



CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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## No. 66/28 CONDITIONS FOR PEACE IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Notes Used by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, at the Consultation "Focus on Africa" Sponsored by the Canadian Council of Churches, Queen's University, Kingston, June 17, 1966.

I should like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the invitation to speak during your conference. It is a pleasure to meet again with representatives of the churches and others interested in Africa. We have many mutual interests in this and other aspects of international affairs.

I thought that, in view of the detailed study in which you have already engaged of various facets of Canadian interests in Africa, I might best contribute by providing a general account of Government policy in the field of economic assistance in Africa and elsewhere. Questions of economic aid and of trade are very important, of course, in our relations with African nations. I should also like to comment on particular political problems in Africa. In both cases, I should like to suggest some of the conditions required for peaceful and mutually profitable relations between nations in various areas of the world.

### General Policy - Economic Assistance

In November 1963, the Government decided to embark on a phased expansion of its economic assistance programmes over a period of three years. It decided to make substantial quantitative and qualitative improvements which would enable Canada to assist the developing countries more effectively.

In the current fiscal year, appropriations for economic assistance will come close to \$300 million. In the last four years approximately, our appropriations have almost tripled. I am glad to confirm the Government's intention to continue making substantial increases in aid allocations. We are working towards levels of aid activity which will enable us to play our full part in the development effort while taking fully into account:

- (a) the recommendations of competent international organizations;
- (b) our own special position as a net importer of capital; and
- (c) the need to develop programmes which will be of a type and of a quality that will most effectively assist development in the nations concerned.

This is a very broad picture of Government policy. I do not want to present too much detail which might obscure the main lines of our activities. I should remind you, however, that carrying out an economic assistance programme is not simply a matter of making allocations - writing a larger cheque each year as it were. That is only the beginning. The agency concerned must then proceed on the basis of parliamentary authority to implement the plans. This involves a very considerable effort of discussion and negotiation, the movement of people and supplies, the introduction of new programmes, the criticism and revision of existing programmes and the effective central administration of public funds.

International organizations are, of course, involved in the use of some of the funds we allocate. For the most part, however, our aid is carried out by Canadians, by the Government and by the agencies and individuals whose services are enlisted. In considering the expansion of assistance in recent years, therefore, we must not think only of total allocations but consider also the significance, in terms of time and effort, of the increased levels of activity and of new departures in aid techniques.

#### Current Activities

The past fiscal year has been characterized by an expansion in the size of both bilateral and multilateral aid programmes. A new development-loan programme has been implemented. There have been record levels of recruitment and training in the field of technical assistance. We have given particular emphasis to food aid in response to urgent requests from abroad.

Churches in Canada were particularly concerned about the critical shortage of food in India. We expect to ship 1 million tons of wheat to India during 1966. Canada will, therefore, be contributing more wheat to India, on a general comparative basis, than other countries.

Canada sponsored training programmes and courses of study for some 2,300 overseas students from over 60 different countries during the year and provided over 800 teachers, professors and technical advisers for service abroad. These figures should be set alongside the comparable ones of 700 overseas students and 83 Canadian experts, five years ago, as an indication of the growth in these programmes. Work went rapidly ahead on projects ranging from dams to schools in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. These were financed under grant aid and the new development-loan programme introduced late in 1964.

The chronic agricultural problem which prevails in most of the developing world received particular attention. During the past year we devoted approximately 16 per cent of our bilateral aid to overseas agricultural development in the improvement of irrigation facilities and rural electrification, in the provision of pesticides, fertilizers and fertilizer components and in many other ways.

Since we are particularly interested in Africa today, I might mention, by way of example, some of the projects or programmes under way in that continent. As you probably know, we have two programmes there, one for Commonwealth African countries and one for French-speaking countries.

### Aid Programmes - Africa

The establishment of a trades training centre in Accra has been a noteworthy development in Ghana, along with the launching of an irrigation and land development project in the northern regions and the provision of food aid to that country for the first time. In Nigeria, a \$3.5-million project involving the aerial photography, ground control and mapping of the Western Region is nearing completion. A trades training centre will be established in Nigeria also, and Canadians are providing training and technical advice in the operation of the Niger dam. Canadian firms are engaged in the aerial photography and mapping of Tanzania's southeast region and a development loan is being extended for transmission lines. In Kenya we are assisting in the development of a wheat-breeding programme. We have undertaken, in co-operation with Britain, a study to determine the line of route and economic feasibility of a proposed railway from Zambia to Dar-es-Salaam.

Canadian technical assistance for all regions of Africa has, of course, been concentrated on areas of particular need in the economy, in the sciences, education and in medicine. Individual Canadians or teams find themselves undertaking tasks of all types throughout the continent. I have noted a report about a Canadian adviser in Malawi who has succeeded in doubling the output of one of that country's largest sawmills in less than six months. I recall that we were instrumental in securing the services of a Canadian who is now economic adviser to the President of Zambia.

I am glad to say that the programme for French-speaking African nations continues to enjoy a rapid rate of expansion. In 1961-62, for example, when the programme commenced, seven teachers were recruited. In 1965-66, 166 teachers were under contract. The largest group of Canadian professors serving in French-speaking Africa is that composed of 36 men assigned to the University of Rwanda.

An eight-year paediatric training project will commence shortly in Tunis. Paper has been provided for textbooks in the Congo and work is about to commence on a pilot project livestock-feed plant in Cameroun. This project could lead to the establishment of a series of plants and clinics.

The University of Ottawa is undertaking in Canada an educational project of considerable interest. It is setting up courses for the training of middle level management personnel. The Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre-Mer in Paris, which has a long established reputation in the educational field, will give full credit to graduates of the University of Ottawa course who wish to continue at the Institute.

Our contribution to programmes carried out by international agencies has been an expanding one also.

### International Programmes

Last January, Canada pledged \$30 million (Canadian) to the World Food Programme for the next three years. This was the second highest pledge. Last year we stood fifth among contributors to United Nations technical assistance

and were fifth largest contributor also to the other, or Special Fund, component of the United Nations Development Programme and to the UNDP as a whole, with a contribution of \$9.5 million (Canadian).

At the last annual meeting of the World Bank Group, the Minister of Finance undertook that Canada would co-operate fully in the proposed replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association. Canada has already, since 1960, committed more than \$85 million (Canadian) to the Association. During the last two years we have made available \$35 million (Canadian) to the Inter-American Development Bank (of which \$20 million is for loans on 50-year, no-interest terms). We will be subscribing \$27 million (Canadian) to support the Asian Development Bank in its developmental operations in Asia.

We also give substantial support to other multilateral-aid bodies, which have a very important developmental role on behalf of the international community. In this way Canada assists programmes designed to fill needs as diverse as those of children in the developing countries, through UNICEF, and refugees in Palestine.

I have been referring to Governmental aid because this is the field about which you expected me to speak. I should like, however, to pay tribute on behalf of the Government to the deep concern, the humanitarian zeal and practical desire to help other countries manifested by churches and other voluntary agencies in Canada. In this field particularly of external affairs, I should expect a generous response from Canadians. The Government will continue to co-operate closely with such agencies. It is our hope that they will obtain increasing financial support from the private sector of our economy, thus adding to the total amount of assistance which can be given by Canada for economic development in the countries concerned.

#### Need for Aid

I do not have to say very much before an audience of this type about the overwhelming needs in many parts of the world to which the increasing Canadian effort I have outlined is a response.

You know about the disparities in per capita income between developed and developing nations - sometimes of the order of 20 or 30 times - which would shock others if they stopped to consider the human realities involved.

The great and growing gap between the wealth and welfare of the economically-developed countries and the rest of the world has been well documented by experts. George Woods, the able and experienced President of the World Bank group of institutions, last January drew an alarming picture of the consequences of the present loss of momentum in development. He called for what he described as a "major and irrevocable decision about development assistance" from the capital-exporting countries and set the requirement for the flow of capital to developing countries during the next five years, the last five years of the Development Decade, as some \$3 to \$4 billion a year more than they are getting at present.

The growing burden of debt repayment is a very critical problem for an increasing number of the developing countries. It is estimated that, if aid continues at about its present level and on the same terms, by 1980 the repayment outflows will be as great as the incoming assistance. In other words, the foreign

aid available at that time will be sufficient only to balance off the debt repayment.

This is a critical time for the world so far as the whole conception of development assistance is concerned. In recognizing the urgency of the problem and trying to respond by increased effort, we must also take stock of the whole situation. There are questions about basic motivation, about our hopes for peace in the world, about the theoretical feasibility of effecting a substantial change in the economic life of other nations and about the actual efficiency of existing programmes which should be, and are to an increasing extent being, debated.

It is essential to have a clear understanding on such points in order that there should be public support for programmes which, if they are to be really effective, will have to go on for some time yet.

#### Co-ordination of Aid

In the first place, are the developed nations aiming at a high degree of efficiency in these programmes? Are the programmes rigorously examined in the light of the real objectives of economic growth? I think that I would say, to borrow the words of the President of the International Bank, that all of us concerned with the Canadian aid effort ask ourselves constantly, "is this an investment which promises to make a lasting contribution to increasing productivity? Will it provide wealth necessary not just to repay the loan but also to add something to the well-being of the people of the country?"

I have already stressed that increasing aid activities is not just a matter of approving allocations. It requires a great effort of judgment and organization to ensure that the right thing is done. Fortunately, the developed nations are acquiring by experience a very considerable body of knowledge which is applied, after consultation and co-ordination, to the actual programmes of international agencies or of individual nations.

We are doing this with other donor countries in the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The members of the Organization represent the donors of the overwhelming part of the total capital flow to developing countries. We are doing it in various bodies of the United Nations, including especially the consultative groups and consortiums of the World Bank.

There is now, of course, a considerable variety in agencies or programmes created by individual donor nations or set up on an international basis. This reflects the necessity for differentiation in the techniques for giving economic assistance.

Most developed nations prefer to extend most of that assistance directly. They recognize, however, that institutions such as the World Bank group and the Special Fund component of the United Nations Development Programme have established remarkable reputations for achieving results in co-operation with the governments of developing countries which would not likely have been attainable otherwise. There is little doubt that economic assistance will continue to be given both through national and international channels. Provided the nations and agencies concerned consult among themselves and co-ordinate their activities as much as possible, I believe that the work can be done in this way with reasonable efficiency.

### Long-Term Prospects

In a broader sense, economists and others have come to realize the full dimensions of the international effort which will be required to bring the under-developed nations to the degree of economic maturity which would enable them to proceed with development and trade without assistance or special concessions. Technology and money can work many wonders, but it must also be recognized, to quote one student of development that: "Technical knowledge, the machine and capital goods in general, never exist in the abstract but always only in the relatively fleeting forms suited to the momentary situation and to that complex of unique problems to which they have been adapted."

Another economist, Rostow, in his well-known study of the Stages of Economic Growth, points out that: "In short, the rise in the rate of investment (which has been pointed to as the indication that sustained economic growth is really under way) requires a radical shift in the society's effective attitude toward fundamental and applied science; toward the initiation of change in productive technique, toward the taking of risk, and toward the conditions and methods of work."

It is clear that what one agency described as "economic relations between unequally developed countries" will continue to characterize international affairs for some time to come and that economic relations must take trade as much into account as development finance. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development two years ago and the follow-up meeting since have revealed how many complex problems have to be overcome in the process of adjusting world trading relations to help the developing countries. Canada and other developed countries have supported efforts to achieve realistic international agreements with respect to the prices for certain commodities, but neither these agreements nor other trade measures can solve the problems of the less-developed countries without development aid as well.

### Motivation of Aid

Since it is the long haul we are talking about, basic motivation and ultimate political expectations matter a good deal. I have, on other occasions, discussed the principles and purposes of foreign aid and emphasized my own belief that the basic motivation is very complex, resting both on humanitarian and political considerations and having its ultimate justification in hopes for peace and stability in the world. Short-term political goals or direct commercial advantages are not the national interests we pursue in this field. We seek the national interest, to be sure, but we define it in other terms.

There is, of course, a considerable debate going on among economists and political scientists about foreign-aid motivation. It seems invariably to be carried on in terms of the thinking and interests of donor nations. Perhaps we should approach the question differently. So far as I am concerned, Canada is responding to the requests of developing nations. I am interested in their thinking on the subject

When African states drew up a charter of unity in Addis Ababa in 1963, they naturally devoted a good deal of attention to economic problems. They noted, among others, the considerations that "economic development, including the expansion of trade on the basis of fair and remunerative prices, should tend to eliminate the need for external economic aid, and that such external economic aid should be unconditional and should not prejudice the independence of African states".

This statement expresses some of the chief concerns of developing nations in Africa or elsewhere. It is clear that they want to derive the benefits of trade under the conditions which we in the developed nations consider normal. They want to obtain for their peoples the standard of living which technology, education, hard work and political stability can obviously, under contemporary conditions, produce. They want to bolster a highly cherished political independence with economic strength.

The responsibility of initiating this drive for better conditions, of defining the goals and of providing the greatest amount of the effort, is that of the developing nations. But if, in undertaking this drive, they turn to the developed nations for some of the credits, the grants, the technical knowledge and advice which are extremely important in achieving the initial momentum of economic growth, then we can only say that the efforts which they are willing to undertake on their own behalf have self-evident value in terms of our interest also, and that we shall help. No developed country which attributes any importance to its acceptance of the United Nations Charter could, so far as I am concerned, do otherwise.

There is an abundance of reasons supporting this view, ranging all the way from instinctive humanitarianism to political realism. I might remind you of some of the considerations of realism. If the independence of nations should be threatened by extreme poverty leading to anarchy, there would be a considerable temptation to those with greater power to intervene, with all the threats which intervention would pose to world peace. If the solution of some problems of frontiers, of lines of communication and of resources are not sought through regional and world economic co-operation, they will become the sources of brooding resentments and conflicts. If the relationship between races which characterized earlier eras of industrial revolution and colonialism is not clearly altered by new conditions of economic co-operation and political respect, then resentments, misunderstanding, ideological clashes and the formation of political blocs will impede diplomacy, international co-operation and trade.

In purely economic terms, the gradual effect on the world market of economic growth in all parts of the world reflected in the capacity of more nations to export and import on a more diversified basis without external assistance will be a good one.

We can never expect economic development alone to guarantee peace, however. In the concluding section of my remarks, I should like to turn to some of the political conditions for peaceful change.

### Political Developments - Africa

The violent struggles which preceded and accompanied in some cases the end of colonialism; the subsequent problems of instability and adjustment; dramatic problems such as those arising in the Congo - these have all focused attention on political developments in Africa. I should say, however, that I have been just as much aware of the achievements of newly-independent African nations. These include the creation, out of rival groupings, of a single Organization of African Unity spanning the entire continent. These countries have made Africa's voice strongly felt at the United Nations and in other international organizations.

Some people maintain, because of continuing problems of colonialism and racial relations, that the interests of the black and white races are essentially opposed. I do not agree. Black and white have a basic community of interest in economic development and in the goal of racial equality and co-operation. This community of interest is reflected in a remarkable way in daily personal relations between black Africans and the white people living among them. To my mind this is the overriding reality in relations between Western countries and the countries of black Africa, not political difference and memories of past struggles.

To relate these general considerations to specific problems in Africa, I should point out that the Canadian Government is in general agreement with the leaders of black Africa that the objective throughout Africa as elsewhere should be majority rule. This shared view has enabled us to adopt a common approach with African leaders on many issues at the United Nations and also at meetings of Commonwealth prime ministers. We do not, however, agree in all respects with African countries.

Our disagreement with the Africans about problems in the southern part of the continent is not on objectives but on methods and timing. We do not agree that military force and coercion should be used to bring about the necessary changes in that area. Nor do we believe that all the problems in the southern part of Africa should necessarily receive similar treatment.

### Rhodesian Problem

We believe the problems in this area should be kept apart as far as possible because there are significant points of difference between them. We also believe that the problem of Rhodesia should be kept as isolated as possible for tactical reasons. That is one reason why we do not believe that, in present circumstances, United Nations mandatory sanctions should be applied to the illegal régime in Rhodesia. Such a step would seem likely to drive Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa closer together and, therefore, to delay rather than speed up a satisfactory solution of the Rhodesian problem.

This is an important problem for Canada as a member of the Commonwealth. I do not need to outline in detail to this audience Canadian policy and its basis. They are well known to you.



Although we do not favour mandatory UN sanctions at present, we do strongly support the most widespread application of voluntary economic measures against the illegal régime. We have imposed a total embargo on Canadian trade with Rhodesia and we believe that time should be allowed for these sanctions to work. We believe they are the best means to achieve what we along with the African states desire, that is a solution looking to majority rule with safeguards for the minority.

The first step to this solution is to end the illegal situation. Economic sanctions may bring about this solution by persuading white Rhodesians that their illegal declaration of independence was a grave mistake.

The underlying reasons for our policy are also well known. The Prime Minister and I have, on a number of occasions, pointed out the importance to the maintenance of the multi-racial Commonwealth of a solution in Rhodesia acceptable to Rhodesians as a whole and to the members of the Commonwealth. We have pointed out that Canada's sanctions policy is pursuant also to the Security Council resolution of November 20 and is thus consistent with our general policy of support for the United Nations.

We have pointed out also a third major reason for our policy, a reason which is in fact at the root of the other two factors. I refer to the moral roots of our policy. We disapprove of the illegal régime because it seeks to perpetuate a political system which denies effective political rights to about four million Africans who constitute about seventeenth-eightieths of the population of Rhodesia. The white settlers, who number about 200,000, wish to be independent on the basis of a constitution which, although in theory non-discriminatory, sharply discriminates in practice between white and black.

It is because of this discrimination in politics, in economics and in education that Rhodesia, under its present régime, is unacceptable to the multi-racial Commonwealth. It is for these reasons that an acceptable solution of the Rhodesian problem may well be an indispensable condition for the continued health and even existence of this valuable association between different races, religions and continents.

### Conclusion

These specific problems in Africa indicate some of the conditions required for peaceful development in the world. Relations between races, some remaining problems of colonialism, the assumption of sovereignty by a number of nations within a short period, economic growth and trade - all are developments or subjects for discussion of the greatest importance in world councils. Many of the associated problems arouse deep emotions and involve cultural and internal political and economic matters which have not often been the concern of diplomacy in other periods. They are matters for concern now, whether the forum be an African one, or a Commonwealth one, or a United Nations one. The basic conditions for peace, as we now understand them, must include these wider human concerns. Halting as its voice may be on some political and humanitarian matters, there is a world community attempting to set standards above those of the national interests of individual sovereign states.

If our concern is wider and our hopes for improvement are greater than in the past, then our disappointments can be greater too, at the slow progress in some fields. It is easy enough for fear, hatred and arrogance to dominate human and national relations. The only answer is to maintain the momentum of a drive for a sane world order in which a profound concern for human welfare and justice will guide nations towards rational solutions of their differences.

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