since internal conflict invariably invites intervention by foreign powers;
- (b) peace among all African nations, again to avoid the outside intervention which might otherwise be triggered;
- (c) finally, peace between Africa and other continents, which is an essential prerequisite of international political stability.

The Ivorian authorities, in conformity with the general policy of dialogue enunciated by Mr. Houphouet-Boigny, believe that economic relations could be organized so as to avoid the catastrophe that would inevitably ensue from an uncoordinated scramble by the states of the world to enhance their own economic interests. Thus, they have recognized that international co-operation was absolutely necessary. Since industrialized countries could not be expected to vacate overnight the fields they occupied, it was stressed that a new international division of labour would have to be negotiated. The Ivorians, like my other African hosts, cited as a useful precedent in this respect the Lomé Convention recently concluded between countries of Africa, the Pacific and the

Caribbean regions and the European Community.

The Ivorians also stressed the need for action at two levels: first, the arena of the United Nations and other international agencies, where matters of principle could be discussed usefully but whose machinery was somewhat cumbersome for the negotiation of detailed agreements; and secondly, bilateral or "inter-regional" arrangements that can be specific and binding, such as the Lomé Convention.

My discussions with the Cameroonian authorities showed the effectiveness of African solidarity in this area. While similarly deploring the fact that the last special session at the United Nations had developed into a confrontation, they nevertheless attributed this turn of events to the energy crisis which was at that time causing grave anxiety in the industrialized countries. In the Cameroonians' view, the OPEC countries were accused of provoking the energy crisis, whereas they saw the crisis as merely one aspect of the relations between the developed and the developing nations: hence the confrontation. There persists, nevertheless, the phenomenon of deteriorating terms of trade, represented by the continuing decline in the selling price of agricultural products from the third world and increasing prices for manufactured goods from the industrialized countries. Whenever these questions come up for discussion, the producing countries and the consuming countries split into two opposing

camps, noted the Cameroonians and certain developed countries with interests in both camps, like Canada, which is an important producer of agricultural and mineral products, tend to range themselves on the side of the consumers.

In Accra, finally, yet other aspects of this extremely complex issue were brought to light in my discussions with the Ghanaian Commissioner for External Affairs, Lt. Col. Kwame Baah. I quote from the statement made by the Commissioner at the dinner he hosted in my honour:

"It has been said that no matter the extent of their own efforts, the countries of the Third World, the so-called developing nations, can hope for only a modicum of improvement in the living standards of their people unless a dramatic change in the world-wide economic order occurs. Those of us at the helm of affairs recognize how true this saying is, and must, therefore, appreciate more the challenge it poses. We have come into nationhood at a time when the industrialized countries have become even more technologically advanced, with their people enjoying a high level of affluence. It is also a period in which communications have tended to breach national frontiers and to make the world an even smaller place to live in.

The consequence of this is that our people have a high expectation in terms of economic and social well-being. We have accepted this challenge and are doing our best. By an irony of fate, however, our best appears minimal, not the least because of a world economic system which ensures that our exports remain consistently under-priced, while our imports continuously escalate in price. It is an economic order which seems designed to keep us perpetually as raw material producers and out of the mainstream of technological advancement. This is an unjust system which needs to be refashioned urgently.

For our domestic efforts to have maximum effect, we need a world economic order which enshrines equity as its most essential underlying element. Painful as the current oil crisis has been for most of us, if it helps to make the industrialized nations more sympathetic to the need for a restructuring of the world trading and economic order to make it more beneficial and equitable, then it would have ultimately served a most useful purpose. We seek no selfish economic interests because we recognize that interdependence is the more useful and viable policy.

This is why we have in partnership with others negotiated and signed the Lomé Convention which should open a new relationship with Europe. It is the reason Canada has our good tidings as it also attempts to negotiate a link with the European Economic Community. It is the basis of our determination to collaborate with Canada and others to ensure that the resources of the seas are developed and shared in an equitable way, and that the new Law of the Sea does not become influenced by those selfish considerations that have bedevilled economic relations on land."

2. The political situation in Southern Africa

Honourable members know that Southern Africa has been for some months in a state of political flux. In the wake of decolonization in the Portuguese territories, some movement -- if not yet concrete action -- has been discernable in the racist and colonialist positions maintained until then by Pretoria and Salisbury. Many felt some hope that these deplorable situations could perhaps now be liquidated through peaceful negotiations. I was therefore looking forward to my discussions with the Foreign Ministers of the countries I visited, since my journey through West Africa came immediately after the meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization for Africa Unity (OAU), in Dar-es-Salaam which dealt precisely with these issues.

My colleagues' assessment was a sobering one but confirmed that indeed progress by peaceful means towards political stability in Southern Africa could be achieved, provided the Salisbury regime negotiated in good faith transitional arrangements to majority rule, and the South African government recognized the fundamental equality of all men, whatever the colour of their skin. The Dar-es-Salaam meeting sought to reaffirm Pan-African solidarity on these issues. The conclusions of the Ministerial Meeting were fully consonant with the 1970 Lusaka Manifesto,

I was told, in which the OAU pledged to work towards negotiated settlements and stated that the use of force could only be a last resort.

It was explained to us that the meeting had been found necessary because recent contacts between South Africa and neighbouring states had given rise to concern that the Pan-African consensus on these issues was being eroded. In addition, recent calls for "dialogue" in Africa had made it imperative for the OAU to determine the conditions under which such a dialogue could be conducted with South Africa. Finally, it was explained to us that recent developments had given additional weight to the implicit strategy which seemed to underpin of late the OAU's approach to Southern African questions: priority, to the ending of the illegal white minority rule in Rhodesia; second, concerted action to end the equally illegal occupation of Namibia by the South Africans; and third, renewed efforts to end the deplorable situation prevailing in South Africa herself.

We were informed that these issues had been thoroughly discussed at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting and that Pan-African solidarity had been reaffirmed in terms which did not discourage the exploration of avenues for change in Southern Africa. Naturally, our hosts pleaded for enhanced support from the international community for their difficult struggle, which may be entering its crucial phase.

All of them, however, expressed their appreciation for Canada's policies toward Southern Africa and, where these policies fall short of African expectations, their understanding of the motives underlying the Canadian approach. Thus, although OAU members have consistently refused to establish diplomatic contacts with South Africa, we were not pressed to sever our own relations with Pretoria. Similarly, we justified the maintenance of limited trade links between Canada and South Africa given the long-standing Canadian policy not to bring political matters to bear upon international trade, short of specific U.N. sanctions and the commercial relations which some African countries have been led by economic necessity to conduct with South Africa.

We explained to our hosts that although the Canadian Government had serious doubts about the effectiveness of international sanctions, we had supported such action against Rhodesia at the United Nations and had scrupulously observed our commitments under the charter in this regard. We added that we would consider seriously any further action that could be undertaken within the United Nations to facilitate the accession of Namibia to self-government; but that in our view the expulsion of South Africa from international bodies would be counter-productive and merely reduce the international community's influence on that country's government. We finally assured our hosts that the

Canadian Government would continue to exert pressure upon the South African authorities to bring about the relaxation and eventual abrogation of that country's racist laws and institutions.

As was to be expected, however, we found that the Pan-African consensus within the OAU allowed for a variety of views and differences in emphasis between the five governments with whom we discussed these issues. The position of the Nigerian Government was expressed by Foreign Minister Arikpo at a dinner given for our delegation. I quote:

"Much as we welcome economic cooperation, we also recognize the fact that such cooperation can only be truly effective in a political climate which recognizes the basic right of every nation and people to order their own affairs. I have only recently returned from Tanzania where I attended a meeting of the Ministerial Council of the OAU. It was a meeting where we discussed, in great detail, the situation in Southern Africa and the continuing danger posed to the peace and security of the world by the policy of apartheid and by the intransigent attitude of the white minority rebel regime of Zimbabwe. Our renewed and unequivocal collective condemnation of apartheid was never in doubt, nor were we deceived by the so-called shift in policy of the South African racist regime aimed at perpetuating its detestable policy of apartheid through a manoeuvre designed at sowing

discord among independent African nations. Our vehement and uncompromising opposition to the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African regime was also clearly restated. There was equally no doubt about our determination to see the immediate end to a rebellion which certainly would have collapsed a long time ago but for the support, both open and clandestine, given to Ian Smith by his friends. With the happy outcome and welcome developments in the territories which, until recently, were under Portuguese administration, we are fully convinced that the Vorster regime in South Africa now realizes that black majority rule in Zimbabwe is inevitable and that its continued occupation of Namibia will soon be untenable.

"It is for these reasons that Mr. Vorster decided to reopen his recent peace offensive against independent African nations. The extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers reaffirmed the stand that no independent African country has the legal or moral right to negotiate on behalf of any liberation movement except on the express request of that movement and with the knowledge of the OAU. The recent effort to negotiate a settlement in Zimbabwe was done at the request and full consent of the ANC under the leadership of Bishop Muzorewa. As for Nigeria, we remain firmly committed to continue to support the liberation

movements to prove to Mr. Vorster that it is not in the interest of South Africa to continue to maintain an army in Zimbabwe, it is not in the interest of South Africa to help Ian Smith to circumvent U.N. sanctions and it is not in the interest of South Africa to continue its policy of apartheid.

"I would wish here to place on record our appreciation of the sympathy and support which the Canadian Government has always shown and given to the cause of the liberation struggle in Africa."

In Ouagadougou Foreign Minister Zerbo pointed out that several resolutions had been adopted at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting concerning the independence and territorial integrity of Namibia and recognition of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The members of the OAU also reaffirmed their economic boycott of South Africa and called upon developed countries, and particularly Europe, to follow suit. African states were asked once again to refuse landing rights to aircraft bound for South Africa. They also criticized those industrialized countries which, through trade with South Africa, strengthened the economy of that country and therefore buttressed the apartheid system. Mr. Zerbo nevertheless concluded that dialogue could be useful, but he insisted that it should be "disciplined", that is, associating the representatives of the liberation movements in order to obtain the assurance that this dialogue would really

contribute to the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa.

The House is aware that the President of the Ivory Coast has long been a proponent of dialogue in Southern Africa; we were therefore grateful that he expounded at some length on his views regarding the problems of Southern Africa in the presence of Canadian journalists, when he received me at Yamoussoukro.

Africa, noted Mr. Houphouet-Boigny, can be broken down into three main areas: North Africa is inhabited by Arabs, who settled there many centuries ago and who have become our brothers, he said; in the south came the Dutch and then the English, and they have become our brothers to the same extent as the Arabs, he went on to say; and in between these two groups live the black Africans, the natives. Nobody denies the African character of South Africa, noted the Ivorian President; but the government of that country pursues a policy of apartheid which is repugnant to all Africans.

It is nevertheless necessary to avoid a confrontation with that country, according to Mr. Houphouet-Boigny. There are two ways to bring an end to apartheid and to prompt white South Africans to reconsider their relationship with their black brothers: violence or dialogue. The Ivory Coast has opted for dialogue because if by misfortune war

broke out between whites and blacks, the Ivorian authorities do not believe that the western powers would sell a single bullet to the blacks, whereas the attitude of the East would be quite different.

But the economic potential of Africa is so great that the West could not tolerate a penetration by the eastern powers in Southern Africa, Mr. Houphouet-Boigny continued. This eventuality should suffice in time to convince the whites in South Africa that they would do better to learn to live on decent terms with the black population of their country. Such is the position that the Ivorian Foreign Minister expressed in Dar-es-Salaam.

The Cameroonians for their part stressed the "hybrid nature" of the Namibian case, since the legal status of this territory is quite similar to that of Cameroon and Togo in former years, with the important difference that the South African tutor has persistently refused to grant independence or even to return the administration of Namibia to the United Nations. They have also expressed a strong preference for negotiated settlements in Southern Africa; and they asked for the assistance of Canada and other countries so that Africans might not have to resort ultimately to force. What worried African leaders before the Dar-es-Salaam meeting was that recent contacts with South Africa might have called into question the Mombasa Agreements and therefore undermined African solidarity.

Finally, Ghana's Commissioner for External Affairs also summarized the views of the government at the dinner he hosted for us. Said Lt. Col. Baah:

"Momentous events have recently taken place on the freedom front in Africa with the collapse of fascism in Portugal. Having seen the writing on the wall, those who deny even today the equality of the races and the right of all to share fully in the governance of their nation and the bounty of their land, have embarked upon a campaign of deceit to divide and weaken the forces against injustice in Southern Africa. As the head of state and chairman of the National Redemption Council has emphatically stated, we shall not truck with the racialists of South Africa.

"Ghana opposes this so-called dialogue today as it did yesterday, not because of an inherent aversion to reasoned exchange of views, but because of our strong conviction that for dialogue to be meaningful, there must at least exist a climate of respect, mutual trust and willingness to be just. How can we truck with those who even in this age of enlightenment still believe the black men of South Africa were destined by God to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for them? It will be the height of folly to expect that we Ghanaians can support freedom for Zimbabwe

and Namibia at the sacrifice of freedom and justice for the black men of South Africa. Freedom is indivisible or it is no freedom."

3. Economic Development and Co-operation

Our visit to West Africa gave us the opportunity to reassess our co-operation programmes in these five countries with those most directly concerned and to take stock of our international development policy as a whole. In addition, I wanted to outline to my hosts, as I had done before the Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence prior to my departure, the new guidelines now under consideration for CIDA programmes.

These discussions generally confirmed the effectiveness and quality of the contributions that Canada has made to date to the development of the countries visited. While some of our hosts deplored certain delays--which CIDA is correcting--they all stressed that the financial conditions offered by Canada are very generous and that CIDA has managed to reconcile harmoniously its own development concepts with the priorities of the governments with which it co-operates.

Our hosts agreed that the new orientations we are developing for CIDA will be well suited to the new conditions facing international development. They all expressed their agreement with our desire to increasingly concentrate our efforts in the less developed countries. The Nigerian officials confirmed that countries which have greater financial resources as a result of higher prices

for their exports of raw materials will need Canadian technical assistance for many more years. It was brought to my attention that it was only just that Canada should give special attention to the hardest-hit countries, but, at the same time, we were cautioned against "weaning" better-endowed countries away from Canadian aid before they have reached the economic take-off: i.e., the stage at which they are able to finance their own development. Incidentally, my hosts in Upper Volta and Cameroon agreed that some concentration of Canadian aid in the fields of transport and communications would be useful.

Finally, in all the capitals visited, development officials strongly emphasized the importance of agricultural development and the improvement of the rural environment, which the Canadian government has placed at the top of its list of international development priorities since the catastrophic food shortages that led to the Rome conference and the launching of the World Food Programme. We were told that most developing countries, in the years following their accession to independence, were attracted by the symbols of industrialization to the detriment of their agriculture; it cost some of them very dearly to discover that a good development strategy cannot afford to neglect rural areas agriculture and food production.

A visit to the head office of the African Development Bank in Abidjan gave us the opportunity to re-affirm

Canada's support of regional development institutions and learn more about the specific problems faced by the ADB, in a continent where a majority of the world's least developed countries are to be found and which has been the hardest hit by drought, famine and increases in the cost of energy.

The Bank's president, Mr. Labidi, pointed out that the controversy over the relative merits of bilateral and multilateral aid was no longer relevant. What was important, he emphasized, was to make the best use of the resources available from all sources for international development. He deplored the fact that it had not yet been possible to set up effective mechanisms to co-ordinate the efforts made by donors - both individual nations and international organizations.

Mr. Labidi feels that the prospects of an increase in the resources of the African Development Fund (ADF), a separate organization that is closely affiliated with the Bank, are good despite the fact that the last meeting at Marrakesh did not produce all the anticipated results. Italy, Algeria and Saudi Arabia recently joined the ADF, and other nations are expected to follow suit in the near future.

After briefly describing some of the projects undertaken by the ADB - well-drilling in Mali, rice cultivation in Chad, farming projects in Senegal, emergency assistance to Ethiopia, Lesotho and Tanzania - Mr. Labidi

indicated that the Bank might possibly be considered an acceptable agency for project implementation within the terms of Canada's bilateral aid programme. We took note of his proposal and it will be carefully studied by CIDA.

The Sahel

In Ouagadougou our visit necessarily took on a regional dimension, since the capital of Upper Volta is the seat of the Comité Inter-Etats pour la lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel (CILSS), a permanent inter-state committee for drought control. Moreover, the President of Upper Volta is President in office of the CILSS and the country's Minister of Planning, Rural Development, the Environment and Tourism, Mr. Dakouré, is Co-ordinator of that committee.

The House is aware of Canada's deep concern for the economic recovery of this part of Africa, which has been sorely tried these past several years by drought. My predecessor, after organizing an emergency food aid programme to help the population of the Sahel area facing mass starvation, pledged, in May 1974, on behalf of the Canadian government to contribute to the rehabilitation and agricultural development of this vast area bordering on the region made up largely of pasture land which curves inland from Senegal to the Sudan. Our commitments to four countries of the

region - Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania and Chad - will be fulfilled by CIDA at a cost of about eighty million dollars during the next five years. Some sixty million dollars have already been allocated to the Canada-Senegal and Canada-Niger five-year programmes, which focus mainly on rural development. Thus, the total budget for Canada's initiatives in the Sahel will attain nearly a quarter of a billion dollars between now and 1980.

We consequently wished to obtain first-hand information on the plan of action of the CILSS during my stay in Upper Volta. We also wished to make known our concern over certain difficulties besetting the Committee. We thought it necessary, if only in order to plan Canada's contribution as effectively as possible, to find out at the highest level what the Committee's priorities for development were, and what it required administratively and financially for its own management as well as for the implementation of the most urgent projects.

During a working meeting at the CILSS office, Mr. Dakouré recalled that the Committee, created and supported by the chiefs of state of all the Sahelian countries, was given a mandate to set up a program of economic and social recovery for the entire Sahel region, and to begin preventive action to ward off or limit the scope of future disasters similar to those of recent years. Mr. Dakouré then enumerated

the five main priorities established by the CILSS for action which, in order to be effective, must be undertaken on a short, medium and long-term basis:

1. ensuring adequate supplies of water for people, animals and plant life;
2. rebuilding the herds, since cattle-raising, which has long been a way of life for most of the peoples of the Sahel, must continue to be their principal means of subsistence in the foreseeable future;
3. combatting the encroachment of the desert which, were it not for human intervention, would continue to advance as it has for thousands of years, under prevailing climatic and physical conditions;
4. improving and developing the transportation and communications infrastructure in individual countries and throughout the Sahel region;
5. encouraging scientific research into problems peculiar to the region through the establishment of a Sahelian Institute.

The Co-ordinator of the CILSS, who was concerned at the apparent reservations of some contributing countries, stressed the importance that the essential role played by

the committee be recognized and that it receive financial and technical support. Mr. Dakouré pointing out that some countries had already made substantial contributions and had pledged or loaned experts, went on to stress the urgency of Canada's undertaking the implementation of priority projects in co-operation with the committee.

I assured the Co-ordinator of the importance that Canada attached to the committee's leadership in solving the enormous problems facing the Sahel. We are still prepared to provide technical and financial assistance to the CILSS, effective and adequate solutions to the problems of the Sahel area. In particular, we hope to contribute to raise agricultural production in the region to prevent future shortages requiring emergency measures. I concluded by stating that it was the intention of the Canadian government to participate in the implementation of the committee's priorities. Canada would shortly make an initial financial contribution to the committee and would place at its disposal the experts and administrators it might require.

Somewhat later, I had a private discussion with the Administrator of the United Nations Office in the Sahel, Mr. Galal Magdi (a former Canadian public servant with CIDA), with whom the members of our delegation had held a working session. Mr. Magdi provided us with some details on the mandate given him by the Secretary-General of the United Nations

with respect to matters of co-ordination and co-operation. The Office is at present examining a number of projects at the request of the CILSS, and will shortly recommend to the committee certain technical and financial solutions. In addition, the Office will soon provide the CILSS with administrative support, ensure that projects entrusted to it by the committee are submitted to international agencies for financing and, in general, co-ordinate the activities in the Sahel of all agencies affiliated with the United Nations.

Commercial and Industrial Affairs

The House is aware that the Government's policy of trade diversification extends to all regions of the world, despite the high priority that we presently attach to our economic relations with the European Community and Japan.

Canada's trade with West Africa is still relatively modest: we exported last year approximately \$47 million worth of goods to the five countries I visited and imported from the same sources some \$69 million worth. Still, Canada's share of the region's trade is well below what her industrial capabilities would warrant: the more so since some markets, foremost of which is Nigeria, will be expanding very rapidly in coming years.

For these reasons, we discussed at some length trade and industrial affairs with my hosts and these discussions were pursued in greater detail by other members of our delegation.

We pointed out that Canada had been at somewhat of a disadvantage in commercial matters with West Africa, because of the traditional links which had been established with Europe during the colonial era and the greater awareness there of European technology and industrial products, even when goods and services of comparable quality were available from Canadian sources. This handicap for Canada had been somewhat mitigated by the development co-operation that has grown under the aegis of CIDA.

In many instances, however, the Canadian access to West African markets had been further hampered by the special arrangements negotiated with the European Community under the Yaoundé and Arusha Conventions.

In this respect, we welcomed the opportunity to discuss with my hosts how they would choose to implement the new Lomé Convention, which they had just negotiated with the European Community, as it affects third countries. It was our understanding that the new Convention, quite aside from the substantial advantages granted to countries of the so-called ACP Group (Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific countries) in respect of export earnings stabilization and development assistance, might ensure to Canadian suppliers access to West African markets on a somewhat more equitable footing. In the course of our discussions, we learned that under the Lomé Convention, African countries had a choice in

the matter--that is, while they were bound to grant Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to the European Community, they were free to decide whether or not to extend additional preferences to the Nine.

On this matter, we pointed out that Canada very much wanted to broaden her economic relations with Africa and that we hoped African Governments would take Canadian interests into account in the course of implementing the Lomé Convention; we were assured by most of our hosts that the system of reverse preferences in favour of the EEC would not be continued under the Lomé Convention.

We elicited a similar response when we raised the subject of other impediments to greater economic co-operation between Canada and West Africa. The inadequacy of shipping links, for example, between our eastern ports and the Gulf of Guinea is notorious; and we expressed the hope that this could be improved in coming years, so as to enhance the competitive position of Canadian suppliers in West African markets. We also pointed out that in some instances, even the lowest of bids from Canadian industry could not overcome the historical bias which exists in Africa towards better-known European consultant and industrial concerns. Accordingly, we informed our hosts of the Canadian Government's intention to strengthen its promotional efforts as appropriate, in their countries; and we expressed the hope that reciprocally

they would give adequate consideration to Canadian tenders if and when, in the future, they prove technically and financially competitive with others, as we expect they will quite frequently.

We further noted that the Canadian Government would consider proposals to encourage mutually beneficial industrial co-operation in West Africa, should this be welcomed by local governments; and we were assured that in most cases Canadian investors were indeed most welcome, provided they submitted to local laws and regulations. We finally recalled that Canada had implemented a general preferences system (GPS) to improve access to the Canadian market for the products of developing countries.

4. Francophonie and the Commonwealth

It is probably a sign of the times that in West Africa our delegation was told "bienvenue" in French on arrival at Lagos airport, the capital of an English-speaking country, and that our hosts bade us "au revoir" also in French on our departure from Accra, another English-speaking capital.

While official bilingualism is a domestic necessity for Canada in addition to being an asset in diplomacy, it is the indispensable tool of regional consultations and international cooperation in West Africa. This fact is well understood in the two English-speaking countries I visited. Nigeria, with a population of eighty million and with the rapid development of which it is assured by virtue of its considerable natural resources, might well have practised a kind of linguistic "autarchy" and entrenched English as the only language of its diplomacy. The Nigerian authorities were anxious, however, to foster cooperation in West Africa by all legitimate means; and realizing that their country was surrounded by French-speaking states, they chose to make French the second language of their administration and to encourage the teaching of French in their schools. In Ghana I observed that the national government has adopted the same language policy and for the same reasons. Paradoxical as it may seem, I had a feeling that the influence of French-speaking

Canada could extend to these two English-speaking countries who, like ourselves, are members of the Commonwealth!

Officials of the Ghanaian government even proposed a programme of cooperation to make their diplomatic corps more bilingual; and the House can be assured that we will follow up on this proposal.

In both Upper Volta and Ivory Coast, I was naturally anxious to review the affairs of the Francophonie -- the international community of French-speaking countries -- and to reaffirm the support that Canada has continued to give the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation since its inception. We emphasized that we all shared a common interest in encouraging the growth and expansion of the Agency's activities. In this connection, we informed our hosts that the Canadian delegation would propose the establishment of a multilateral fund for technical cooperation at the next general conference of the Agency in October 1975. We expressed the hope that this Canadian proposal would receive sympathetic consideration from officials of the governments of Upper Volta and Ivory Coast.

In addition, we expressed the Canadian view that the time had come to expand the scope of multilateral consultations among French-speaking countries and to upgrade them to a higher level. In this connection, we made reference to the very useful consultations which are regularly

held within the Commonwealth between heads of government and ministers from some thirty English-speaking countries from all continents. We stressed that any expansion of consultations between French-speaking countries would necessarily require extensive consultations between all interested countries; but Canada for her part was ready to move in this direction.

Finally, we informed our hosts that in addition to her multilateral cultural cooperation within the Agency, Canada intended in coming years to increase bilateral cultural exchanges with Africa, particularly with the French-speaking countries of the continent. In this connection, we expressed satisfaction with the success of the International Festival for French-speaking Youth held in Quebec City in July 1974, which significantly enhanced awareness in Canada of cultural realities in contemporary Africa. I had the pleasure of presenting my hosts with the first copies of the film, the record and the album prepared in Canada on this important cultural event.

Our discussions with officials of the Cameroon government reflected the fact that Cameroon, like Canada, is an officially bilingual country and for this reason must constantly maintain a balance in its cultural relations with foreign countries. Indeed, we felt quite at home when we read in the Yaoundé daily newspaper, on the day of our

arrival, the report of a statement by the Head of State on bilingualism . . . which was very reminiscent of similar statements regularly made in Canada by Prime Minister Trudeau! During our meeting with President Ahidjo on April 23, we emphasized the importance Canada attaches to Cameroon's participation in the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation, and we again sought support for the establishment of a multilateral fund for technical cooperation among French-speaking countries.

While we were in Yaoundé, the city hosted a Conference organized by the Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports of French-speaking countries. I thus had the pleasure of meeting Quebec's Minister of State for Youth, Recreation and Sports, Mr. Paul Phaneuf, President in Office of the Conference of the Minister's of Youth and Sports of French-speaking countries, who was the Conference chairman.

My discussions of Commonwealth affairs in Lagos and Accra were perforce brief, since our respective heads of government were to meet shortly in Jamaica and their meeting had been carefully prepared by consultations at the diplomatic level. The Nigerian Foreign Minister noted that our association within the Commonwealth had brought "special warmth" to the relations between our two countries and singled out the role played by Canadians in that arena as champions of multiracialism. Since Ghana's Commissioner for

External Affairs was to represent the Head of State, Colonel I. K. Acheampong, at Kingston, we dealt at some length with several items on the agenda, particularly the new international economic order and the political situation in Southern Africa. At a later meeting of officials, the Ghanaian authorities reviewed Mr. Arnold Smith's proposal for restructuring the Commonwealth Secretariat. They also expressed the hope that closer consultations could be arranged between Commonwealth members within United Nations agencies, with which my delegation concurred, with the proviso that the informal character of the Commonwealth as a forum be preserved.

III BILATERAL RELATIONS

1. Nigeria

Beyond the general objectives of my West African tour which made a visit to Lagos almost mandatory, I accepted the more eagerly Foreign Minister Okoi Arikpo's timely invitation since the Government has always maintained very close and fruitful relations with Nigeria. The House will recall that the relationship between our two countries started even before Nigeria's accession to independence in 1960. The Nigerians, for example, requested Canada at that time to assist in the setting up of their Ministry of External Affairs. In later years, Canada's cooperation in the development of Nigeria moved into more substantive areas, with substantial allocations of funds for important projects such as the Kainji hydro-electric development, topographical surveys, sustained assistance in the field of education, the Public Service Review Commission and communications.

Honourable members are aware that the restoration of political stability, coupled with the exploitation of substantial oil reserves -- whose market value was greatly enhanced by the recent rise in the price of that commodity -- has enabled Nigeria to accelerate her social and economic development, to the general benefit of her eighty million citizens. The third National Development Plan for 1975/80,

which was formally launched by General Gowon shortly before my visit, promises to lead the Nigerian economy towards self-sustained growth.

In the light of these significant and welcome developments, it was opportune to re-examine Canadian-Nigerian relations. Because of her size, population and potential wealth, Nigeria is increasingly assuming an influential role both in Africa and in the world. The Nigerian Government's moderating and pragmatic approach to foreign relations together with its resources makes this role a welcome contribution to the international community.

Thus, I wanted to inform the Nigerian authorities of Canada's determination to expand and intensify bilateral relations in all fields between the two countries: trade, technical and industrial cooperation, of course, but also human contacts and academic cultural and scientific exchanges, for our two peoples have much to learn from each other.

The agenda of our talks with Dr. Arikpo, which began on the morning of April 15, was therefore a very full one, covering as well, as reported in the second part of this report, relations between industrialized and developing countries, the political situation in Southern Africa, international economic development and cooperation and issues related to Commonwealth and la Francophonie.

With respect to bilateral issues, we first outlined in general terms to Dr. Arikpo the new guidelines that we are now framing for the activities of the Canadian International Development Agency during the next five years. We noted that the total Canadian aid budget was growing and would reach in 1975/76 about one billion dollars. The Canadian Government naturally wished to ensure that its development assistance was effective; hence, we planned to concentrate on the poorest countries and to place higher priority upon the fundamental needs of developing countries. I indicated that Africa would continue to loom large in our bilateral programmes and referred more particularly to our commitments for the Sahel rehabilitation plan as well as to the pledges of food aid I made on behalf of Canada at the last World Food Conference.

Dr. Arikpo replied that Nigeria was pleased to see more aid going to the less fortunate. His country, he added, no longer required straight financial assistance from Canada, since Nigeria is becoming less poor relative to other African countries. Nigeria's main needs were now in the field of manpower development, training and transfers of technology.

Mr. Jacques Gérin, the Vice-President of CIDA, and other officials in my party met later with their Nigerian counterparts. They were briefed on the major elements of Nigeria's third development plan and were told that Canada's

involvement in the development of the country was generally in accordance with the main thrust of this plan. Rather than external financial assistance, the Nigerian authorities were seeking technical assistance in the field of education, technical training, communications and administration. A number of areas were being identified by the Nigerians and would shortly be proposed by them to CIDA.

Our delegation expressed satisfaction that Nigeria's analysis coincided with ours. Canada's existing capital commitments would of course be met, and we would respond swiftly to Nigeria's new requirements in the field of technical assistance since we prized highly the economic cooperation which had gradually developed between our two countries. We referred particularly to the Universal and Primary Education Programme to which the Nigerian Government attaches the utmost importance and hoped that we could be of some assistance in the planning and implementation of this ambitious endeavour, if only because some of our own Canadian provinces had accumulated considerable expertise in this field through the planned expansion of their own education systems.

Turning to trade and private investment, we expressed our disappointment at the failure of Canada-Nigerian trade to expand as rapidly as we wished. We suggested closer cooperation between our governments to strengthen commercial and other economic links between our two countries and indicated that in

our view inadequate shipping arrangements between Eastern Canada and West Africa, especially with the Nigerian Coast, acted as a constraint upon trade that should be overcome. Reference was made to recent trade missions from Quebec and Ontario to Nigeria as an indication that Canadian businessmen were beginning to take a more active interest in the trade potential of Nigeria. We also noted that the Government was strengthening the commercial section of the High Commission in Lagos and studying closely the third national development plan to see how Canada could participate in its implementation. We finally indicated that a Nigerian Trade Mission to Canada would be most welcome. Dr. Arikpo expressed his government's hope for increased Canadian participation in the Nigerian private sector, noting that one-third of the development plan's capital requirements were expected to be generated in that sector. He encouraged Canadians to come to Nigeria and assess the opportunities available to them and referred to a planned tour by the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce and Mines to Europe and North America this summer.

At a later meeting of officials, Mr. J. A. Adeyeye, the Permanent Secretary of the Nigerian Ministry of Trade, indicated that the implementation of the development plan -- whose total outlays are forecast at \$50 billion -- would require substantial imports of executive and technical expertise and that this presented a unique opportunity for Canadian

companies, quite aside from the share of capital goods and equipment that could be provided by Canadian sources.

Reciprocally, my adviser from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce described some aspects of the Canadian export promotion programmes and requested detailed information on the forthcoming Nigerian International Trade Fair, so that Canada could consider the possibility of participating. These discussions also covered the Lomé Convention Stabex scheme, which aims at facilitating access to external markets of developing countries' exports.

Finally, I felt we had to deal with a minor irritant that has arisen recently in the industrial field between Nigeria and Canada. As a result of the termination of the original Canadian participant's involvement in a private transaction with the Nigerian Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications having created difficulties for the latter, CIDA undertook to complete the contract within its bilateral programme with Nigeria and negotiated the necessary contracts another Canadian company. Some technical difficulties are still to be resolved, however; and we assured the Nigerians that the Canadian authorities would do all in their power to facilitate arrangements to their satisfaction.

Turning to less mundane issues, we informed Dr. Arikpo of the Canadian Government's intention to expand cultural exchanges with Africa, so that Canadians could

benefit from the rich heritage and remarkable artistic traditions of that continent. I thanked the Nigerian Government for the invitation extended to Canada to participate in the Black Arts Festival, to be held in Lagos next year; and I was able to inform Dr. Arikpo that this gave the Canadian Government a welcome opportunity to muster the energies of the Canadian community of African descent, within the framework of the Government's policy of multiculturalism.

In conclusion, we expressed the hope that continuing political consultations at the official level, on a wide range of issues of mutual interest, could be arranged between our two countries; and the House will be pleased to hear that Dr. Arikpo concurred fully with this suggestion. The Nigerian Foreign Minister also accepted the invitation we extended to him to come to Canada on an official visit at a mutually convenient time.

Later that day, we met with the Nigerian Commissioner for Mines and Power, Shettima Ali Munguno. We began by reviewing briefly the oil trade between our two countries, which amounted in 1974 to approximately five million barrels, if account is taken of the oil piped to Montreal through the Portland pipeline. Three new refineries are expected to be built under the third development plan; and the Nigerian authorities would welcome Canadian involvement in the development of the Nigerian oil industry.

With our hosts, we proceeded to an exchange of views on the energy situation in our two countries and discussed the preliminary reports on the Paris Preparatory Conference on Energy. While I stressed the need for a proper dialogue between oil producers and consumers, the Nigerians expressed their concern that the present downward trend in oil prices was attributable to a surplus of oil consequent upon the consuming countries' decision to reduce consumption. We pointed out that if this reduction were to be distributed over the whole world, it might not be significant and suggested that there was some merit in setting a floor price in the common interest of producers and consumers; the Nigerians replied that a drastic reduction in price would indeed run counter to the interests of the consumers as well as the producers, since it would reduce incentives for further research in other forms of energy.

We then turned to these other forms of energy. We learned that Nigeria had significant coal reserves which had been minimally exploited up to now because of low demand; so that Nigerian coal is available for the development of an indigenous steel industry. I rejoined by describing briefly the state of the coal and steel industries in Nova Scotia. Canadian capabilities in the fields of hydro-electricity and nuclear power were also briefly reviewed.

In conclusion, I assured my hosts that I would

convey to my colleague for Energy, Mines and Resources, Mr. Donald Macdonald, Nigeria's interest in closer cooperation with Canada in these fields.

On the evening of April 15, Dr. Arikpo hosted a dinner for our delegation. We were thus able to complete our discussions, while Canadian officials had an opportunity to get acquainted with prominent members of the Nigerian Government and public administration. In the statement he made before proposing a toast to the continued friendship between Nigeria and Canada, our host spelled out at some length his government's views on the "new international economic order" and the political situation in Southern Africa. He then commented briefly on bilateral relations:

"Our relationship, without any hesitation, can be characterized as excellent. We have nothing but great admiration for the peoples of your country, your government and its leaders. We recall vividly and with gratitude the warm hospitality which the Canadian Government and people accorded to our head of state and members of his delegation during his visit to Canada, in August 1973, when he was in Ottawa for the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government. We recognize and acknowledge the special contribution which Canada has made to the Commonwealth

links and association, and her constructive and positive contribution, in many other areas, to efforts aimed at promoting world peace and security in order to ensure a stable international world order. We owe the Canadian people and Government a great debt of gratitude for various offers of aid and assistance which they have continued to render us since independence. We are a developing country and would wish to assure you that we would continue to welcome assistance from Canada and our other friends in specialized areas in a manner mutually agreeable to us, consonant with our aim of intensifying cooperation between our governments and maintaining the existing friendly relations between our peoples."

Replying to Dr. Arikpo's kind words, I felt it appropriate to stress the quite striking similarities there are between Nigeria and Canada despite the climate, culture and the wide stretch of the Atlantic Ocean that separate them:

"You are a very old people with a glorious past and timeless traditions; but you are also a young country, striving to build a solid national framework for the social and economic betterment of all Nigerians. The people of Canada are much younger and, although their national state has been in existence for somewhat longer than yours, they are still adapting their

political system to their varied needs. Canadians have forged, over the years, a motto to describe their own social experience: Unity in Diversity. I understand that the Nigerian motto is very similar: One Nation. . . .

"Canada, like Nigeria, is a multilingual and multicultural country, with a very large territory and therefore many distinct provinces and regions. The Government of Canada is firmly convinced that all these language groups, provinces or regions must continue to enhance their own identity with the framework of the Canadian federal system. There again, our two countries have much in common, for your government is also dedicated, Mr. Commissioner, to Unity and Faith within the Nigerian national framework.

. . . .

"The Government of Canada has begun some time ago to adapt its foreign policy to a new set of realities and conditions. Some of these realities are internal to our own society: Canadians have become more conscious, in recent years, of their own national identity and of the need to project it more forcefully on the world scene. But we also have become very much aware of the changes which are underway in the international environment. The most signi-

ficant of these changes perhaps is the rapid emergence of developing countries in the concert of nations. . . .

"The strengthening of our relationship with Nigeria and other African countries is an important element of our policy of diversification of external relations, alongside with the forging of new links with Europe, Japan and the maintenance of a harmonious and balanced relationship with the United States. In fact, Canada's foreign policy has become universal and is now seeking new partnerships in all directions.

"This visit to Africa also provides me with an opportunity to renew Canada's commitment to share her wealth with developing countries and to adapt her international development policy to the changing needs of developing countries. In this respect, Nigeria has set a remarkable example for us. Your Government, Mr. Commissioner, has sought to use its new-found wealth for the social and economic betterment of your people; but you have also accepted in a wholly admirable way to share some of that wealth with other countries. I would like to pay tribute to the spirit of international cooperation that has inspired your recent contribution to the African Development Bank, to the IMF oil facility for develop-

ing countries and to the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation."

We left the following morning for Kano, the capital of the State of the same name in the northern part of Nigeria.

There we were able to meet with a group of CIDA agents as well as other Canadians living in Kano State. We gained firsthand insights into the difficulties and frustrations of their work. Our delegation called afterwards at the Palace of the Emir of Kano, who had unfortunately been called away by the investiture of one of his colleagues. We were greeted in his absence by his Chancellor, who explained to us how the Emir had sought to integrate modern and traditional values to achieve a more balanced development in his Emirate, in close cooperation with the authorities of Kano State. The Chancellor also expressed the Emir's appreciation of the educational assistance that Canada has been extending for some time to Kano: indeed, we were reminded that Canadians work in close cooperation with Nigerians in the primary school within the Emir's own compound. We left afterwards for the Yakubu Gowon Dam, south of Kano, the lynch-pin of a major water-conservation and irrigation project that will enhance considerably agricultural productivity in Kano State, when completed. I was accompanied by the Kano Commissioner for Works and Survey, who invited our delegation for lunch at Bagauda Lake.

2. Upper Volta

In availing myself, during this tour, of the kind invitation extended to me some time ago by the Upper Volta government, my objective was two-fold:

First, to appraise relations between Canada and Upper Volta, especially with regard to our bilateral development program, which is to be expanded following Canada's intention to play a very active part in undertakings in the Sahel Region. I was also concerned to obtain first-hand information on the special difficulties presented by the development of Upper Volta, as a landlocked territory, whose resources have not been systematically exploited and which was hard hit recently by prolonged drought.

Secondly, to take advantage of the fact that the headquarters of the Comité Inter-Etats pour la Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel (CILSS) is in Ouagadougou to secure information on the long-term plan of action of this body for the rehabilitation and development of agriculture in the area, on its administrative and financial requirements, and on the best methods of fulfilling the commitments made by my predecessor in May 1974 in the countries affected.

On our arrival in Ouagadougou I made a point of restating publicly Canada's commitment to provide food aid to Upper Volta, as to the rest of the Sahel in accordance with our abilities and the needs of the region as part of the

three-year program we announced at the Rome Food Conference. My report to the House on April 11 provided a detailed breakdown of these allocations for the financial year 1975-76.

Reference has been made, in the second part of this report, to most of our discussions with the Voltaic Foreign Minister, Lieut-Col. Saye Zerbo. On a strictly bilateral basis, we exchanged views on the administrative aspects of Canadian diplomatic representation in Upper Volta. The House is aware that the practice of my Department in recent years, in Africa as in other parts of the world, has been to establish embassies equipped with all necessary services at strategic points, along major axes of communications, and to accredit the heads of mission residing there to neighbouring capitals. This policy is clearly a flexible one, and can easily be adapted to particular circumstances. Accordingly, we recently opened bureaux in Ouagadougou and Niamey reporting to our embassy in Abidjan, and a bureau in Bamako reporting to our embassy in Dakar. These offices can be expanded if necessary. We indicated to the Voltaic authorities that, for administrative and budgetary reasons, we are not considering at this time any change in this Canadian practice.

An excellent analysis of the economic situation in Upper Volta was then made for the benefit of our delegation by the Secretary of State for Planning, Mr. Léonard Kalmogo.

We were also explained the difficulties presented by the "continental" location of the country, with no outlet to the sea, and with a still embryonic infrastructure of transportation and communications. These problems are exacerbated by the fact that the country must overcome by planned migrations a significant demographic imbalance between its regions, in order to expand its agriculture and provide a solid basis for its economic and social development. The majority of the population of Upper Volta (estimated at 5.5 million inhabitants) now lives in the high northern plateaus, where the land has been depleted; there appears to be no socio-cultural obstacle, aside from health hazards, to migrations toward the much more fertile valleys bordering the three branches of the Volta River.

As Mr. Kalmogo pointed out, the highway system must facilitate the colonization and supply of these southern areas and the eventual transportation of their crops to the principal centres of the country and foreign markets; but at the present time roads in Upper Volta cannot even handle the country's still modest traffic. For this reason, the five-year development plan provides for the building of roads for motor traffic between the capital and frontier locations where links might easily be established with the ports of Abidjan (in the Ivory Coast) and Lomé (in Togo), as well as

the capital of Niger. Mr. Kalmogo expressed the hope that Canada could be associated, through CIDA, with the Ouagadougou-Niamey link.

However, there is another prerequisite to the development of some 400,000 hectares of good land in the valleys of the Volta: it is the fight against onchocercosis, a disease carried by insects infesting the river and causing blindness in men and animals. In this connection, the Secretary of State for Planning expressed confidence that the program of eradication undertaken with the co-operation of the World Bank and the World Health Organization will succeed in making these areas fit for human habitation; and he expressed his government's appreciation of the contribution made by Canada to this effort, through these two international institutions.

Mr. Kamogo went on to refer to the cyclical difficulties occasioned by drought in recent years. There was a good rainfall last year, and the situation has somewhat improved; but, as President Lamizana was later to do, Mr. Kalmogo wished to warn the international community against complacency or premature curtailment of its economic aid to the countries of the Sahelian region. He emphasized that the basic objective must now be the rehabilitation of the Sahelian population on the material, social and cultural levels; and in this regard the rebuilding of livestock herds - long the economic staple of these areas - still remains the first priority.

Lastly, outlining prospects for the longer term, Mr. Kalmogo pointed out that Upper Volta had acceded to national sovereignty lacking in social capital, without even a development program and with really only one resource: its people. I was able a short time later to witness the dexterity and application of the Upper Volta labour force, in a brief stop at the Centre de formation féminine et artisanale - women's crafts training centre - in Gounghin. However, mobilization of the population, the only means of economic recovery for Upper Volta, cannot take place unless the country obtains sufficient resources of energy and gains access to the other resources needed for economic development. The Secretary of State concluded that if donors wished to make it easier to correct the deficiencies of implementation and truly be of assistance to Upper Volta, they must accept the country's "system" and the ways of its people, and find the means to make their contribution as effective as possible, instead of proposing programs and structures conceived out of context.

In thanking the Secretary of State, I drew attention to the fact that Canadian aid to Upper Volta was being expanded through the granting of substantial food aid and the support that Canada will provide for various national projects as well as large-scale initiatives extending to neighbouring countries in the Sahel. I pointed out that with a gross

national product of about \$70 per capita per year, Upper Volta ranks among the twenty-five least developed countries in the world, to which CIDA is currently giving special attention. I also stated that we proposed to place greater emphasis on agricultural production and rural development in our aid programs; and in this respect, the confidence shown by Mr. Kalmogo in the potential of the southern regions of his country has inspired us similar confidence. Nevertheless, I specified, Canadian officials consider that in order to be effective, development programs for the Sahel will have to be carried out in close co-operation between all the countries involved, through structures they have themselves created; I was pleased to note that this view was shared by Upper Volta officials, as demonstrated by their efforts within CILSS and the development authority for the Liptako-Gourma region, which straddles parts of Upper Volta, Niger and Mali.

Canada, I continued, well understands the enormous difficulties that Upper Volta must overcome in order to develop. Realizing that in their own country, after more than a century of considerable investment, the transportation system must still be improved, Canadians can only consider with sympathy the plans of the people of Upper Volta in the field. I assured Mr. Kalmogo that CIDA would give serious consideration to any specific project that might be proposed.

Our delegation was next received by Upper Volta's Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, who briefed us on the problems faced by his country in this field. Paradoxically, these problems - which are common to all countries in the Sahel - are quite similar to those which confront Canada: long distances to be crossed in sparsely-populated regions in order to link together medium-sized population centres. This is undoubtedly the reason why the Sahel countries have decided to call upon Canadian technology in building the key links of the pan-African telecommunications network which cross their territory; and Canada, acting through CIDA, is very pleased to lend its assistance to this development project.

At the end of the day, after advising President Lamizana that the required negotiations were nearly completed, I announced to the Voltaic and Canadian press that I, together with the plenipotentiaries of the five countries involved (Dahomey, Upper Volta, Mali, Niger and Senegal), would shortly sign the necessary agreements in Ottawa. The members will recall that this agreement was signed by the representative of the five countries involved and myself during the recent official visit of President Lamizana of Upper Volta in Ottawa on May 14, 1975.

The agreements cover a grant of \$4,500,000 and loans totalling \$22,430,000, to be provided by the Canadian

International Development Agency. The amount each country will receive will be based on the part of the project that will be carried out on its territory: Mali will receive about \$6,720,000; Dahomey, \$5,040,000; Niger, \$4,080,000; Senegal, \$3,840,000; and Upper Volta, \$2,750,000.

The purpose of this regional project is to improve communications among these five countries and with Africa as a whole. It involves the construction of two sections of a microwave system, one extending from Kaolack in Senegal to Bobo-Dioulasso in Upper Volta, via Bamako in Mali, and the other extending from Koupela in Upper Volta to Bohicon in Dahomey, by way of Niamey in Niger. In addition, international telephone switching centres will be set up in Bamako, Niamey and Cotonou.

Each country will use its loan to obtain in Canada the goods and services necessary for the project on its territory. The grant will defray the costs of technical assistance the services of the Canadian engineering consultant firm which will plan and design the network and supervise construction; also covered by the grant will be a training program for African personnel.

While the contribution of the African countries cannot be calculated at the present time, it will be sizeable and will include the purchase and development of work sites,

the construction and maintenance of access roads, and the provision of local manpower.

Because the project will be regional in nature, consultation and close co-operation among the six participating governments is a necessity; accordingly, a high-level co-ordinating committee and a technical co-ordinating group will be established and will remain active for the duration of the project.

I concluded my talks with Mr. Zerbo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at a luncheon that he graciously gave in my honour on April 18. In his remarks, prior to proposing a toast to lasting friendship between Canada and Upper Volta, Mr. Zerbo emphasized that his country's government of national renewal attaches great importance to the consolidation and development of ties between our two countries. "At a dinner given in your honour by the African ambassadors accredited in Ottawa, you recalled the interest that Canada has shown in Africa through its policy of aid to development," continued Mr. Zerbo. "This year, Canada gave concrete expression to this interest by assigning some \$195 million to aid programs in the independent countries of Africa; this amounted to more than 40 percent of your bilateral aid budget. Yesterday, you spoke of the assistance that Canada plans to provide in the coming years for the countries in the Sahel, and I shall

not return to that subject. Although bilateral co-operation with Upper Volta remains limited, it is a pleasure to note that your presence here demonstrates our common desire to strengthen it."

After thanking Mr. Zerbo for his gracious remarks, I re-affirmed the determination of the Canadian government to consult more regularly with the developing countries - particularly those in Africa - on a wider range of subjects of common interest. In addition, I reiterated the importance that Canada attaches to matters relating to La Francophonie and the future of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-Operation among French-speaking countries of which Upper Volta is, like us, one of the founding members. I announced that at the general meeting of the Agency next October, Canada planned to propose the establishment of a multilateral fund for technical co-operation, and I expressed the hope that the Upper Volta Government would give this proposal its sympathetic consideration.

But the high point of our official visit to Ouagadougou was unquestionably our meeting with President Sangoulé Lamizana at the end of the day. President Lamizana expressed his thanks to Canada for the assistance it was providing to Upper Volta, especially in combatting drought conditions in the Sahel. He stressed that Upper Volta does not intend to remain in its present state of under-development

and that with the determination of its friends, it will improve its economic situation.

Observing that distress has no frontier, Mr. Lamizana assured me that the border dispute with a neighbouring country (which fortunately appears to be in the process of settlement) will not, in the long run, hinder the efforts being undertaken within the framework of the CILSS for the agricultural rehabilitation and development of the entire Sahel region.

I then explained to President Lamizana that Canada's new policy on development co-operation will seek to concentrate on the poorest nations of the world. I added that our working session that morning with the Secretary of State for Planning had improved our understanding of the country's problems and that we intended to continue our efforts to assist Upper Volta to attain its major development objectives.

In conclusion, I transmitted to President Lamizana the Governor General's invitation to make an official visit to Ottawa from May 13 to 15. Mr. Lamizana kindly made himself available for questions from Canadian journalists at the end of our interview, in Ouagadougou, for which I thank him on their behalf. Members of the House will recall that this official visit took place as planned and has been most successful and fruitful.

Honourable Members will recall that I have already dealt, in the second portion of this report, with my conversations with

Mr. Dakouré, the Minister of Planning, Rural Development, the Environment and Tourism for Upper Volta. Since Mr. Dakouré is the Co-ordinator of the CILSS, our conversations dealt mainly with that organization's plans for the Sahel and the difficulties that it must overcome to attain its objectives.

3. Ivory Coast

We arrived in the Ivory Coast on Saturday, April 19. We were welcomed at the airport by the country's Minister for Planning, and then proceeded to Bouaké to visit one of the establishments of Canada-World Youth, accompanied by Mr. Jacques Hébert, a guiding force in this movement, which seeks to draw young Canadians nearer to the youth of the third world.

We were grateful to President Félix Houphouët-Boigny for interrupting his political campaign in the rural areas of the Ivory Coast in order to receive our delegation at his villa in Yamoussoukro the next day, Sunday. Our meeting with the President lasted several hours and covered a wide range of subjects. Reference has already been made, in the second part of this report, to the President's observations on the general themes of my West African tour. However, we also touched upon several bilateral questions, which exchanges set the tone for the discussions we had the next day, at Abidjan, with other Ivorian ministers and officials.

With Canadian journalists in attendance, President Houphouët-Boigny gave a detailed account of domestic politics in the Ivory Coast. There are two prerequisites to the country's development efforts, he explained: internal peace and a united population. The people of the Ivory Coast

had inherited from the colonial era a young country, formed by the union of some sixty tribes. The generation which first took charge of the new state, the President recalled, had been brought up to cooperate with the colonial regime; but another generation of officials is now emerging, a generation wholly devoted to developing the country:

Mr. Houphouet-Boigny pointed out that if progress is to continue in the Ivory Coast, tribes and generations must be transcended. Religious pluralism -- the population of the Ivory Coast comprises Christians, Moslems and animists -- is not a source of dissension, since members of all three communities consider themselves as Ivoirians first and foremost. The President stressed that schools and universities are now turning out native specialists who are being absorbed in increasing numbers into the national institutions and are progressively taking over the management of the country's banks and businesses: these young cadres are in parliament, in the economic council, in the party -- wherever there is need for action and for deliberation, he noted. The development of a country like the Ivory Coast must proceed on an equitable basis, the President went on to say, and it was this consideration which led him to undertake his tour of the various regions of his country.

During our conversations on Monday with Acting President Denise, we were able to obtain a more detailed picture

of the Ivorian Government's development policies. These rely first on the country's own resources, and then on the goodwill of other nations; it thus seeks to maximize the effectiveness of contributions from outside. The nation's needs remain considerable in many areas, we were told, including education, culture, natural resources and health. As the Acting President recalled, Canada has already made a substantial contribution to the development of the Ivory Coast; and it was hoped that Canadian assistance would continue to expand. We thanked our hosts for their warm welcome, and told them that Canada, for her part, wished to consolidate her ties with the Ivory Coast and to broaden them in the fields of economic affairs, political consultations and culture. It was emphasized that the Canadian Government attaches great importance to the multilateral action undertaken by our two countries within the framework of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation. Moreover, the Government feels that, in the future, consultations should be held more regularly with Ivory Coast authorities on a broader range of subjects of common interest, especially as regards the development of a new world economic order.

During our conversations with the Minister of Finance, Mr. Kokan Bidier, and the Minister for Planning, Mr. Diawara, a number of economic issues were dealt with. We outlined briefly the orientation that we propose to give CIDA

in the coming years, but assured the Ivorians that in spite of the particular emphasis placed on the needs of the least developed nations, we shall not neglect other countries such as the Ivory Coast, whose rate of growth seems to presage an economic take-off in the near future. We were able to confirm that CIDA would soon be in a position to support certain Ivorian development projects, notably a series of endeavours to promote the cultivation, storage and marketing of corn in the Bondoukou region, and an important rural hydraulics project, valued at some \$5.8 million. Sponsored by the Fonds régional d'aménagement rural (FRAR), a rural development fund, the latter should facilitate the drilling of about a thousand wells in rural areas of the country.

We also reviewed a number of industrial projects whose progress the Canadian Government is following with great interest. One of these is the construction of a large sugar refinery and the installation of the infra-structures it requires, in which a well-known Canadian company is involved. CIDA participated in the study of another project -- the possible construction of a pulp and paper mill in the Ivory Coast -- which has also aroused interest among Canadian businessmen. We reminded our hosts that Canadian consulting engineering firms are highly skilled in several fields, and expressed our willingness to discuss the conditions under which these firms might play a greater part in the development of the Ivory Coast.

Our delegation also expressed the Canadian Government's dissatisfaction over the very limited volume of trade between our two countries; and we alerted our hosts to the factors contributing to this situation, in particular the tariff preferences question and bad shipping links. It was agreed that these problems would be discussed by Government officials at a later date. In this respect, the House will be pleased to learn that a mission from the Ivory Coast visited Ottawa May 1st to 16th, and that it will be followed by a trade mission. In addition, the Ivory Coast Minister of Finance, Mr. Bidier, plans to visit Canada when a date acceptable to my colleague Mr. Turner can be arranged.

I was particularly eager to hear the opinions of my hosts about two specific development projects financed by CIDA in the Ivory Coast -- the national library in Abidjan and the country's educational television programme. I therefore pressed my hosts to tell me what they thought of these projects. President Houphouet-Boigny replied that since his Government gives high priority to education and to the training of Ivorian cadres, these fitted very well into the country's overall development strategy. But what is more, according to Mr. Houphouet-Boigny, educational television in the Ivory Coast can be regarded as a pilot project for all of Africa; if it proves a success it will set an example for the whole continent, where large numbers of people are deprived of schooling through lack of teachers.

Our delegation visited the national library at Abidjan, accompanied by the Secretary of State for Culture, Mr. HiéNéa, who is also responsible for matters relating to the international French-speaking community. I was pleased to observe that this building is comfortable and functional, and that it has been designed to serve a clientele which will certainly grow as the level of education rises in the Ivory Coast. We were told, however, that the library's stock of books is still modest; and I therefore asked the Secretary of State to consider how the institution's Canadian collection might be enlarged.

Finally, I have reiterated to the Ivorian Head of State the invitation which had been transmitted to him some time ago to undertake an official visit to Canada. Mr. Houphouët-Boigny expressed his gratitude for the invitation and expressed the hope that his schedule would allow him to pay a visit to Canada next year.

4. Cameroon

We arrived in Yaoundé on April 22 and were greeted at the airport by Mr. Vincent Efon, the Cameroonian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had very kindly returned from an official trip abroad in order to welcome me to Cameroon.

We began our talks that afternoon. Mr. Efon first referred to the close and friendly relations that had existed between our two countries since 1962, when Canada established in Yaoundé her first embassy in French-speaking Africa. He also expressed satisfaction that his Government had recently been able to accredit a resident ambassador in Ottawa. Mr. Efon went on to discuss cooperation between Canada and Cameroon in the field of development. He emphasized that our programmes had increased in scope and had contributed to several important projects such as the creation of the Bonabéri technical school, the construction of the bridge over the Youngé River, topographical and geophysical surveys in the northern part of the country, expansion of the University Centre for Health Sciences, and so on. Mr. Efon expressed the hope that such cooperation would continue and suggested that our talks with his colleagues, the Ministers of Planning and Industrial and Commercial Development, would doubtless lead to consideration of a number of projects.

Before we began our discussions on the two major themes of our meeting -- evolving relations between the

industrialized world and the developing countries, and the political situation in Southern Africa -- I took the opportunity to comment on the friendly relations between Cameroon and Canada and the characteristics we have in common, particularly our common policy of official bilingualism. I added that since we were in the process of reviewing CIDA's orientation, it was very useful to have the Cameroonian authorities confirm that the development projects sponsored by Canada in Cameroon do in fact correspond to the Government's objectives and priorities. I mentioned that we planned to direct our aid programmes increasingly toward poorer countries and areas that we felt deserved some priority, either because they correspond to the most urgent needs of the third world, such as agricultural and rural development, or because Canada could provide the expertise required, in areas such as transportation and communications. It was pointed out that the reduction of CIDA's disbursements in Cameroon in recent years was temporary and was attributable to the completion of certain projects; consequently, we are disposed to look at new projects in Cameroon, a country which will definitely have to rely on external financial assistance for some time to maintain its rate of growth.

Mr. Jacques Gérin, Vice-President of CIDA, and several members of our delegation later met with officials of the Trans-Cameroon Railway Board to be briefed on a programme to modernize and straighten the Douala-Yaoundé line.

Because it connects the capital to the major seaport of Cameroon, this line is the country's main transportation artery. A short train ride provided our delegation with concrete evidence of the urgent need to modernize this railway line, which was built at the beginning of the century. We were also told that Canada's participation in the financing of this multinational project, which is expected to cost \$150 million globally, would be greatly appreciated. After consulting my advisers, I was able to inform Cameroonian officials that we would speed up our action on this project, which has already been approved in principle. Canada will initially provide a line of credit of approximately \$8 million for the purchase in Canada of equipment and supplies to be used in modernizing the railway section between Yaoundé and Otélé. Our hosts were also assured that CIDA would give sympathetic consideration to Canadian participation in the multinational programme for the expansion and redevelopment of the Port of Douala.

The next day, the Minister of Planning, Mr. Maikano, explained to us that Cameroon, located between the Sahel and the ocean, is in a sense a synthesis of all the problems of West Africa: it has not only the advantages but also all the disadvantages of neighbouring countries! He noted that Cameroon's development plan is designed to involve all Cameroonians in the country's economic growth, so as to

achieve balance between all regions and social classes. The country's most urgent problems have naturally determined the order of priorities, the first of which is transportation. It is essential not only to national development, however, since Cameroon's strategic location as a "bridge" between Central Africa and the Atlantic makes Douala the most convenient outlet to the sea for the landlocked region around Lake Chad, which extends to other countries' territory.

Mr. Maikano went on to say that Cameroon has a tremendous potential for economic growth, because of the abundance and variety of its natural resources: cocoa and coffee in the south, bauxite in the central region and other minerals in the east. However, a vital prerequisite is that the country be able to ship these products to export markets; and this is why Cameroon gives such a high priority to the modernization of the country's railroads and port facilities. As for the rest, development cooperation between Canada and Cameroon could well continue to focus on the type of projects undertaken in recent years: hydraulics, geophysical prospection, medical and health assistance and technical aid.

Our discussions with the Minister of Industrial and Commercial Development, Mr. Youssouffa, touched upon other aspects of economic relations between Canada and Cameroon. The Minister mentioned several factors that should

attract Canadian businessmen to Cameroon: availability of energy, manpower, varied resources and an explicit investment code for foreign firms. We were assured that Canadian businessmen could be certain that their participation in Cameroon's development would be welcomed by the country's authorities. It was suggested to us that an exchange of delegations of businessmen might be useful as an initial step, but that trade expansion would depend upon the improvement of transportation links between our two countries in the near future. We could only agree that these questions should be examined more closely and pointed out that closer economic ties would be beneficial not only to Cameroon, but also to Canada, because Canadian industry would export more goods and services as a result of our closer economic relations. This was one reason why the Canadian authorities would study ways of facilitating the purchase of Buffalo aircraft by Cameroon.

On the afternoon of April 23, I visited the Rehabilitation Centre for the Handicapped in Yaoundé, founded and directed by a great Canadian, Paul-Emile Cardinal Léger. I was deeply moved by the Cardinal's warm welcome. Through his dedication, the children I saw around him will be able to participate in the life of their country, despite their handicaps. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Cardinal Léger and to the long-standing missionary tradition of all religious denominations, which earned Canada

its well-known reputation for generosity in Africa long before the Federal Government assumed its responsibilities in the field of international development.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of Cameroon, for granting me an interview and in addition hosting a dinner for our delegation during our stay in Yaoundé. Our discussions on African affairs, on the institutions of the Francophonie and on the political and economic life of Cameroon were most useful. I assured President Ahidjo that Canada intended to strengthen further its ties and its development cooperation with Cameroon. In this regard, I assured him that the Canadian authorities would give sympathetic consideration to any proposal from the Cameroonian Government on financing the activities of the Yaoundé Rehabilitation Centre. Furthermore, the Canadian Government is fully aware of the need for developing countries to establish institutes of technology to train the technical personnel they need; hence, when the Cameroonian Government firms up its plans in this area, I confirmed to President Ahidjo that Canada would carefully assess the best means of assisting in their implementation.

Thanks to my Cameroonian colleague, I was able to meet briefly with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guinea-Bissau at the airport in Yaoundé. To my knowledge, this was the first meeting ever, at the ministerial level, between

representatives of Canada and of this new nation which has just gained its independence. To conclude, the House will be pleased to learn that the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Cameroon has agreed to make an official visit to Canada at a date suitable to both Governments.

5. Ghana

The programme of our visit to Ghana was a very full one, including extensive discussions with Lt. Col. Baah, his colleagues, the Commissioners for Economic Planning and Development, an audience with the head of state, Colonel I.K. Acheampong, and visits to the Accra Technical Training Centre and the Akosombo hydro-electric project. These were completed by several working sessions involving other members of our delegation and their Ghanaian counterparts. A joint communiqué was issued at the end of my visit. I wish to thank the Government of Ghana for the splendid dinner held for our delegation at the State House, on April 25. The folk dances that graced this dinner were highly entertaining and amply confirmed the benefits that Canadians would derive from increased cultural exchanges with the countries of Africa.

I have already reported on some of our discussions with the Ghanaian authorities in the section on the general themes of my West African tour. With respect to bilateral relations, our talks were very much focused on economic affairs, particularly the extensive development program that we have maintained with Ghana since 1958. The House is aware that in the intervening years Canada has provided Ghana with more than \$72,000,000 worth of bilateral development assistance. In addition, the Multilateral and Non-Governmental Organizations Divisions of CIDA have provided substantial sums of assistance through their respective channels.

The bilateral disbursements to Ghana for the last fiscal year were approximately \$15,000,000.

Historically, as at present, Canada's official development assistance program has been concentrated in the sectors of agriculture, food aid, natural resources, rural development, education and energy. The major CIDA projects at present under way are the Upper Region Water Supply Project, the Accra/Tema Water Supply Project, the Kumasi Technical Training Institute, the Road Maintenance Project, the Topographical Mapping of Southern Ghana and an Electricity Generation Expansion Study for the Volta River Authority. Currently, each of the IDRC's three projects are in the agriculture and natural resources sectors. Over the years, several hundred CUSO volunteers have worked in Ghana mainly in the fields of education, agriculture and health. At present there are 55 CUSO volunteers in Ghana.

Of the Canadian development projects which have been completed in Ghana, two of the more interesting ones are the Akosombo Expansion/Ghana-Togo-Dahomey Transmission Line and the Accra Technical Training Centre (ATTC). The Akosombo Dam which backs up the largest man-made lake in the world was completed in 1965 and is administered by the Volta River Authority. The first Chief Executive of the VRA, Mr. Frank Dobson, was provided along with several other Canadians by Ontario Hydro. The original Akosombo Project was financed primarily by the World Bank and the United States, but Canada financed the fifth and sixth 150-megawatt

generators of the Akosombo in Ghana to Lomé in Togo and Cotonou in Dahomey, in line with her long-standing policy of support for projects of a regional nature. More recently, Canada has financed an Electricity Generation Expansion Study for the VRA. This has included a feasibility study for a second hydro-electric dam.

The ATTC was opened in 1966 with Canadian staffing and administration and officially handed over to the Government of Ghana in 1972. The Centre was established to provide theoretical and practical instruction for the trades, for business and industry, and for other occupations as may be required from time to time. Courses are now offered in auto mechanics and auto bodywork, welding, masonry, electricity and electronics, plumbing, air-conditioning and refrigeration, carpentry and office machine repair. More than 400 day students and 400 evening students are enrolled in the ATTC which is now almost completely staffed with Canadian-trained Ghanaian instructors.

I was gratified to hear, both from the Head of State of Ghana and the Commissioners I met, that Canada's development assistance programmes had consistently espoused the priorities set by the Ghanaian authorities themselves. Perhaps, I may be allowed to quote in this respect the tribute paid by Commissioner for External Affairs Baah at the state dinner he hosted in my honour on April 24:

"From the birth of our nation, Canada and the Canadian people have demonstrated in many positive

and practical ways their dedication to co-operation with Ghana. It is pertinent to note that Ghana was the first black African country with which Canada established full diplomatic relations, and this in 1957, the year of our independence.

"From that time to this date, we have been the beneficiary of Canadian assistance covering a great number of projects. The Akosombo Dam and the International Power Grid that now links Ghana with Togo and Dahomey, the Accra Technical Training Centre and the projected Kumasi one, the great quantities of wheat annually donated for the sustenance of our flour mills, the scores of Ghanaians who have passed through Canadian institutions of higher learning on grants from the host country, the special training and co-operation schemes between the Canadian Armed Forces and those of Ghana. These are but a few of the practical examples of Canada's co-operative attitude towards Ghana.

"If I have enumerated these examples of Canadian generosity, it is not because Ghana has received less from other friendly countries.

It is because in the case of Canada more than any other, the ready understanding of Ghana's problems is so self-evident and the sympathy with our objective of securing prosperity for our people so abundant, that the point needs be made. How can we fail to recall Canada's consistent and exemplary attitude over the then critical question of our debts?

"In an impassioned New Year's Day message to the Canadian people at the beginning of 1975, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau stated, and I quote: 'No living thing can survive without sharing. This is true of nature; it is true of human society. Trees, bushes, grass and moss, forest and fields share space, light, moisture and the nutrients of the soil. All creatures of water, air and earth are obliged to share with each other and with all growing things. All forms of life have an indispensable ability to give or to receive. What is ecology, if not the result of an equitable sharing among all elements of our environment, including human beings? To live is to share. That is why the Law of Moses forbade the harvester to reap all the corners of his field, to keep for himself the gleanings of his harvest, or to gather

every grape in his vineyard; and that is why it commanded him to leave this small part of the harvest for the poor and the stranger.

May our long-standing traditions and our present attitudes prepare us for the far more pressing demands that will be made on us in future, and on which depend -- as we have already seen -- the salvation of the human race and the survival of life on this planet'."

In my reply to Commissioner Baah, I tried to express not only the Government's appreciation of the close and beneficial relations that Canada has maintained for so long with Ghana, but also to a certain extent to restate, at the conclusion of my journey through West Africa, the reasons which had led me to undertake it. The House will allow me to quote extensively from this statement:

"We in Canada are well aware that Ghana was the pioneer and crucible of decolonization, independence and unity in Africa, a political, economic and cultural process which is entering its culminating phase. We know what an effective contribution Ghana is now making in the achievement of closer ties among West African states. Your important role in the creation of the Convention of Lomé between the ACP and EEC was underlined

when the final and crucial meeting of ACP Ministers took place in Accra. It is not surprising that a very able Ghanaian has for a long and creative period been the Executive Secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. . . .

"Economic development has been a strong theme in our relationship. We have been very pleased to collaborate with you in a number of successful projects. In accordance with your wise and vigorous policy of self-reliance these co-operative ventures have, of course, been based on your national priorities and your desire to strengthen the economic sinews for self-sustaining growth. We are pleased that our own slight contribution to your strenuous economic development program has had such creative results in a variety of fields from power to water to transport to education, food and communications. We have been much impressed by the achievements to date of Operation Feed Yourself and hope very much to find further ways for co-operation in the development of Ghana's abundant agricultural potential.

"We know how crucially important to your economy the next few years will be in the furtherance of your economic goals as outlined in the Five-Year Development Plan Guidelines. We know too the severe burden laid on your economy by quadrupled oil costs just when your economic growth was starting to surge forward. We pledge, therefore, to sustain and increase our development co-operation with Ghana in this highly important plan period. Development is, of course, buttressed and intertwined with trade, both domestic and international. In accordance with your philosophy of self-reliance we would be delighted if mutually profitable trade between our two countries could be expanded as a contribution to the development of both our countries. I am pleased to have the opportunity to explore promising new avenues for trade with your government during my stay here. Three trade delegations from the Province of Ontario in Canada have visited Ghana in the last year. Ghanaian trade officials will be visiting Canada in the months to come.

"Our relations in the cultural field have been fairly limited to date. We in Canada are, however, becoming increasingly attracted by the rich and varied heritage of Africa. Canadians of African origin may be participating in the Black Arts Festival in Lagos. I hope that my visit here will lead to an increase in cultural exchanges and interest between our two countries. In the field of sport, for which Ghana is well known, we look forward to an enthusiastic Ghanaian participation in the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal.

"The usefulness and creative potential of the warm friendship between our two countries is not confined to our bilateral relations. In an expanding variety of international organizations our representatives have worked harmoniously together, often helping to bridge divergent viewpoints for the benefit of wise compromise decisions. As an original member of the Commonwealth, we were delighted to welcome Ghana in 1957. We have both been enthusiastic supporters of this very useful multinational forum embracing countries of every race and continent

who share similar ideals and a common working language.. Ghana and Canada have helped turn this forum and club into a workshop, a workshop of professional, vocational and technical co-operation with a multitude of institutions and meetings through which skills and ideas are fruitfully exchanged. In this expanding dimension, the Commonwealth Secretariat has played a central role. It was Ghana who first suggested the idea of the Commonwealth Secretariat in 1965 and its first Secretary-General, who will soon be completing his ten creative years of office, is a Canadian. His first Deputy Secretary-General was a distinguished son of Ghana and of Africa. It was appropriate that Canada and Ghana were both represented in a small committee of very senior Commonwealth officials who recently reviewed Secretariat activities. These are examples of our effective collaboration within the Commonwealth which will have one of its periodic and very fruitful summit meetings in Jamaica this month.

"In the United Nations, Canada and Ghana have both been strong supporters of the peace-keeping concept and operations. Our support

has been not simply oratorical or financial. We have both contributed large numbers of our men to U.N. Forces and Observer Groups which have carried out this delicate and difficult but essential work. Unfortunately, a number of our servicemen have lost their lives in this front-line work for international peace. We are naturally peace-seeking as well as peace-keeping nations. We both try--and succeed--to play active and constructive roles larger than our populations and strength would indicate in the laborious, intricate and endless task of regulating the conflicts and harmonizing the divergent interests of sovereign states.

"Canada and most other countries, including particularly the developing countries, find themselves beset by problems of monetary instability, inflation, high food prices and sharply increased energy costs. All these factors have severe implications for balance of payments positions and consequently for the ability of countries to manage their own economies. Moreover, in a world which is clearly becoming increasingly interdependent,

it would be unrealistic to assume that economic and social conditions (be they good or bad) in one country or region would not affect the economic and social health of other parts of our globe.

"Ghana and other developing countries are important to Canada as partners in an interdependent society and economy. Thus, as the international trade and payments system undergoes changes, Canada recognizes the need to explore what additional measures are appropriate to ensure that developing countries are able to derive further benefits from international trade, investment and finance. Such measures, in Canada's view, can best be achieved through co-operative efforts in which the real interests of all countries are addressed. Indeed, there is no more urgent development issue than the maintenance of world economic vigour, for when production and demand falter, all countries--developed and developing--are bound to suffer.

"Canadians are pleased to witness the rapid shrinking of the area controlled by racialism

and colonialism in Africa. We have hailed the historic decision of the new Portuguese authorities to grant full independence to all their colonies in Africa. We have embarked upon diplomatic relations with Guinea Bissau, and we are sending, in the next few weeks, a special mission to Angola and Mozambique to lay the ground for good relations with these countries, as well as the smaller Portuguese territories of Africa, which will stand as free and sovereign members of the United Nations and the OAU.

"There have been some signs of progress as well in Rhodesia and Namibia, but the prospects are not clear and we are following developments closely indeed. It is not up to us to predetermine the terms of any eventual settlement in Rhodesia or Namibia. There is no doubt, however, that the world cannot accept any settlement not ratified by a solid majority of the population of these territories. We are hopeful that the day will soon come when the colonialist and racist regimes will understand that a new order of things has to be ushered in before

all the peoples of Southern Africa can live in peace, prosperity and security."

Noting that personal visits are essential for deeper understanding of national viewpoints, I invited the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs to visit Canada at a time convenient to him. Lt. Col. Baah accepted the invitation with pleasure, and in turn, on behalf of the National Redemption Council, requested me to convey to the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliot Trudeau, an invitation to visit Ghana at a mutually convenient time in 1976, as guest of the Government of Ghana.

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