

~~SECRET~~

KING GORDON

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH OTTAWA

PLEASE CABLE ARRIVAL TIME LOVE

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984 Fairlawn ve.  
Ottawa K2A 3S5  
April 28 1984

Dear Elisabeth,

Here's a copy of the piece I did on Aurelio Peccei. I'm afraid not Canadian newspaper or magazine is interested - and I'm not sure whether it is lack of knowledge of and interest in Peccei or the inadequacy of my treatment. But I hope you will feel that it recalls something of the quality of a very special person.

Id like to be sure that we'll see you in Stockholm because I think it may be an important meeting. We think so but health problems are a little uncertain.

All the best. The news from ICOD is most encouraging and I hope things work out.

Much love

A handwritten signature, possibly "F. G. T.", written in dark ink with a horizontal line underneath.



KING GORDON

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa K2A 3S5  
November 16 1983

Dear Elisabeth,

I received a letter this week from Prue Myer which had been sent out to all the contributors to the Marjorie Smart Memorial Fund with a handwritten postscript. I thought I would share their genuine enthusiasm with you. We neednt say how happy we both are. Sometime before next June I'll tell you a bit about Marjorie.

What is the news on Arvid? Did he get the Third World award? I sincerely hope so.

Meanwhile our Prime Minister is making quite an effort. It annoys me quite a bit to hear and read about him being downplayed with the line: "How can one guy from a smallish power influence the policy of a super-power like the US?" In the first place, during his journeys he's talking to more than governments and in our present situation, taking into account the strength of the peace movement, the catalytic influence of his mission can't be neglected. And in the second place, both of us know that there are important things in the building of peace that can be done by a coalition of middle and even small powers. We'll be interested to see what comes out of the Commonwealth conference in New Delhi in this context.

We've had our first snow - 15 cm. in the last 24 hours and the streets are a mess. It seems I waited just a mite too long to put in the rest of my bulbs!

All the best

*and much love*

*King*

KING GORDON

984 Fairlawn Ave.  
Ottawa, Ont. K2A 3S5  
November 5 1982

Dear Elisabeth,

Here is the proof that I attended P.I.M.XI! The carbon copy is pretty faint but a priavte eye could make out that the actual fare Ottawa-Mexico return was \$514 Canadian. Only other non-Mexican expenses were the two taxi fare to and from Ottawa airport amounting to \$30 Canadian.

I have talked with Archie MacKinnon at CIDA and reported on the conference and shall be sending a full report to Diana Rivington with whom I spoke before I left. In regard to Marcel Massé's elevation to Under-Secretary for External Affairs the feeling seems to be a) that his successor, not yet decided, will carry on the Massé emphasis in CIDA policy and b) that with the new consolidation of foreign and international economic policy under the Ministry, Massé will continue to have a major interest in CIDA.

One would hope that Yaker would see Massé as well as MacEachen when he comes to Ottawa in December. Massé, of course, is quite familiar with CIDA's support of our training programs and of IOI in general.

Last evening, on Michael Oliver's invitation I had dinner with a group of visiting Chinese university people interested in establishing linkages with Canadian universities with expertise in management training. My dinner companion was Professor Liu Yong Kang, Department of Industrial Engineering, Shanghai Hao Tong University. Among other things he talked about the importance of management in regard to shipping, dock facilities, etc. in the Port of Shanghai. I told him about our IOI training programs in marine management and he seemed greatly interested. I gave him your name and address. So you may be hearing from him. Or on the other hand, you may wish to send him some material.

Incidentally, CIDA is solidly behind this new Chinese program which is extending into many other fields beyond that of business management represented by this group - health and agriculture, for instance.

I just thought that after Goa and Solomon Islands and Algeria you might be wondering what there was to do!

Ruth is fine now and sends her best.

King

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa K2A 3S5  
May 27 1983

Dear Elisabeth,

I spoke to Ivan yesterday - he has been away in Washington and has been involved in some high-level talks with a group brought together by the Aspen Institute. He seemed interested and I am passing over to him your file today. By the way, I think you might look again at your project outline. It is a bit confused partly because you mention the two areas of research: a) conflicts of terminology; and b) substantial conflicts but in the text you just have the first subtitle conflicts in terminology on p.3 and no second subtitle, substantial conflicts.

I'm not sure whether we can hope for IDRC support for this very modest request simply because I don't think IDRC has been doing anything in the way of support of research in the inter-relationships of disarmament and development although Ivan has an active interest in both areas. We'll see.

Yesterday, out of the blue, I had a call from Bert Allsopp in Vancouver. He sounded quite distressed over developments which had resulted from his resignation from IDRC. This originated with an invitation from the World Bank to accept an assignment or position with them. The inner situation in his division which I have known about for some time apparently resulted in some bad feelings and it appears that the separation was an unhappy experience. This is too bad because I think Bert is a very good person and has encouraged some of the best work IDRC has supported in the field of fisheries and aquaculture, particularly oysters. I think he has been in touch with you and I would hope something useful might develop for him: if ICOD eventually takes shape I should think that he could make a very important contribution. It appears that he is going to make himself available as a consultant from his Vancouver base where he has his home. I wonder would Sidney be of any help?

Meanwhile, I have been thinking about your offer from Melbourne and still hope that a way can be found for you to take it up. It should be interesting to you: it would certainly be greatly appreciated by Melbourne and many others in Australia: I think you would be an important link between two good universities which already have some associations within the Commonwealth: and if and when ICOD takes shape the linkage might be invaluable.

Murray Thomson and I took our letter - which is also your letter to the Prime Minister's office. We hope it will have some effect. And I gather from Diana, whom I saw at a party this week, that plans are in progress for your coming here. Ron when I talked with him, was very cordial.

All the best from us both. Anne

Kate

*King Gordon*

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, K2A 3S5  
November 11 1982

Dear Elisabeth,

A couple of things:

I can find no one here who knows anything about the December 10 meeting of members of the Brandt Commission which seemed to be such an important date in Yaker's calendar. Bill McWhinney, senior vice-president of CIDA with whom I spoke yesterday knew nothing about it. I shall make some more enquiries tomorrow.

The International Development Office of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) puts out a very good newsletter making reference to all activities of an international sort, particularly those linked with universities in developing countries, in which Canadian universities are involved. I spoke to the Assistant Director of IDO yesterday suggesting that the IOI cum Dalhousie training programs would be a good subject for a future issue. Then I found that McAlister had sent in to them several stories on Atlantic universities involvement including one, written by you, on the IOI training programs. I suggested to Father Guilbault that you might be contacted for any additional information they might need.

One thing has been worrying me since Mexico: the rather silly reference of one of the Dalhousie lawyers, McDorman I think, to the exclusive provincial jurisdiction over pollution. Since provincial jurisdiction does not extend beyond the bounds of the coastline - according to the best constitutional authorities and despite the noisy claims of the premier of Newfoundland - I thought the statement very unfortunate. If you recall, Hage was out of the room when it was made: I spoke to him about it and he agreed with me. If the speaker was right then not only pollution but also the management of marine and seabed resources in the EEZ are also in dispute since on land they come under provincial jurisdiction. Anyway, I would hate to see those remarks included in the final published text as the Canadian position. There may even be some analogies in the decisions of the International Joint Commission as applied to inland border waters.

A slight damage to an eye, now repairing well, has delayed work on my Mexican report. But its pretty well in shape inside my head and I'll get it down soon.

Our love to you and all the best.

*King*

J. KING GORDON

984 FAIRLAWN AVENUE, OTTAWA, ONTARIO K2A 3S5

August 30 1982

Dear Elisabeth,

We both apologize for not writing you sooner to thank you for those nice days in your home by the sea. We enjoyed them so much. And Ruth is sending you some very interesting pictures she took of your interesting household. Mine are the two sea views from your exciting aussichtpunkt.

With the good news you gave me by phone I have done nothing about CIDA and the South Pacific project. I did get off a letter to Aklilu Habte, giving my impressions of the value of the training prpgram and enclosing a copy of your letter, the big poster of the three programs, and the syllabus of this summers Dalhousie course. There hasn't been time yet for a reply.

Then, remembering our talk about the usefulness of films for teaching purposes I wrote a friend on the National Film Board to see what interest there might be in working on a series. I told him about you and gave him your address, recommending they send someone down to see you. I hope something happens,

We are gradually getting adjusted to Ottawa again. Ruth has been having some trouble with her back but she has been taking it very easy for the last ten days or so and it seems to be repairing itself. We have received the exciting news that Alison is planning to get married in Toronto early in October. We are quite happy about it having met the young man and knowing how happy Alison is. So our immediate plans are shaping up around that event.

I won't go into the reasons why but since my return I have been reading some philosophy and the philosophy of religion - Martin Buber (whom your father probably knew), Hammarskjold, Sven Stolpe, who did a very interesting portrait of Hammarskjold, and an old Philosophy tutor of mine at Oxford, H.J. Paton. Hammarskjold as you probably know, was fascinated by Buber and was actually working on a Swedish translation on his I and Thou at the time of his death. And in my reading of that book I came across two pages on animal-human relations that I found fascinating. I had them copied and enclose them.

All good wishes

Anna Core  
King

PS The enclosed card is from Narina Bene, Florentine, whom you met here.  
She mentions Leta Cormier whom we have not yet reached to give your address.

lived—and lived ever again, ever anew, unpredictably, without any possibility of anticipation or prescription.

A comparison of the religious and the philosophical antinomy will make this clearer. Kant can relativize the philosophical conflict of freedom and necessity by relegating the latter to the world of appearance and the former to that of being, so that the two positions no longer really oppose one another but rather get along with one another as well as do the two worlds in which each is valid. But when I mean freedom and necessity not in worlds that are thought of but in the actuality in which I stand before God; when I know, "I have been surrendered" and know at the same time, "It depends on me," then I may not try to escape from the paradox I have to live by relegating the irreconcilable propositions to two separate realms; neither may I seek the aid of some theological artifice to attain some conceptual reconciliation: I must take it upon myself to live both in one, and lived both are one.

The eyes of an animal have the capacity of a great language. Independent, without any need of the assistance of sounds and gestures, most eloquent when they rest entirely in their glance, they express the mystery in its natural captivity, that is, in the anxiety of becoming.<sup>7</sup> This state of the mystery is known only to the animal, which alone can open it up to us—for this state can only be opened up and not revealed. The language in which this is accomplished is what it says: anxiety—the stirring of the creature between the realms of plantlike security and spiritual risk. This language is the stammering of nature under the initial grasp of spirit, before language yields to spirit's cosmic risk

<sup>7</sup> *Bangigkeit des Werdens.*

which we call man. But no speech will ever repeat what the stammer is able to communicate.

I sometimes look into the eyes of a house cat. The domesticated animal has not by any means received the gift of the truly "eloquent" glance from us, as a human conceit suggests sometimes; what it has from us is only the ability—purchased with the loss of its elementary naturalness—to turn this glance upon us brutes.<sup>8</sup> In this process some mixture of surprise and question has come into it, into its dawn and even its rise—and this was surely wholly absent from the original glance, for all its anxiety. Undeniedly, this cat began its glance by asking me with a glance that was ignited by the breath of my glance: "Can it be that you mean me? Do you actually want that I should not merely do tricks for you? Do I concern you? Am I there for you? Am I there? What is that coming from you? What is that around me? What is it about me? What is that?!" ("I" is here a paraphrase of a word of I-less self-reference that we lack. "That" represents the flood of man's glance in the entire actuality of its power to relate.) There the glance of the animal, the language of anxiety, had risen hugely—and set almost at once. My glance, to be sure, endured longer; but it no longer retained the flood of man's glance.

That rotation of the world's axis which introduced the relational process had been succeeded almost immediately by the next, which concludes it. Just now the It-world had surrounded the animal and me, then the You-world radiated from the ground for the length of one glance, and now its light has died back into the It-world.

It is for the sake of the language of this barely perceptible rising and setting of the spirit sun that I relate this

<sup>8</sup> *uns Untieren* could mean "us non-animals"; but *Untier* almost invariably means monster, beast, brute.

The first question might be formulated like this, with reasonable precision: The book speaks of our I-You relation not only to other men but also to beings and things that confront us in nature; what, then, constitutes the essential difference between the former and the latter? Or, still more precisely: if the I-You relation entails a reciprocity that embraces both the I and the You, how can the relationship to something in nature be understood in this fashion? Still more exactly: if we are to suppose that the beings and things in nature that we encounter as our You also grant us some sort of reciprocity, what is the character of this reciprocity, and what gives us the right to apply to it this basic concept?

Obviously, no sweeping answer can be given to this question. Instead of considering nature as a single whole, as we usually do, we must consider its different realms separately. Man once "tamed" animals, and he is still capable of bringing off this strange feat. He draws animals into his own sphere and moves them to accept him, a stranger, in an elementary manner and to accede to his ways. He obtains from them an often astonishing active response to his approach, to his address—and on the whole this response is the stronger and more direct, the more his relation amounts to a genuine You-saying. Not infrequently animals, like children, see through feigned tenderness. But outside the tamed circle, too, we occasionally encounter a similar contact between men and animals: some men have deep down in their being a potential partnership with animals—most often persons who are by no means "animalic" by nature but rather spiritual.

Animals are not twofold, like man: the twofoldness of the basic words I-You and I-It is alien to them although

they can both turn toward another being and contemplate objects. We may say that in them twofoldness is latent. In the perspective of our You-saying to animals, we may call this sphere the threshold of mutuality.

It is altogether different with those realms of nature which lack the spontaneity that we share with animals. It is part of our concept of the plant that it cannot react to our actions upon it, that it cannot "reply." Yet this does not mean that we meet with no reciprocity at all in this sphere. We find here not the deed of posture of an individual being but a reciprocity of being itself—a reciprocity that has nothing except being.\* The living wholeness and unity of a tree that denies itself to the eye, no matter how keen, of anyone who merely investigates, while it is manifest to those who say You, is present when *they* are present: they grant the tree the opportunity to manifest it, and now the tree that has being manifests it. Our habits of thought make it difficult for us to see that in such cases something is awakened by our attitude and flashes toward us from that which has being. What matters in this sphere is that we should do justice with an open mind to the actuality that opens up before us. This huge sphere that reaches from the stones to the stars I should like to designate as the pre-threshold, meaning the step that comes before the threshold.

Now we come to the questions posed by that sphere which might be called, sticking to the same sort of image, the "over-threshold" (*superliminare*),\*\* meaning the lintel that is above the door: the sphere of the spirit.

\**eine nichts als seiende.*

\*\*The Latin word is found in the Vulgate, e.g., Exodus 12:22.

July 31 1982

My dear Elisabeth,

We have been living in a different world for the past three weeks. The daily newspapers describe the unbelievable things happening in Lebanon, the incredible double-talk of Reagan, the strangely biased post-mortems on the Law of the Sea Conference. It is a world far removed. On our island we have a little community which is part of the continuity that began here 75 years ago when my father purchased the island and built the house. Now we are into the third generation sharing in the activities of work and play that spell our communal life. And we are all brown and healthy from our chopping and clearing and swimming and paddling and sun-bathing.

But now it's back into the other world with other responsibilities. Charley, Nancy, John and Mary leave today. We set out next Wednesday for Ottawa via Halifax, Port Joli to take in the wedding of Debbie Carver on August 7. We shall probably spend the weekend with the Carvers but hope very much to drop in on you and your friends before returning to Ottawa. I've no idea of your plans: you may be away or it might be inconvenient for you to put us up for a night. Since there is no way in which you could get a reply by mail to us we had better leave it that we shall call you by phone from port Joli.

I'm sending this to Daphousie since I don't have your exact home address. But since the training session will be in full swing I have no doubt it will reach you.

All good wishes from us both. It will be lovely to see you.

John King





FOR OTHER NAMES:

# International Ocean Institute

P.O. Box 524 Valletta-Malta

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August 12, 1982.

↗  
Dr. J. King Gordon  
984 Fairlawn Ave.  
Ottawa, Ont. K2A 3S5

Dear King:

I should like to explore with you, and through you, the possibility of obtaining support from the Educational Division of the World Bank for our Training Programme.

Let me permit that we did apply previously to the Bank's fund for NGOs through Mahbub ul Haq, but that our application was turned down by Vice-President Munir Benjenk. I understand that the NGO fund has been drastically cut, and that no new application could be considered.

However, I am convinced that the Educational Division of the Bank should really be interested in our programme which, since our last application has continued to expand and develop in directions that are close to the core interest of the Bank's educational efforts.

Our training programme on marine resources management and conservation is designed for mid-career civil servants from developing countries. Its purpose is to deepen the understanding of the ever increasing importance of the oceans and their resources in world economics and world politics; to assist developing countries in the formation of a core of decision-makers fully aware of the complex issues and technologies of ocean management and to maximize the benefits to be derived from the proper integration of ocean management into national and international development strategy.

The programme is organized in three types of annual courses: Class A is devoted to ocean mining, in its technical, economic, managerial, and legal aspects; Class B covers economic-zone management; and Class C is organized on a regional basis and deals with all aspects of ocean management in one particular region. Class A takes place in our headquarters in Malta, for the theoretical part, and at the Technical University of Aachen, for the technical part. Class B is held at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Canada, while the venue for Class C changes each year. The first Class C course is scheduled to take place in Goa, India, in cooperation with the Government of India, the National Institute of Oceanography, and UNEP (October-December, 1982); and two Class C programmes

each are planned for 1983 and 1984, in Algiers, the Solomon Islands, Mexico, and Thailand.

The average number of participants is 20-25. Each course lasts for ten weeks, including field trips.

The programme is unique, not only for its content -- and I am attaching the syllabi for our three courses of 1982; it is unique also for its methodology and organization. It is a learning process both for participants and teaching staff: they are all equally actively involved in the discussions, the result of each course being a publication for which the participants themselves are responsible: New approaches and new perspectives keep emerging from this process of mutual learning. The programme is in fact a new form of North-South cooperation: The teaching staff is drawn from experts both "North" and "South" as well as from all the competent organizations of the U.N. system (FAO, UNESCO/IOC, UNEP, IMO, UNCTAD, ILO, IAEA), and also the funding comes from both "North" and "South." Our chief supporters have been: CIDA (Canada), the Commonwealth Secretariat, and the OPEC Fund, UNEP, the Government of India, with more sporadic contributions from Sweden, the Netherlands, Mexico, Nigeria, plus FAO, UNDP, and UNESCO/IOC. The cost of each programme -- including participants' airfares, 10 weeks' room and board, teaching materials, field trips, teaching materials, sickness insurance, pocket allowance, and lecturers' airfares, living expenses, and fees, comes to about \$180,000.

There is an increasing demand for the programme: so much so that we have to plan four courses for 1983 and 1984 rather than three, which really puts quite a strain on us; and our financial basis, already quite diversified, is broadening.

It is, however, a heavy burden to have to raise \$180,000 four times a year, and problems of cash flow keep arising. A contribution of \$50,000 from the World Bank would greatly alleviate our task. The contribution could be in the form of scholarships: We charge \$7,500 per scholarship, to which the transatlantic airfare has to be added, averaging now \$1,900. These scholarships could even go to the Governments of the participants (all our participants are selected and nominated by their Governments); or they could be paid directly to us, which would simplify the administration; or they could be paid to the developing country hosting a Class C course.

I should be glad to come to Washington and discuss the matter with the Bank.

Thanks for all your cooperation and help.

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

King Gordon

321 Chapel Street  
Ottawa, Ontario. K1N 7Z2

April 26, 1982.

Dear Friend:

This letter is to review the correspondence we in the "Group of 78" have had with the Prime Minister concerning the statement on "Canadian Foreign Policy in the 1980s", and to share a proposal for furthering the common concerns expressed in that statement.

As you know, we received a response from Prime Minister Trudeau written on December 27, 1981. On March 29, 1982, we replied by means of the enclosed letter.

We have also held three lunch meetings for group members who live in the Ottawa area. The following attended one or more of these lunches: Andrew Brewin, Tim Brodhead, General E.L.M. Burns, Rita Cadieux, Edith Carter, T.C. Douglas, Eugene Forsey, Sylva Gelber, Maynard Gertler, Alf Gleave, King Gordon, Richard Harmston, Kalmen Kaplansky, David Kirk, Renaude Lapointe, David MacDonald, Michael Oliver, Lucy Pepin, Beryl Plumptre, Clyde Sanger, John Sigler, Murray Thomson, Norma Walmsley and Gregory Wirick.

In light of recent developments that particularly concern the disarmament part of the Groups's original statement, it was decided at the last lunch meeting, held April 5th, to prepare a further statement. Its purpose would be to reiterate our concern that Canada provide bold initiatives at UNSSOD II, to reaffirm support for the Strategy of Suffocation, and to voice our opinion that the testing of cruise missiles on Canadian territory would run counter to the spirit and intent of that Strategy. A drafting group is working on this statement.

Three days after our lunch, on April 8th, six members of the House Standing Committee on External Affairs & National Defence, from all three political parties, issued a Minority Report and press release (enclosed).

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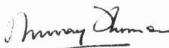
.../2

Those of us who read the Report have noted the similarity of their concerns and proposals with our own. Consequently, after consultations with several members living in Ottawa, we wish to propose that the Group of 78 as a whole endorse the Minority Report and give it wide publicity and support. We feel this would be especially timely since it comes less than two months before the start of the U.N.'s Second Special Session on Disarmament.


Endorsement of the Minority Report is not intended to supplant our own initiative and its broader perspectives of Canadian foreign policy, but to complement it.

Before making public the Group's support of the Minority Report, we ask that you communicate with us, whether or not you agree with this proposal. If we have not heard from you by May 7th, we will assume that you are in accord.

Sincerely,



Murray Thomson

  
J. King Gordon

P.S.: As you are aware, activities associated with these mailings require certain expenditures, and we believe you would want to share in meeting them. Donations should be sent to J. King Gordon, payable to him, "for the Group of 78", and sent to the address above.

686 Echo Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1S 1P3

29 March 1982

The Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0A6

Dear Mr. Trudeau:

You will recall receiving a statement last October signed by a group of 78 Canadians who set down their recommendations on priorities for Canadian foreign policy in the 1980s. For our part, we appreciated the lengthy letter you sent in reply on December 27th. Your reply was circulated to all members of the group, and a good deal of correspondence and consultation among us has followed. As a result, I am writing to you again, to reflect the reactions and further thoughts of the members of the group we have been able to contact.

I think we all appreciated the fact that, as you indicate, you are personally sympathetic to many points in our letter. But there was a general unease that you should make a distinction between Canadian realities and international realities, and should even imply that Canadian interests can at times be served without reference to a deteriorating world situation.

You apparently consider that our proposals do not take into proper account the pursuit of Canada's well-being, and you chide us for not dwelling on the subject of international trade. We do of course accept the view that Canada's own needs, including those we have as a major trading nation, should be priority. But the basis for our proposals is the belief that the Canadian government should do everything in its power to make less likely the outbreak of a nuclear war, and that this should be the primary objective of Canadian foreign policy. We are confident that you believe this, although your comments did not give that impression.

The emphasis we placed on the vigorous pursuit of the Strategy of Suffocation stems from our deep dismay that so little has been achieved, by Canada and other countries acting collectively or individually, since you outlined that strategy in 1978. And in the light of such a strategy, we are at a loss to understand your support for the development, testing and deployment of the Cruise missile. For the production of a small weapon of its lethal character, one whose location is virtually unverifiable,

will make it even more difficult to reach arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. And while we recognize the importance of reciprocation in such agreements, surely it will now be more difficult than ever to pursue the four main points of the Strategy, with fewer chances of reaching consensus on the means for verifying those agreements already made. A specific example would be an international satellite monitoring agency, designed to monitor compliance with arms control agreements, now or in the future.

The proposal that Canada declare its intention of becoming a nuclear-weapon-free zone would not, in our view, reduce the possibilities for multilateral disarmament, but would increase them. Nor would such a zone detract from our national security, as your letter suggests. For if the Final Document from the 1978 Special Session on Disarmament is to be believed, then we must reiterate that "the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones constitutes an important disarmament measure", one increasingly recognized by people in all regions of the world. We would respectfully ask you to reconsider your position on this proposal.

We welcome your statement that Canada has "a vital stake in the openness and stability of the international trading environment". This is consistent with previous statements in which you have linked our security with progress towards a more equitable international order. You have identified with the Brandt Commission's conclusion that there are mutual interests among the nations of North and South, interests for achieving one common global economic policy. We believe that your efforts at Cancun were designed to move the world to the perception of these mutual interests, and to act upon them. As an example we would like to see action which clears the way for developing countries to play a greater role in the decision making of international financial organizations. And, above all, we desire an end to the production and financing of new weapons systems and the accompanying gross misuse of precious resources, when the human need for those resources is so urgent and compelling.

The emphasis throughout our statement and this letter has been on the importance of Canada's sharing in cooperative international policies, and in our giving a lead with other middle powers in reducing tensions between the superpowers. You have often shown that this, too, is one of your primary concerns. Surely there has never been a time when effective action is more needed.

Sincerely,

*Andrew Brewin*

Andrew Brewin

c.c.: Hon. Mark MacGuigan  
Secretary of State for  
External Affairs

April 8, 1982

for release at  
14:00 EST

END THE ARMS RACE SAY MPs

OTTAWA -- Six Members of Parliament from all three political parties have vigorously dissented from a House of Commons committee report on security and disarmament.

The MPs, all members of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence, criticized the report in their own minority statement and called for stronger measures by the Canadian government to help end the arms race.

In addition to re-affirming the 1978 "Strategy of Suffocation" of nuclear weapons the MPs urged the government to take other "realistic, strong initiatives to halt the headlong race to oblivion." The MPs recommend Canadian support for a global freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. They recommend that Canada deny the United States permission to test Cruise Missiles in Canada. They call on all nations to pledge never to be the first to use nuclear weapons and advocate a global referendum on disarmament. The Canadian government should devote one-tenth of one percent (7 million dollars) of Canada's defence budget to disarmament research and education efforts including the establishment of six chairs of disarmament at Canadian universities, say the MPs.

These proposals were all rejected by the Committee majority. The minority found grave deficiencies in the majority report, both in its analysis of the effects of the arms race and in its proposals for action.

The minority statement stressed that unilateral disarmament was not being advocated. "Rather, a practical policy is to promote mutual, balanced and verifiable disarmament by first of all freezing further growth."

"Both superpowers already possess the nuclear weaponry to destroy each other several times over. It is this expanding overkill capacity that has become a threat to all humanity", the statement said.

"We believe the question before Canada -- and all mankind -- is clear", says the minority report. "What is more important: adding to the danger of the arms race or building future security by comprehensive disarmament measures? We have made our choice. We condemn the continued arms race."

The report was signed by: Pauline Jewett, MP New Westminster-Coquitlam, Walter McLean, MP Waterloo, Paul McRae, MP Thunder Bay-Atikokan, Bob Ogile, MP Saskatoon East, Douglas Roche, MP Edmonton South and Terry Sargeant, MP Selkirk-Interlake.

April 9 1982

Dear Elisabeth,

I'm not sure when you'll be home but I'm writing now so the letter will be there when you get back. I recall reading somewhere that you'll be in and out of NYC for the latter part of April.

I'm anxious to hear about the Memorial Meeting. The names you mentioned sounded good and people Ritchie liked. I managed to get something into the Citizen on the very day the Memorial Meeting was held. I enclose a copy. I also sent one off to Mabel, Fenner Brockway, Lord Philip Noel-Baker, the great disarmament crusader at 94, and Frances (United Nations Association U.K.) and Andrew Boyd, international editor on the Economist.

As to the World Bank: I wrote to David Hopper, making use of some of the material you sent, including India and CIDA, and also reminding him that Mike Pearson and he first sent me to Pacem in Maribus and kept sending me and providing some help for our delegates from developing countries. I stressed that in my opinion the kind of work being done through the training courses for developing countries today. We'll hope for the best.

*was very valuable*

I still seem to be awful busy - although I'm kind of ashamed to say that to you - but am beginning to see a bit of light at the end of the tunnel. How absurd this Falkland Islands business, and the alliances and motivations on all sides revealing the dangerous and cynical rationale in our international relations.

All the best and much love.

*John  
King*

Thought you might be interested in Charley's contribution to the disarmament cause!



PRIORITIES AND PROBLEMS  
IN EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

by J. King Gordon

April, 1982

## INTRODUCTION

As part of the preparation for the Inter-Agency Education Group meeting on Financing Education for Development I was asked to consult with certain contributing governments and with a number of international agencies and associations with a special interest in educational development. Following discussions with officers of the Canadian International Development Agency it was agreed that I should speak with the appropriate officers in the development cooperation agencies of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Canada and that I should also meet with representatives of UNESCO, ILO, WHO, UNICEF and certain Commonwealth institutions in London.

In undertaking this survey, it seemed to me that more was expected than to determine if financial support for educational development in Third World countries was being sustained. The trends were certainly important in view of the impact of the economic recession on the social policies of certain western governments with a spillover into international policies. And related economic hardships suffered by developing countries almost certainly affected the funds available for education. But equally important appeared to be changes in the priorities in educational support on the part of contributing governments,

many of them in response to changes in educational policy of the governments directly involved in planning and administering education in the interest of their people.

Another important factor became increasingly important in the course of the survey. People are in the central focus of the educational picture - as beneficiaries, as participants and as contributors. And there is no field of human activity in which there is a greater sense of shared goals and aspirations. This applies immediately to those who are active participants within the educational process. But it also expresses itself in a strong sense of community, linking people outside the process with those within. The official interest of contributing governments is, to some extent, an expression of this popular concern but it is always paralleled by a very active interest on the part of people, as individuals or as members of organizations, an interest that transcends national boundaries.

In response to the most obvious question in this study, I found no sign that any of the three governments consulted would lessen its support for education in Third World countries. The Netherlands and Sweden have two of the highest proportionate levels of contribution to development assistance, amounting to approximately 1 per cent of GNP. Canada's percentage is considerably less but it stands well up among the contributing nations and its yearly allocation is increasing. In all three

instances, a higher proportion appears to be directed each year to educational support. In the case of the international agencies the picture is not so bright: although interest in educational support appears to be high, the amount available from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the major source of funding, has suffered a drastic curtailment. The Commonwealth institutions with great potential for contributing to cooperative educational development are greatly underfunded.

The journey I took in pursuit of my study was itself an educational experience which I intend to share in the writing of this report. To some extent I was going over old ground and encountering familiar faces. But there were changes in the course of the road and in the terrain through which it passed. And at times the opening landscape held excitement.

The international reputation of The Hague, dating back more than eighty years, finds visible expression in the World Court but for me in a much more modest institution, NUFFIC, or the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation. Established about 1952, not long after the Netherlands had ceased to be an imperial power with the independence of Indonesia, the Dutch universities in collaboration with the government decided that the surfeit of technical and professional expertise associated with administering an empire should be made available to the new nations that came into being in the

post-colonial period. A dozen or more specialized institutes were established, sometimes on an independent basis, sometimes in association with a university, and under the coordinating direction of NUFFIC their resources and those of the universities were made available for teaching, training, technical assistance, and research to students and professional from developing countries. In addition, but closely linked with the NUFFIC complex, the Institute of Social Sciences was established designed primarily for graduate studies for Third World students.

It is an impressive endeavour, realistic in providing a useful outlet for a concentration of scholarly talent, but highly imaginative in breaking out of the too familiar donor-recipient tradition of charity and substituting instead the educational tradition of extending the community of scholars to include those in the new countries eagerly seeking the knowledge relevant to the needs of their people. In some degree, the approach of NUFFIC resembles that of the post-war British universities through the Inter-University Council.

The danger of such an approach is that despite the emphasis on cooperation, the feeling persists of a superior scholarly endowment that one is prepared to share with others. During this visit - and it was my fifth in the last twelve years - I observed a distinct change in attitude and in practice. There

was an increased recognition that out there, in developing countries, decisions were being taken by responsible authorities and the important contribution of scientists and scholars in the Netherlands was a supportive one. And in the second place - and this was embodied in government and NUFFIC policy - the specialized institutes should move their scientific and professional expertise out into the countries of the Third World, which the Netherlands was supporting in other ways, so as to face first-hand problems that had to be solved in their own context.

It may be regarded as inconsistent or as complementary that the Institute of Social Studies maintains a solid base of study, training and research in The Hague to which students come from all parts of the world but to the largest extent from developing countries.

UNESCO in Paris was the first of the three United Nations Specialized Agencies I visited to discover their involvement in the support of education in Third World countries. UNESCO from its beginning has considered itself as having a special claim to the senior role in this field since "education" is a part of its name. The original concept was an inspiring one, as embodied in the challenging preamble to its constitution drafted by the late Archibald McLeish. It would be a centre to bring together those committed to education, science and culture to whom war was abhorrent and their influence and the

creative actions they would foster would radiate out to the farthest and darkest corners of the earth. An important part of this mission of enlightenment was the expansion of education. And in its early days, in addition to significant contributions in the fields of science and culture, UNESCO concentrated its efforts on what it called Fundamental Education - which today we would tend to call non-formal education with a special reference to community development - and literacy.

The program had differing degrees of success. I have visited a training centre in fundamental education whose leaders apparently had little regard for the squalor in adjacent villages. On the other hand, I have witnessed the social impact of a fundamental education centre in Ethiopia in which the housing was simple and unostentatious, the staff was for the most part Ethiopian, and where courses in literacy and in the basic principles of nutrition, health, sanitation and housing were having a marked influence on six surrounding villages.

What impressed me during this visit from talks with officers responsible for educational policy was, as in the case of NUFFIC, a recognition that the responsibility for educational development was with the authorities at all levels in the developing countries themselves and at best UNESCO's role was supportive. The reason why once more literacy,

primary education and adult education were being assigned priority was because these were being given priority in the member countries of the Organization. The fact that the emphasis was being directed away from the "modern" urban areas to the "traditional" rural areas was also a reflection of new thinking in the educational authorities in the Third World. And in a seminar group I met in the UNESCO-related Institute for Educational Planning, four out of the seven were from Third World countries and it was in a Third World context that we conducted our discussions. What came up constantly was reference to associations and networks of educators which were firmly rooted in a common concern for educational development as seen by the authorities and people of the countries concerned. UNESCO's role was not initiatory but supportive.

In Geneva, the two UN agencies with special concern for education and training are the International Labour Organization, with its permanent secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the World Health Organization (WHO). Each has revised its approach in the light of changes in perception of the nature of economic and social development and in view of the assumptions of responsibility for development planning by Third World authorities.

Since its rebirth after the Second World War, the ILO has been concentrating its efforts on vocational and technical



training. To some extent this reflected a priority in educational policy throughout the developing world that was based on the theory that a replication of the infrastructure of the industrialized world was the answer to the problems of under-development. Vocational training centres were set up and skilled technicians were sent out to man them until such a time as indigenous instructors could take over. The training was obviously closely tied to the new industries and to urban centres. It had little or no relevance to rural productive activity or to the upgrading of indigenous skills.

Certain changes in approach are now evident. Following an extensive survey of employment in Third World countries, in which economists and social scientists from all over the world were involved, the ILO began to relate its training approach to actual employment needs. This meant more emphasis on individual training, more emphasis on on-the-job training, and the preparation of self-teaching instructional booklets, heavily illustrated, presenting the learning elements of employable skills. There is also a move to carry vocational training into the hitherto neglected area of rural occupations and women's occupations. Again, as in the case of UNESCO's field of interest, there are examples of educators from a region working together on a common project for the benefit of the employed people in the area. Such a project, directed

by ILO and funded by Swedish SIDA, was entitled: Skill Development for Self-Reliance: Regional Project for Eastern and Southern African Countries.

In the case of WHO, a revolutionary change has been made in health education with wide development implications. The traditional approach to health care was taken directly from the west as a problem of the professional treatment of disease with an emphasis on the education of physicians, in a variety of specializations, and nurses, with sufficient facilities to serve the needs of doctors and patients. One of the facts neglected in such an approach is that the nutritional, sanitary, and habitational infra-structure of developed countries is almost entirely lacking in the developing world. The solid basis of good health which in the developed countries is apt to be taken for granted is absent in the Third World. The new approach, known as primary health care, calls for action at the village level where the people live, to remove the major causes of ill health - malnutrition, impure water, bad sanitary conditions. This, to begin with, is a participatory educational exercise linked to the activities of village health workers, community development workers, traditional midwives, agricultural workers and so on. And this grass-roots educational movement is linked to educational and training programs at a higher professional level.

Here too are examples of regional cooperation among health authorities from the ministerial to the village level, involving the collaborative input of the medical and nursing professions but including the invaluable contribution of rural development workers with an integrated approach. There are many examples not only of UNDP support for such an approach but also of bilateral support from a number of governments.

The Swedish International Development Administration or SIDA illustrates, as in the case of NUFFIC, the historical and cultural elements that enter into any country's program of international cooperation for development. And here the educational aspects of the program are very prominent.

The growth of Swedish democracy has been characterized by the influence and involvement of "peoples movements" which have made for an egalitarian society, a high level of social security, and a very high level of popular involvement in the process of government. Sweden's response to the United Nations challenge to mobilize the resources of the rich nations to assist in the betterment of the poor was, at the outset, a coalition of non-governmental organizations which had been involved in charitable activities at home and abroad. Only after it had been functioning for several years with government support was it transformed into the government agency we now know as SIDA. But after this transformation to this day the

the interest of the Swedish people continued in support of the government program and through continuing activities of their own.

One notable characteristic of the Swedish approach is the strong international element in its educational system. From their earliest years in school, Swedish children come to see themselves as part of a wider community that includes children of other races, colours, cultures and conditions of life. The approach enters into teacher training, into textbooks, into opportunities for study tours, into active involvement in non-governmental activities. It is not too much to say that for most Swedish citizens, young and old, international cooperation is not just the activity of a "donor agency" but an experience in which they are all participants.

Such an approach exerts an influence on various programs in support of education in developing countries, beginning with practical support of primary education with building materials and equipment, the support of ILO's vocational training and WHO's primary health care, the support of research activities through SAREC with first emphasis on research carried out in and by developing countries, then international research institutes, then finally research for development carried out in Sweden; and finally and very importantly in the activities of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala,

with its distinguished, predominantly Swedish Board of Directors, and its Advisory Committee on which 12 of its 22 members are eminent representatives of developing countries. The financing of education in which Sweden is heavily committed is the financing of education for a world community.

In London, the group of organizations that held greatest promise for contribution to educational development in the Third World are those I have lumped together under the title The Commonwealth Connection. The value of this group is two-fold. In the first place, they are associated in some way with this almost inexplicable association of nations and peoples that share a common political heritage, a common language or lingua franca, a common queen, and, in a strange way, common cultural traditions and goals. And for these reasons they constitute, potentially at least, a common community embracing the two parts of what is usually considered a divided world. The demonstration of that unity - or at least consensus - was manifested in 1975 at a Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in Jamaica that arrived at agreement on a common position on the New International Economic Order. In the second place, under the auspices of the Commonwealth Secretariat chiefly, but in other separate ways, this cluster of Commonwealth organizations has demonstrated a mutual determination to combine efforts to promote social and

and economic development, and specifically in the field of education. These efforts have taken the form of Commonwealth Education Conferences, regional seminars and workshops on specialized areas of education such as book publishing and equipment for science teaching, and in support of no less than ten specialized training centres in which courses have been financed by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Assistance.

The Association of Commonwealth Universities with a membership of 221 universities in 28 countries plays a constructive role in maintaining communications on matters of common interest and promoting the free movement of scholars. Its conferences held every five years sponsor academic consultation and exchanges and permit the re-examination of the university's role in development. The staff of the Association has published and kept updated a register of research strengths in Commonwealth universities which has proved useful for senior research scholars as well as for those in the practical application of modern research.

There are many other organizations in the Commonwealth network that we might mention. Taken together - and separately - they constitute an impressive potential for the promotion of education - national and international. Taking into account that potential and what has already been accomplished, the funding has been decidedly weak.

The strong leadership given by the Canadian Prime Minister in the search for common goals in North-South consultations and the support for such a search given by an inter-party Task Force have in general received the assent of the Canadian people. More than that, the participation by non-governmental organizations in international development projects has increased rather than lessened in recent years. There have been few recent signs that the curtailment of programs of international cooperation, which has been adopted by other rich nations in view of the economic recession, should be adopted in Canada. After a slight hesitation a few years ago, the budget allocation to international development continues to be high and rising.

In regard to support of education, there is substantial evidence that it is on the increase. CIDA's Special Programs Branch during the past few years has greatly increased its support for Canadian and international non-governmental agencies, projects and programs, about half of which are directed to educational support. In the last two years a new division of International Cooperation and Development Services has opened up channels of financing to Canadian universities and other institutions wishing to establish linkages with institutions in developing countries which will make a contribution to development. A counterpart organization in the Canadian university community, the International Development office, has assisted cooperation among Canadian universities, between Canadian universities

and universities in developing countries, and between CIDA and universities in Canada and in the Third World.

Meanwhile, the International Development Research Centre continues to give support to research in such fields as agriculture, nutrition and food sciences, health sciences, and social sciences, all directed to strengthening the scientific and research capabilities of developing countries. In addition and increasingly, the IDRC is fostering education and training in the four main fields of its operational divisions, as listed above, and in addition is strengthening its Fellowship Program to provide for training and upgrading in these fields and also to sponsor group training courses in critical areas of expertise, making use where possible of the advice of the regional offices.

It should be noted that in its research and training efforts IDRC follows the same line as that of the Swedish research agency, SAREC, in giving support to international research centres such as those supported by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research.

In the special field of educational research it need hardly be mentioned that the Social Science Division supports a number of significant projects including the one that brings this Conference together.



One new and very significant development should be mentioned: IDRC's Cooperative Program, which to some extent represents a Canadian response to the appeal issued by the Vienna UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development, aims to facilitate linkages between Canadian universities and research institutions and similar institutions in developing countries. Projects falling within the scope of interest of the operational divisions will be supervised by the divisions; projects falling outside the scope of the divisions will be administered by the Cooperative Program. In effect, this development is a parallel to CIDA's action in establishing the Institutional Cooperation Division within the Special Programs Branch and should lead to closer CIDA - IDRC support to the advantage of cooperative educational development.

There is a final point deserving mention. In the course of the past year, CIDA has adopted a "country focus" which calls for a consistency and complementarity in CIDA's support of any country's development. It has gone along with an increased emphasis on the human goals of development of which education is one and it tends to divert emphasis away from the purely infra-structural approach associated with tied aid. And with non-governmental organizations and universities already playing an important part in Canada's development programs, the new approach makes cooperation for development a communal enterprise.

In a recent speech given at York University, Toronto, Mr. Marcel Massé said:

Our first and most important reason for launching a new program of institutional cooperation was that we wanted to move away from the notion of aid with its confining "donor-receiver" connotation to new relationships between Canada and the developing countries based on partnership and mutuality. The developing countries do not wish to be permanent recipients of aid or charity; they seek equality in their relations with other nations. We must be prepared to work with them as partners.

From this educational tour we have completed, there is a good deal of evidence that this partnership is in the process of being achieved. And whatever additional funding is made available it should not be allowed to affect this relationship. We have also seen the gains that have been made with very modest and, in some cases, inadequate funding. The question, as we have suggested before, is not one of penury but of priorities. One half-day's expenditure on armaments accounts for the entire budget for a year of the United Nations Development Program. And if that half-day's arms expenditure were made available to educational development, in programs already responsibly established, two important steps would have been taken.

I. The Netherlands and NUFFIC

The shape of any country's program of international development assistance is determined in large measure by its history. The particular character of the Netherlands program may be traced to the year 1949, the year in which the Dutch lost their Indonesian empire, President Harry Truman announced a new program of aid to developing countries as Point Four of his State of the Union Address, and the United Nations worked out its plans for an Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.

The formal transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to the new Republic of Indonesia took place December 27, 1949. It had been hoped originally that the new independent state might retain some commonwealth-type relations with its former colonial ruler but this was not to be. The Dutch faced literally an embarrassment of riches in the form of scientific and technological expertise which had been acquired and applied in the development of the former East Indies. It was on the initiative of the Dutch universities, with sympathetic support from the government, that it was decided to establish specialized institutes in a broad range of fields, which would be utilized as a resource base for technical assistance and training that could be drawn upon by the newly independent countries seeking to carry out economic development for the benefit of their people. Eventually some eighteen of these institutes were established, covering 66 fields.

In order to coordinate the activities of these institutes, relate their activities with those of the universities, establish effective linkages with institutions and governments in developing countries, and also establish a necessary and responsible relationship with the Netherlands government, a national organization was called for. This emerged in 1952 as the Netherlands University Foundation for International Cooperation or NUFFIC. It remains to this day as the vital core of international educational support provided by the Dutch people through teaching, training, research and non-governmental cooperation with funding from the Netherlands government. As one might expect, the programs under NUFFIC have expanded, diversified and shifted their emphasis over the 30 years of its existence. There has, however, been no indication of any serious cutback in the educational emphasis nor any falling off in the total development cooperation program which is one of the three national programs that has reached more than 1 per cent of gross national product and maintained that level despite domestic financial strains.

The generous allocation of time granted by the Director of NUFFIC, Dr. A. J. van Dulst, and the Deputy Director, Dr. Gerard van der Horst, and more than a dozen men and women serving in some section of the educational program permitted me to gain a fair appreciation of the salient points of the present approach. To begin with, NUFFIC must be seen as an umbrella organization

under which several quite distinct programs are executed. There is, to begin with, the original International Education program making use of the 18-odd institutes. Then there is the program involving the Netherlands universities or groups of universities in developing countries. Then there is the large Institute of Social Science, which shares quarters in The Hague with NUFFIC. Then there is the research organization known as RAWOO. There are certain university activities which appear to be initiated by Dutch universities themselves, small projects financed out of their own resources. And there is also an impressive group of educational activities carried out by non-governmental organizations, jointly funded by the ngo's and the Netherlands government.

The specialized institutes carry out training activities that are functionally adapted to the upgrading of professional administrators in some branch of public service in developing countries. They concentrate on short-term courses specifically designed to upgrade performance and status rather than to promote academic advancement. The range of specialization is wide, including several branches of agricultural science, health sciences, a wide range of engineering and technical expertise, architecture, housing and town planning, business administration and so on.

Some six years ago, the government insisted that the Institutes should carry on more of the activities in developing countries where training and research would be more relevant to actual conditions and perceived needs. A good example was the Bouwcentrum in Rotterdam which had developed a high reputation in the field of functional construction and town planning. Unfortunately, much of what was learned in Rotterdam within the context of the social and economic conditions of a European city was irrelevant to the critical conditions of urban crowding and squalor of an African city. After some basic training in the Netherlands the study and training was moved into the country from which the trainee came, making use of local training facilities reinforced by experienced builders and planners from the Bouwcentrum. The results were remarkable. This change in emphasis had certain financial implications. The budgets of the institutes were "stabilized" approximately at the level reached in 1976. On the other hand, the funding of activity in developing countries was allowed to expand - 10 million guilders in 1976, 20 million in 1981. There was some criticism that the freezing of the institutes' budget and staff was short-sighted, since it was cutting back on the scientific and technological resources of the Netherlands to maintain its important contributions in the Third World.

It is worth interjecting at this point the general goals of NUFFIC which were outlined by Jan Pronk when he headed the Ministry

of International Cooperation. In the first place, its activities should be directed towards the poorest countries and the poorest groups in the poorest countries. In the second place, the end goal of international cooperation should be to support the efforts of developing countries to achieve self-reliance. In both these related objectives, it went without saying that the specific needs and specific targets should be defined by groups and individuals within the countries in question.

The university involvement in NUFFIC, while more general at first, became increasingly focussed on relationships with a small number of countries and a small number of universities or university groups within these countries, no more than twelve in all. This meant some impact in depth on the universities in linkages with Dutch universities and concentration on certain fields where needs were clearly defined in Third World countries and the resources of Dutch universities were available to match these needs.

In certain cases it was learned - and this came from an interview with the Director of the Division of Foreign Relations of the University of Leiden - universities themselves, out of their own resources, open up small experimental projects with universities in developing countries. If it appeared after two or three years that the project or field of cooperation was likely to be successful the project could be extended with

support from NUFFIC. It was explained that there were three main channels for education funding in the Netherlands: 1) funding for immediate university costs, salaries for teaching staff, funding for immediate research, funding for administration; 2) funding for special research projects with wider involvement; 3) all other funding, including the funding of international programs and projects including all activities under NUFFIC.

The largest and probably most important activity under the NUFFIC umbrella was that of the Institute of Social Science in The Hague. Under the ISS several programs were carried out, most of them directly related to the strengthening of education related to development. The first were six-month's diploma courses for middle-level public servants, 90 percent of which were from developing countries. There were four separate programs in the diploma course and some 200 attended the courses each year, returning to their home countries, presumably with up-graded qualifications. A second course had stronger academic emphasis. It was a Master's course in which the earlier undergraduate work had been done in a developing country. Frequently, close links were established and maintained with the institution from which the student came and to which he might return. There were also four or five doctoral students. I got the impression that increasingly the post-graduate studies were related not only to the needs of developing countries but also to strengthening the capabilities of universities in developing countries with which the students were related.



The Institute also sponsored research, some carried out abroad, some in The Hague. There were four to six research fellows from developing countries and the ISS helped to publish their works. More was being done in the form of group research dealing with specific problems of developing countries. The Institute sponsored short workshops, bringing together experts in different specializations from developing and developed countries. It also provided staff for consultancies to assist ministries concerned with projects and programs involving the Third World and also for consultancies of a joint nature in association with, for example, the Institute of Development Studies of Sussex University or with one of the other members of the European Association of Training and Development Research Institutes (EADI).

A fairly recent development in the Netherlands policy of international cooperation was the establishment in 1977 of the Advisory Council for Scientific Research in Development Problems, known by the acronym of RAWOO. It was formed on the initiative of the then Minister of Development Cooperation, Mr. Jan Pronk. In his announcement of the launching of RAWOO, Mr. Pronk said:

Development related research can be aimed at analyzing the processes that cause poverty. It can also pinpoint the instruments with which the assistance can most effectively achieve the goals of the Dutch development policy. But research that is relevant to development can also promote the self-reliance policy of the developing countries.

It is now increasingly recognized that development is primarily a question of the poorest population groups and their basic needs. If any research is to be relevant to development, whether in the first, the second, or the third case, it must ultimately be directed at these people and their problems.

RAWOO was, therefore, established with a twofold purpose: as an advisory body on research policy and priorities to the Minister for Development Cooperation and as an advisory body to the Minister for Science Policy on development-related research carried out by the universities and other institutions in the Netherlands. There were many issues to be considered in working out guidelines for both roles for the Council which was constituted of representatives of the research community and the policy makers: how to gauge the needs of developing countries to be met by research; who should be the beneficiaries of research; what value judgments in regard to social policy had to be made in determining research objectives; what relationship should be looked for between research and policy to implement the results; how to reconcile the research goals of Netherlands researchers and goals of development in Third World countries; where should the research be done; how to foster greater cooperation among Dutch institutions; what is the role of interdisciplinary research?

An interim report of the Council established a twofold first objective: a) to set objectives and criteria for the research program for the Minister of Development Cooperation,

and b) to promote regional research programs in a number of developing countries.

On the first objective, the Council enunciated five criteria to guide the Minister: research should be problem oriented, it should be solution oriented, it should be policy oriented, it should be multidisciplinary, and it should serve to strengthen the research capacity of the researchers in the developing country.

On the second objective, RAWOO advised the Minister to set up research programs in two regions, the Sahel and Southern Asia. Both these programs are now well advanced, with full input from policy makers and researchers from the developing countries concerned.

As to the other advisory function of RAWOO as one of the sectoral councils of the Minister of Science Policy, what has emerged is the inevitable tension between research priorities as established on the basis of perceived needs in developing countries and the priorities of research policies of specialized Dutch institutions. A report which attempts to summarize the first four years of RAWOO puts it this way in its English version:

To what extent should the Council let ethical and political considerations influence its advice even when long-term policy is concerned? Should one have a consistent social point of view with respect to development-related research? The Council thinks that one should. There is no such thing as the development problem, or the development issue; it is such a multi-faceted, complex phenomenon that it is up

to the observer to impose the order that makes study possible. Moreover, development is not a historically linear process; the structures and policies of the developed countries should not be merely replicated in the developing world. There are many possible paths to development. Nor is science a neutral instrument; the facts that it reveals and the diagnoses it makes do not exist in a social vacuum. One cannot avoid first making a choice. The Council has chosen the side of those in the developing countries who are living beneath the subsistence level. The Council's attention is thus drawn to the root causes of poverty, the problems of independence and to power relationships. Scientific research can seldom offer quick, ready-made solutions. The importance of research for development lies instead in the contribution it makes to structural solutions for the development issue.

While it would seem to involve a measure of arbitrary choice to attempt to establish a priority among possible fields of specialization, an attempt was made by the Council early in 1981. The following were selected as meriting special emphasis: tropical health care; energy; and international dependency relations. Two goals were considered as deserving major consideration in directing Dutch researchers towards development problems: 1) there must be long-term links between Dutch research institutes and their counterparts in the Third World; and 2) Dutch research may not be attuned at the expense of the research capacity in the developing world.

The Council, as we have indicated, is drawn from the research community and the ministries directly or indirectly concerned with international development. The universities and specialized institutes provide members in the fields of human

and social sciences, natural and technological sciences, medical sciences and agricultural sciences. The Ministries represented include Foreign Affairs/Development Cooperation; Education and Science; Science Policy; Agriculture and Fisheries; Economic Affairs. In addition there are representatives from the employers organization and the trade unions. The secretariat of the Council is provided by NUFFIC, the Deputy Director of NUFFIC, Dr. G.J.C. van der Horst, acting as Council Secretary.

The goals and administrative operation of RAWOO may be compared with those of IDRC and SAREC. They throw considerable light on the orientation of the program of the Netherlands as it relates to the broad purposes of education and training within the context of development.

The Netherlands Government program for international cooperation and development, as we said, has been sustained for several years at an amount equal to 1 percent of the national GNP. In 1978 it totalled 3 billion guilders, in 1982 it will amount to 4.2 billion guilders. Of this, it is estimated that educational activities under NUFFIC constitute about 1.5 percent. However, these do not include the core funding of the 18 institutes that provide the resources base for much of the specialized training carried out for and in developing countries, which are at present financed by the ministries of

education, agriculture, health and others according to the field of specialization. Nor does it include the joint-funding of non-governmental agencies, much of the work of which is educational, chiefly in the rural areas and associated with health care, sanitation, women's activities and community development in general. If these activities are added in, the proportion of Netherlands assistance going to education could be increased to about 4 percent.

One final important point: NUFFIC activities are carried out under the direction of a Board which is drawn from the Dutch professional and business community. While final decisions on the main directions of policy and even on specific programs call for ratification by government authorities, the voice of the university and professional community is still strong. The responsibilities of the Board establish a link with the Dutch community and strengthen the continuing support given to the NUFFIC program and the wider program of international cooperation by the people of the Netherlands.

## II. UN Specialized Agencies: UNESCO, ILO and WHO

We pass now to the consideration of a group of organizations which, while they cannot be styled "donor agencies," exert appreciable influence on the policies of donor agencies and in a number of important areas have been executing agents of those policies.

The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations were an outward manifestation of a widely held belief after the Second World War that peace depends not only on collective security agreements and effective instruments for the pacific settlement of disputes but equally on international cooperation to find answers to the basic human concerns in day to day life - food, health, shelter, education, employment, communication, the protection of human rights.

This belief found expression in the United Nations Charter in Article 55:

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- b. solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

In the following Article 56 comes the commitment of all signatories to the Charter:

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

The importance attached to this commitment was evident at the San Francisco Conference which established the United Nations when the delegates raised the status of the Economic and Social Council, which had been assigned a subordinate function in the Dumbarton Oaks draft of the Charter, to that of a major organ on par with the Security Council and Trusteeship Council. The Economic and Social Council was to be the body which would initiate and coordinate the programs of international cooperation aimed at meeting basic human needs and guaranteeing fundamental human rights.

This represented a decided advance on the thinking that characterized the approach to international relations and international organization between the wars. The Covenant of the League of Nations expressed some pious concern about fair and humane conditions of labour, just treatment of native inhabitants, execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, freedom of communications, and the prevention and



control of disease. The one institutional expression of this concern, and it was an important one, was the International Labour Organization, which through its practice of drafting and securing the ratification of international conventions, improved the status and conditions of labour throughout the world. The League, however, through special commissions did succeed in carrying out important pioneer work in fields of health, narcotics, traffic in women and children, and generally humanitarian relief. One of its closely-allied non-governmental organizations which brought together a distinguished group of men and women of letters, science, art and scholarship in many branches was the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. Like its successor, UNESCO, it embodied the belief that "since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, a League Commission under Stanley Melbourne Bruce, an Australian statesman, recommended the establishment of a body within the League that would consolidate and direct the efforts toward international cooperation to meet basic human needs. The report of the Bruce Commission provided some guidelines for the San Francisco Conference.

The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations had independent origins although they came into existence within these new concepts of a post-war international community. The International Labour Organization (ILO) was the sole survivor of the League of Nations.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was, as we indicated, a successor to the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation with an enlarged mandate and functions. Out of a meeting at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944, came the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) commanded strong support. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the International Postal Union (IPU), the International Meteorological Organization (IMO) and other specialized agencies were expressions of our interdependent technological order. Other specialized bodies such as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) are expressions of emergent concerns in the world community. UNICEF, part of the United Nations itself, occupies a different status.

While the Specialized Agencies are considered to be - and consider themselves to be - autonomous bodies, their role as inter-related parts of the United Nations system is also recognized. The UN Charter itself suggests this relationship:

The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

This harmless-sounding expression of good will assumed immediate relevance with the inauguration of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance in 1950. Financed by a voluntarily subscribed fund, the new international assistance program relied on the arms and hands - and in many cases the brains - of the Specialized Agencies to give effect to the aid proposals coming from the Economic and Social Council. Moreover, the Agencies themselves became increasingly active, and at times competitive canvassers for viable projects which they might execute with funding from the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance which was to become the United Nations Development Program or UNDP.

The policies and programs of the Agencies were, of course, determined by decisions taken by their respective governing conferences. But since they were specialized agencies their permanent staff tended to be made up of specialists which the political masters on the governing conference often were not. In fact, members of governing bodies from time to time looked to senior members of the permanent staff for advice on policy. This tended - and in cases still tends - to have its good and bad effects. It undoubtedly has provided the agencies with

expert and innovative advice on the formulation of policies which will assist in realizing the true objectives of the agency in practical programs of development assistance. On the other hand, the tendency to permanence in bureaucratic tenure may bind an agency to persistence in policy which has long since become outmoded.

There is another aspect in the modern behaviour of Specialized Agencies that has inspired controversy. The hopefulness and good will that marked the post-war world and its programs of international cooperation masked the realities of power and exploitation that divided the world into haves and have-nots. There was a faith in the efficacy of charitable giving combined with an extraordinarily naïve belief that programs of economic aid leading to an increased GNP growth rate would gradually result in the elimination of mass poverty. Leaders of the newly-independent nations, assuming increasing responsibility for the social and economic development of their societies, became aware that there was little hope of achieving significant social advance for their people in a world the economic and political structure of which was dominated by the rich industrialized nations. In such a situation obviously charitable aid that prolonged dependency was not good enough; what was needed was increased cooperative support that would strengthen self reliance and a more equitable restructuring of the international economic order.

This analysis, which received considerable support within the developed countries, became more outspoken through the sixties and seventies and led to sharp polarization in international fora. It is not surprising that it entered into the deliberations of the general conferences of the Specialized Agencies amid protests that they were becoming "politicized."

On the other hand, the actual experience of the Agencies in practical programs of international assistance and cooperation combined with the findings of a number of studies in such fields as education, health care, employment, food production and rural development threw new light on the inadequacy of methods too closely based on western values and modes and on the greater efficacy of approaches taking into account cultural and social realities.

UNESCO, ILO and WHO have all played and are playing a significant part in the educational development of the Third World countries. My contacts with them during the present study were not aimed so much at a new evaluation of their activities in this field. Rather they were directed to the more modest objective of gaining some insight into what they perceived as present priorities and what new initiatives were being taken within the context of development cooperation that merited support.

UNESCO

With the assistance of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO and Giulio Fossi, Acting Director of the OECD Development Centre, interviews were arranged for me with staff members of UNESCO and the International Institute of Educational Planning with special interest in UNESCO's priorities in educational development.

From Dr. Harold Foeke, who was looking forward to attending the Ottawa meeting, I learned that in UNESCO's approved programs for 1981-83, nineteen out of forty-four were in the educational sector. In the budget, three areas - promotion of the formulation and application of policies and improvement of planning in the field of education; improvement of educational content, methods and techniques; and intensification of the struggle against illiteracy - account for more than half of a total budget of something over \$100 millions.

Conversations I had with several officers stressed that a new importance was being attached to the literacy campaign, an old enthusiasm of UNESCO which is now taking on new life. And alongside of this program a stress on the importance of adult education. What makes the present priority different from the earlier one is that in both cases apparently the UNESCO policy is in response to increased demands from the developing countries where UNESCO has been active. In regard to literacy, UNESCO budgetary allocations show a 10 percent

increase: unfortunately, although the requests are pressing, it appears that funds are not available for a similar increase in the field of adult education. In both cases, UNESCO is matching its training programs and advisory services with supplies of paper, pencils, books and other reading material, and audio-visual materials and equipment.

As one might expect, programs in literacy and adult education mark a swing towards the rural areas. We find a new emphasis on basic education and community development. Schools are being regarded not merely as facilities for conducting formal education but as community centres, open beyond school hours for all kinds of integrated educational activities related to raising the competence of all members of the community the better to cope with their environment and become actively involved in the process of community development.

These issues were actively discussed at the International Institute of Educational Planning which, while closely linked with UNESCO, maintains a degree of autonomy as a research and training centre. I had gone to the IIED headquarters in the rue Eugene Delacroix to meet the Acting Director, Mr. Ta Ngoc Chau. But to my surprise and pleasure discovered that I was being invited to participate in an informal seminar composed of Mr. Chau and six of his colleagues who are resident fellows of the Institute from West Germany, France, Venezuela,

Zaire, Britain and Lebanon. At present there are some 40 men and women from developing countries engaged in studies and research in the Institute who will be visiting Canada on a study tour in late April before returning to their homes

What impressed me in this seminar was its non-academic character. We were not talking about theories of education. The members of the Institute, all young, seemed to be very close to the actual situation in the Third World countries from which they and other residents of the Institute came. The discussion ranged over the importance of the various emphases in the formal system of education, the dangers of too great a concentration on higher education, the dangers in education consolidating the establishment in these countries and strengthening the power elite, the importance of the campaigns of literacy as well as the limitations of these campaigns, the importance of non-formal education.

It seemed to me that the Institute for Educational Planning is one of the most important subdivisions of the UNESCO family. It is in close touch with developing countries and its guidelines for directions in educational policy should be of continuing value to donor agencies. The role of the Institute will depend, of course, not only on the intelligence and commitment of its resident fellows but also on its direction. I had the privilege of having a conversation with its new director, Sylvain Lourié,



the day before his appointment was announced. He appears to be a man of outstanding intellectual qualifications and a deep commitment to the needs of the Third World. In addition to long service with UNESCO he spent six or seven years in Central America as an educational advisor.

Two final comments before we leave UNESCO. I have already suggested that there is a tendency for specialized agencies to become populated with specialists. In UNESCO you are apt to hear quite a bit about formal schooling and sometimes, in certain quarters, a condescending reference to non-formal education. But that is not always a bad thing. UNESCO from the start has had a concern for quality in teaching. I spent an interesting hour with Nahum Joel, one of whose major interests is how to improve the teaching of science. He showed me some attractive books that did just that, well written, well illustrated. They were designed primarily for Third World students but the high schools of Europe were grabbing them up as fast as they came off the press. And I have heard that UNESCO with UNDP backing is just now completing a \$2 million program in Indonesia to improve science and mathematics teaching in secondary schools.

And there is that other information that one picks up in Paris in the Place de Fontenoy about the new trends in education that have their origins in Third World countries. Like the Seti Zone project in Nepal, in an area economically and educationally backward, where 12 percent of the population

were literate and only 17 percent of primary teachers were trained. And the government decided, in consultation with the UNESCO senior education advisor, that a new type of teacher must be produced who was not only competent in teaching children but also trained as an agent for rural development with at least one skill in agriculture, irrigation, primary health care, or some other relevant field that was immediately useful to the village.

And then there is that remarkable network of 1000 educational institutions in Asia which includes Japan and New Zealand and Australia as well as Indonesia, Thailand, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. It was described to me by E. R. Prabhakar, UNESCO's Chief of the Asia Section. Its purposes are to bring educators together to share experiences, exchange views on common educational problems and, where advisable, combine common efforts for common goals. And he told how at an early meeting when some proposal was being discussed a Japanese member generously offered to get a gift of \$1 million from Japan as well as some necessary equipment. But he was politely reminded by an educator from Nepal that they were all equal members of an educational network joined together to share in matters of common concern.

Away from Paris, in Geneva, another international organization deserves mention - the International Bureau of Education. While the direct forerunner of UNESCO was the

Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, the IBE, established in 1925 and located next door to the original offices of the League, can claim some share of that honour. Its activities have been to serve as a centre for cooperation among educational authorities throughout the world. Although UNESCO appeared to take over much of its field of interest, particularly after the establishment of the Institute of Educational Planning, it continued its independent existence until 1969 when it was absorbed by UNESCO. Nevertheless it still maintains its base in Geneva and serves two useful purposes: it publishes the International Yearbook of Education containing valuable information on the educational systems and directions of the majority of the world's nations, and it provides a very useful point of contact with international organizations based in Geneva or holding conferences in Geneva that have a direct or indirect interest in educational concerns.

#### The International Labour Organization

The International Labour Organization was created in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles along with the League of Nations with which it was closely linked. It is unique among international organizations in that it is a tripartite organization made up of governments, representatives of labour and representatives of employers. Its original and continuing aim is to improve industrial relations and employment conditions of workers. The International Labour Conference, or general

assembly of the ILO has for more than sixty years been drafting international conventions to commit signatory and ratifying governments to the maintenance of human rights (such as freedom of association, the abolition of forced labour, the elimination of discrimination in employment) and the maintenance of equitable standards covering working conditions, social security, occupational safety, the employment of women and children, and the employment of special categories such as migrant workers and seafarers. In addition to the 156 conventions that have been adopted up until 1981, the Conference has adopted some 165 recommendations as a guide to improved labour relations and working conditions.

The International Labour Organization with its permanent secretariat, the International Labour Office, was the only segment of the League of Nations to survive the Second World War and thus became the first specialized agency of the United Nations. With the advent of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance it undertook new responsibilities in providing facilities and staff for vocational training institutions to create the skilled manpower necessary for industrial development with the long-term goals of assisting developing countries to become self-reliant in carrying out their training programs.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the contribution made by the ILO in the development of qualified manpower. Moreover, the philosophy of the organization based on its tripartite constitution and its commitment to equitable labour relations

have discouraged the tendency to view skilled labour as a necessary component of the industrial process. Nevertheless, as we have noted before, the original programs of development aid were culturally oriented towards western models and value schemes, and frequently took little or no account of priorities in development-planning indigenous to a particular country, let alone the relation of a particular program of industrial development to the satisfaction of the basic needs of the majority of the people. In general, training was focussed on the "modern" industrial section of society to the disregard of the rural, agricultural and "traditional" section.

There are some indications of new policies in the training activities sponsored by the ILO which account for more than 40% of the Organization's technical cooperation expenditures. In 1975, the ILO adopted the Convention Concerning Vocational Guidance and Vocational Training in the Development of Human Resources and along with the Convention detailed recommendations spelled out in some 77 articles. The effect of these was to relate training to a broad range of educational activities within or linked to the formal schooling system, stressing the broad objectives of human development going beyond the acquisition of technical skills, and also emphasizing the importance of participation in the educational process.

While the convention and the recommendations were aimed at bringing about new approaches in the policies of member

governments they seem to have had some effect on the approaches of the ILO itself. In my conversations with Mr. C. Kanawaty and other ILO officials in Geneva, I discovered several new emphases in their training programs.

There was still stress on the traditional approach through vocational training and the training of trainers but there was also increasing concern for the immediate relevance of the skills which were being developed. They should be related to useful and available employment. They should wherever possible be related to in-service training.

Another very important development designed to improve the efficiency of vocational training programs and also open up effective avenues for self-education in relevant technical fields is referred to as Modules of Employable Skills (M.E.S.). Training programs are based on precise job specifications, established by analyzing existing jobs. Standardized written and graphically illustrated material is prepared to cover the learning process in all the skills called for in such occupational areas as Building Construction, Automotive, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, Welding, Plumbing, etc. The acceptance of such standardized material by industries in various countries makes for uniform standards in training and also the possibility of regional cooperation. The approach, says ILO, "is applicable to in-plant, institutional, apprenticeship, up-grading and up-dating training programs."

There is some indication of a determination on the part of the ILO to move into the much neglected field of training for the rural areas. Here, of course, there is greatly increased concern evidenced by FAO and the more recently established International Fund for Agricultural Development to take into account the necessity of extending educational and training opportunities to those engaged in the production of food. But the rural community includes more than the farmers and food-growing. There are many independent craftsmen and craftswomen whose standard of living can be improved and their contribution to the community enhanced through training. Mr. Zarraga described two such projects, one general training project in the Philippines and a project in northern Kenya involving some 50,000 women in handicraft work which was very much in demand - by women. It was reported that it roused some concern among the men because of this extravagant expenditure on a frivolous item of dress, but it added greatly to the income of those directly involved and raised the sense of dignity for all - makers and wearers alike.

One final example of ILO's contribution to education and training is worth reporting. The title of the project is: Skill Development for Self-Reliance: Regional Project for Eastern and Southern African Countries. The first paragraph of the project description reads:

The concept of skills development for self-reliance was conceived by educationalists from the region, not handed down by ILO for acceptance by countries. It was evolved in response to the needs and aspirations of countries of the region, as determined by themselves. As to be expected, national interpretations of the concept have differed according to national policies and objectives.

The countries participating in the project are Kenya, Lesotho, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. The project is funded by Swedish SIDA in the amount of \$1.1 million.

Senior educational planners from the seven countries drew up the operational policy in 1978 and after discussion and refinement circulated it among the governments for comments and suggestions. UNDP offices, ministries of planning and education were involved in the discussions. While this was going on, ILO's Chief Technical Advisor was visiting national authorities at various levels - decision-makers, planners, organizers and implementers - to explain the project and get an understanding of what was expected.

Those who developed the curricula and those engaged in training of various kinds and at various levels were constantly in touch with the rural people. As the project description states:

The approach tries to combine faith in the villagers' analysis of their own problems with a macro-analysis of planners operating from the centre. The philosophy of curriculum development, as advocated by the project, emphasizes local participation by villagers in matters affecting their own welfare.

It is a new and hopeful approach.



Moreover, it is an approach that is being shared by more and more international agencies as they face the critical problems of development. The Annual Report for 1981 of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) contains a chapter headed: Peoples's Participation in Development. One paragraph reads:

Development may be described as a process aimed at liberating human creativity to enable the individual and the community to derive the fullest benefit from available resources. It implies not just the better utilization of physical resources such as land and water but the development of the individual. Viewed in this context, the participation of beneficiaries in the design and execution of development projects is not only a means for securing greater effectiveness in the implementation of such projects, but is also an essential goal of development. Participation which fosters human creativity is needed to set into motion a process of self-sustained and self-reliant development.

### The World Health Organization and UNICEF

Health education has long been regarded as a crucial element in integrated social development. After my conversations with ILO it seemed important that I visit the World Health Organization. The man I had been directed to see was Dr. Hakan Hellberg of the Primary Health Care Division. Dr. Hellberg comes from Finland and has been associated with a well-known community project in Karelia which involved the entire community in an integrated program to lay the basis for the health of the people. It involved education and access to relevant information. But it also called for changes in personal habits and environmental improvements that would contribute to the support of good health. Dr. Hellberg had seen these principles put to good use during years of experience in developing countries.

Our conversation focussed on the meaning of Primary Health Care. The approach had been around for some time but only recently had attained its present priority. In the course of its history WHO had made important contributions through its attacks on killing and debilitating diseases such as small pox and malaria through campaigns of immunization and eradication - successful in the case of small pox. It strengthened professional health care through nurses training and child care centres. And it promoted health education activities making use of literature, posters, films and media programs. Unfortunately,

over the years it became evident that no great impact was being made in the improvement of the health of the great majority of the people, particularly those in rural areas and in the slums of the cities.

Now WHO is a decentralized agency with strong regional offices unlike most other specialized agencies with staff concentration in headquarters in Paris, Geneva, Rome or Vienna. One result of this is that their professional officers are much closer to field conditions where the work is being carried out and the problems are being faced. And to them it became increasingly evident that ill health and high mortality were for the most part due to environmental factors such as inadequate food and nutrition, polluted water, lack of proper sanitation and infested habitation. And the battle for good health had to begin where these factors were determining the quality of life and be waged in the first instance by those who were experiencing them.

A new philosophy of health care and health education began to take shape that in some measure ran counter to that of the medical profession with its therapeutic approach to the mastery of disease and its centralized, professionally directed - and sometimes paternal - concepts of health education. The new philosophy of primary health care found wide support in the developing world. And the appointment of a new Director-General of somewhat unorthodox and innovative

turn of mind set the Organization on a sympathetic course. Dr. Halfdan Mahler, now into his second term, comes from Denmark, a country which for a century has had its social thinking shaped by an adult education movement based on a faith in the ability of ordinary people to guide their lives toward satisfactory goals. Dr. Mahler apparently found support for this faith in long service in India where tuberculosis was the visible enemy.

A series of decisions taken by the Health Assembly of WHO culminated in a joint action taken by WHO and UNICEF to hold an International Conference on Primary Health Care. The conference took place in September 1978 at Alma-Ata, capital of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. Out of the conference came the Declaration of Alma-Ata and a detailed conference report which spelled out many of the implications of the new policy.

Some of the statements from the Declaration are worth considering seriously:

The people have the right and duty to participate individually and collectively in the planning and implementation of their health care.

Primary health care forms an integral part both of the country's health system, of which it is the central function and main focus, and of the overall social and economic development of the community.

Primary health care forms an integral part both concerning prevailing health problems and the methods of identifying, preventing and controlling them; promotion of food supply and proper nutrition, an adequate supply of safe water, and basic sanitation; maternal and child health care, including family planning; immunization against major infectious diseases; prevention and control of locally endemic diseases; appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries; promotion of mental health; and provision of essential drugs.

All countries should cooperate in the spirit of partnership and service to ensure primary health care for all people since the attainment of health by people in any one country directly concerns and benefits every other country.

I can see Hellberg facing me, his left hand cupped with the fingers pointing up: "It has to come from the bottom, not from the top. From where the people are, where their health is being shaped by their environment. Where controls have to be exerted to bring about change for the better - through participation and through community involvement. And here is where education is relevant." Then his right hand came into play: "I'm not talking just of grass-roots approach. At the village level there is a need for the community health worker and the traditional birth attendant and others who are concerned with water and sanitation and improving food production. But what is being done in the village is linked to a higher level in the district where more qualified health workers and professional medical workers can provide advice and training and so right up to the national level." He cupped

the right with the fingers pointing down and brought it close to the left hand with the fingers pointing up. "It's a two-way system - from the bottom up, from the top down, intermingling, and all taking part in a learning experience, because participation is part of learning."

Dr. Hellberg reported on a recent regional health conference which had been held in Nazaret, Ethiopia, which brought together health representatives from seven countries in east Africa. These were not merely ministers of health but representatives from all levels of the national health services - the village-level teams being represented as well as professional men and women from the capital and government authorities. What one saw at the Ethiopian conference, held three years after Alma-Ata, was proof of a more or less successful achievement of integrated primary health care systems in seven African countries. True, in certain cases there was some evidence of the old professional elitism, particularly in countries still dependent on expatriate doctors. But the direction appeared to have been set. And the next stage had been embarked upon: the establishment of a consultative regional network, with the assistance of WHO and UNICEF. I was told that similar developments were evident among the franco-phone countries of Africa and countries of the Middle East.

Considering the magnitude of the problems and the external and internal obstacles to be overcome in bringing about basic environmental changes and developing human resources, the

need for international assistance is very great. The responsibility for the planning and execution of the programs rested with the countries themselves beginning with the participants at the village level. But opportunities for support in training, formal and non-formal education, literacy and equipment were challenging. Hellberg cited many examples of programs where WHO or UNICEF were executing agents or merely channels of cooperative assistance in which the financing had been undertaken not only by UNDP but out of bilateral funding by the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden or Germany.

It would be a mistake to view the encouraging gains in this world-wide movement toward the impossible goal of Health for All by the year 2000 apart from the larger issues of social and economic development. In fact, a central feature of the primary health care approach is a recognition of the integrated relationship of the problem of health to the whole development process. Moreover, there are obstacles to success having to do with the distribution of resources, the holding of land, and the inequities in the international economic system that can only be overcome by action at the highest national level and with an as-yet-unachieved international accord. But these facts do not in any way negate the importance of a program and a process that involves ordinary people in their own communities in contributing to their liberation into a larger measure of healthy and creative living.

Dr. A. Moarefi, Chief of Health Education in WHO, addressed the All-Africa First Health Education Conference at Lagos, Nigeria in September 1981. His theme was: "Some Considerations in the Health Education Component of Primary Health Care."

The whole presentation deserves careful study but one paragraph warrants quotation:

It should be realized that primary health care is not just another alternative in the provision of health care. It is a philosophy pointing to an approach based on the understanding that the individual, any individual, has the right and responsibility to be involved in matters regarding his well-being. It is founded on the assertion of dignity of every man and every woman regardless of their economic, social, or education status and on the acceptance of the fact that they are capable of taking proper decisions if other essential elements including education are properly met. They have the ability to be involved in the promotion of their health and the health of those close to them.



### III. Sweden: SIDA and SAREC

The bus driver stopped the bus at a cross street on Birger Jarisgatan and pointed across the road and said: "Sixty-one. SIDA." I thanked him and got out, crossed the street and walked along the front of a nondescript brown building. In the windows were pictures - landscapes, people, activities, obviously not Sweden in a brisk late winter day in February. They were scenes of hot countries - farmers in fields, women washing clothes in a river, doctors and nurses in a clinic, children in school. I went through the main door into the lobby. Facing the door was a desk with a receptionist. I gave my name and the name of the man who was expecting me. She dialed a number and she said a few words to the person who answered. She hung up and said to me: "Mr. Sundgren will be down in a minute."

I looked around the big lobby. To the left on stands were blowups of photographs, woven mats and hangings, artifacts, all obviously from some part of Africa. A young bearded man sat relaxed in a big chair. "What's this," I asked. "It's an exhibit from Kenya," he said, "we've set it up for school children who will be visiting it today." "Have you been there?" I asked. "Yes, I've worked there for a couple of years."

Since my mission with SIDA concerned education, I felt that I had come to the right place.

And this was more than confirmed by my talk with Lars Sundgren who was in charge of a program that we would call "development education." But that title hardly does it justice. SIDA refers to the activity as "internationalizing education" or, in even more high-sounding language, as "education toward the responsibilities of world citizenship." I go into this detail at the beginning of my story so as to suggest that this is much more than a kind of public relations effort to win popular support for the SIDA program of cooperation for development by eliciting interest in and sympathy for aid to the poor people in the Third World. The education that Lars Sundgren was promoting through the exhibition in the lobby, with the cooperation of the young man in the big chair, and through materials finding their way into the school curricula, was not too far removed from the education SIDA was supporting in developing countries. In both cases, education was a process in which you found your identity in your world and, as a participant with others, discovered a meaningful place for yourself in your world - a world which included those in the pictures in the exhibition and those who looked at them.

The more I talked with Lars Sundgren on this educational phenomenon in Sweden, the more I thought that it helped me understand a very special quality of the Swedish program of development cooperation. And the understanding has been

deepened by reports I have read since. To begin with, the educational activity sponsored by SIDA is in response to an eager demand for information about and involvement in the world community of which Swedish children are a part and which they share with other children in other countries, on other continents. Sundgren told me that there were certain weeks in the year when he would be away three out of five days meeting with teachers at their teacher training colleges or in their associations discussing how best to bring into the educational process the reality of being a part of this larger world community. And this kind of education goes far beyond the school curriculum. It means audio-visual presentation with full cooperation of the media. It means seminars and open discussions for teachers and students. It means vacation trips to Third World countries and direct contact with people and institutions in developing countries. And out of this process comes a new sense of belonging in this emergent world community.

A very useful account of the philosophy and methodology of the educational activity we have been describing is to be found in a booklet written by Ingar Andersson and Lars Sundgren and published by SIDA with the title: "The Internationalization of Education." Its relevance extends far beyond a single Scandinavian country.

I learned from Sundgren that SIDA considers this program of education for international understanding sufficiently

important to fund it in the amount of \$4 million annually. Only part of the activity is carried out through the schools. Some \$2½ million goes to Sweden's non-governmental organizations. I suppose there is no country in the world in which non-governmental organizations, "folkröbreiser" or "peoples' movements" as they are called, have done as much to shape the emergence of an egalitarian and democratic society and then to ensure that those same principles are manifested in the external affairs of the nation, particularly in its program of international cooperation for development. The best account of this phenomenon is to be found in a publication written for UNITAR by Ernst Michanek, Former Director of SIDA, entitled "Role of Swedish Non-Governmental Organizations in International Development Cooperation." The part played by NGOs in shaping Sweden's development cooperation policy is so important as to merit more detailed treatment and I have relied heavily on Michanek's work.

In 1973, at the time of the enactment of laws directed towards a large measure of constitutional reform, the Prime Minister, Olaf Palme, said:

The constitution is important. But let us not forget that the Swedish democratic tradition is a tradition of people's movements. The activities of the people's movements are not regulated by our constitution. They are associations of free men and women brought together by an ideology and by common ideals.

The people's movements grew into instruments for the people to gain independence and freedom long before universal suffrage was obtained. People met in the cooperatives, in the labour movement, in the temperance movement, in the Christian congregations, with a view to joining forces for change and for an improvement of their lot. They found at an early stage that only by joining forces could they change the existing conditions. Solidarity became the strength of the weak, cooperation was their instrument ....

The future strength of Swedish democracy is largely determined by the degree of vitality and power of action of the people's organizations and their ability to make men and women committed to the day to day work that gives substance to democracy.

The build-up of a Swedish international approach began with Sweden's close involvement in the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization, focussed in the activities of Sweden's Prime Minister and great trade union leader, Hjalmar Branting. During the war, assistance to refugees was given more prominence by the organization of the Swedish Committee for Voluntary Aid, financed by the government but manned largely by representatives of trade unions, employers, religious and humanitarian organizations. At the end of the war, this effort to aid war victims expanded into what might be called a Swedish Marshall Plan to assist in the reconstruction of Europe: it preceded the U.S. effort and for several years drew financial support amounting to 2 percent of Sweden's GNP. From League of Nations days, the Swedish people had been particularly concerned by Italy's attack on and occupation of Ethiopia, partly because of

missionary effort in that country but dramatically focussed in the bombing of a Swedish ambulance unit. Sweden after the war lost no time in providing technical assistance to Ethiopia in the building-up of its military and civilian aviation, its judiciary, its telecommunications and its schools.

Sweden became a member of the UN Economic and Social Council in 1951 and was active in the plans which led to the launching of the United Nations Expanded Program for Technical Assistance. But Sweden went about mobilizing its support in its typical Swedish way. The Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry invited a number of important NGOs to discuss a co-ordinated Swedish aid program. Out of this meeting came the Central Committee for Swedish Technical Assistance to Less Developed Countries on which no less than 44 NGOs were represented. For ten years from 1952 to 1962 it was the Central Committee that directed Sweden's international aid effort and mobilized Swedish public opinion in sympathetic and active support. In 1962, the government decided that the time had come for more direct official involvement in international cooperation and development. Again, an important group of NGOs were consulted and on their advice the official government development agency, SIDA, was formed. However, the influence of the "peoples movements" remained strong: they were well represented on SIDA's Board of Governors; they

continued to be an important contributor to education in international understanding; and they continued with increasing support to carry out their grass-roots cooperation activities with their counterpart movements in developing countries. One cannot understand the importance and character of the Swedish program for international cooperation without taking into account the role of the NGOs in its origins and its continuing direction. And that is true of its diverse activities in support of education.

Bo Karre, Director of Information, had arranged that I meet several SIDA officers in the field of education who could discuss with me SIDA's present and future policy. I met them after my conversation with Lars Sundgren. They included Ingmar Gustavsson, Per Kokeritz and Birgitta Berggren from the Division of Education; Mats Kihlberg from SAREC, and Miss Munch, with special interest in primary health care and education. I had a profitable discussion with them lasting several hours.

To begin with, a SIDA report prepared in 1980 contains a list of projects supported by SIDA in the period since 1975. The report refers to projects in eight African countries - Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau - and two Asian countries, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The report suggests that the main

areas have been primary education, adult education and vocational training - and this is confirmed by a study of the listed projects. But there are also cases of support for secondary education, with an emphasis on the training of science teachers, and the provision of facilities for practical and technical subjects. Most of the financial assistance went towards the construction of buildings and the supply of equipment. Instructors in the field of vocational training and advisors in the fields of adult education and literacy constituted the main elements in the provision of technical assistance. In several instances it was noticeable that SIDA provided financial support for paper and books in connection with programs of adult education and literacy.

Conversations with SIDA staff members brought out the different priorities in different country programs. In Botswana and Zambia, for instance, there was a strong movement to increase secondary schooling. In Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe the strengthening of teachers training colleges was stressed. Mats Kihlberg mentioned SAREC's interest in supporting the linkages between the Swedish University of LUNDU and the University of Dar es Salaam and between the University of Lulea and the faculty of mining in the University of Zambia.

The conversation turned to kinds of educational activities receiving SIDA support that were not covered in the listed



projects and programs. Many of these were more directly associated with economic and social development. Examples were to be found in the activity of cooperatives, in the role of agricultural extension workers, in the primary health care programs which we had discussed at some length in WHO. Miss Munch told me what we had heard from Dr. Hellberg that SIDA gave support to a number of such programs in which WHO was the executing agent and which comprised many components of training and integrated non-formal education. There was another area of SIDA's development support activities into which invariably a training program was built: this was the financing of capital infrastructure, the big paper mill at Baibong in Vietnam, for instance, where the training of operational and maintenance workers was considered as equally important with the construction and the installation of the equipment.

Then, of course, the NGOs contribution. Fully 50 percent of their activity was devoted to education, 30 percent to health of which much might be described as educational. Here the emphasis tends to be on rural education and education for usually disadvantaged sectors of the community: rural primary schools in Bangladesh, health services for Indians in Peru, a vocational school for blind girls in Tanzania, mother and child care in Cape Verde, training in the management of cooperatives in many countries, training for women in home industries in

Nairobi. SIDA's support for NGO activity has increased from some \$22 million in the year 1979-80 to \$38 million in 1982-83. The total expenditure including the NGO contribution will put the amount this year up to some \$120 million.

A comparatively new contribution of Sweden to the educational capabilities of developing countries is to be found in SAREC, the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries. Modelled on the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), SAREC was established in 1975 with its main objective "to support developing countries in their endeavours to create and strengthen endogenous research capacities."

Like IDRC, SAREC is itself not a research institution but rather a funding organization for researchers and research institutes, the activities of which have a direct bearing on problems faced by developing countries. There are main categories of research activities that receive support from SAREC: 1) direct research cooperation with developing countries; 2) research cooperation between developing countries and special research programs; 3) international research programs, usually with an institutional base; 4) Swedish development research.

The countries with which SAREC is supporting research cooperation are, with one or two exceptions, the same as those in which SIDA is supporting educational development.

The type of research and the projects selected for support correspond to the expressed wishes of the developing countries concerned. In cases where the research base in the country appears to be adequate to the task, the necessary financial support will be given. In other cases, cooperative support may be facilitated between an institution in the Third World country and a Swedish research institution or university with relevant resources. In Ethiopia, for example, a highly important study of local flora will bring together researchers from Addis Ababa University and the Institute of Systemic Botany at Uppsala University. Concern for increased production and more efficient use of oil seeds in India has led to a research program involving the Department of Science and Technology of the Government of India and SAREC to be carried out by a network of Indian and Swedish research institutions. And the dependency of the nomads of Somalia on the lowly but omnipresent camel has at last occasioned a comprehensive research project too long neglected. The project will bring together researchers from the Faculties of Agriculture, Industrial Chemistry and Veterinary Sciences of the Somali National University of Agriculture and from the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Stockholm.

The second program of research support provides funding for research cooperation between developing countries. In practice, this means supporting regional research organizations such as CODESRIA in Africa and CLACSO in Latin America. But it also means supporting certain international seminars and certain joint projects that bring together Third World researchers.

The third object of SAREC support is the group of important international research centres and programs. The Consultative Group for International Agriculture Research (CGIAR) commands the most support in this category with core support for a number of specialized international research institutes such as IRRI, CIMMYT, ICRISAT and CIAT. Another group of international research programs is sponsored by WHO in such fields as Human Reproduction, Primary Health Care and Tropical Diseases. Another object of support is the International Foundation of Science, a non-governmental organization based on scientific research councils in 53 countries. It is located in Stockholm and also receives support from the IDRC.

Finally, SAREC contributes a small amount to Swedish universities and other research institutes to support projects with a direct relation to development. Fields covered include development theory and social science; technology and industrialization; agriculture and rural development; health and nutrition; education and communications.

SAREC's objective is to help developing countries strengthen their research capabilities and it is hoped that the "Swedish program" will contribute to this goal, creating stronger links between SAREC and the Swedish research community.

Sweden's support of development research through SAREC cannot be seen in entire isolation from its support of education in many forms in the developing world. SAREC's Annual Report for the year 1980-81 puts it this way:

Researchers and research institutions are only the top of the pyramid, the basis of which includes education at different levels, organizations to develop national research policy and technicians and workers capable of making use of research results. A policy which aims at developing research capacity has to be seen as an integrated part of social development. In a wider perspective this policy touches on the very foundations of culture and its relations to technological change.

Turning now to one of the central issues in this study: on the basis of the evidence we have reviewed, how do we assess Sweden's policy toward its present and continuing support in developing countries? Looking at it in purely quantitative terms, it would seem that support of education is firmly locked into SIDA's general program of development assistance and that that program among other national programs is comparatively large and is increasing. With strong popular support the Swedish Parliament some years ago targeted its development assistance budget on a goal equal to one percent of its GNP. That goal was reached several years ago and

is being maintained if not exceeded. Four years ago SIDA's appropriation amounted to 4,419 million Swedish kroner. The budget this year, 1981-82, is 5,720 million kroner. Next year's 1982-83 estimated budget is 6,228 million kroner or about 1,245 million Canadian dollars.

The listed education budget in the bilateral program appears to be remaining fairly constant at about 8 percent. But, as we have seen, this by no means accounts for all the support that SIDA is providing for education. We must consider the contribution of the NGOs, their appropriations increasing more rapidly than the over-all appropriations. We must consider other programs with educational components. And we must consider the multilateral programs, such as those of WHO, ILO and UNESCO, to which SIDA is giving support. And finally, there is SAREC, the budget of which was 25 million dollars Canadian in 1980-81 and will be 30 million dollars Canadian in 1982-83. From the purely quantitative point of view, I would say that things are looking good for continuing if not increasing support for education in the Swedish development cooperation programs.

But in my opinion we would not be doing the Swedish program justice if we did not take into account some qualitative considerations. And I would recall once more the role of Sweden's NGOs, the peoples movements, in their shaping of Sweden's democracy and its projection into its international programs of development cooperation.

In 1978, the Swedish Parliament adopted a bill which established a frame of reference within which Sweden's development assistance should be planned and executed. The overall guidelines call for solidarity with poor countries and people in need. In keeping with these, the Swedish program would contribute to:

- (a) economic growth with maintained ecological balance
- (b) economic and social justice
- (c) economic and political independence
- (d) strengthening of democracy

In support of these goals, the appropriations for development aid should remain above 1 per cent of GNP. Swedish assistance should be directed to low-income countries and be used to improve the living conditions of poor people. Resources should be extended for the most part through grant aid and Sweden should retain its policy of untied aid and continue strong support for multilateral programs.

At first glance such goals sound rhetorical and idealistic. But consider the record:

The 1 per cent of GNP target has been sustained and surpassed;

The 20-odd countries in which SIDA's program is concentrated are among the poorest in the Third World;

In the entire SIDA program, tied aid does not exceed 15 per cent;

Contributions to multilateral programs - mostly through United Nations agencies and regional development banks - stays somewhere in the neighbourhood of 33 per cent.

With the emphasis on support for increasing self-reliance, increasing economic and social justice, and meeting basic needs, one would imagine that the priorities in the selection of programs as well as in the designing of programs are increasingly the responsibility of the Third World countries. There may be a prolonged period of dialogue between SIDA and Third World country authorities but, as Ola Ullsten, Sweden's Minister of Development before he became Prime Minister said:

... in the final analysis it is the developing countries which control what uses they wish to make of the Swedish resources. No Swedish flags fly over the projects we support. We contribute to efforts to which developing countries themselves give priority in their development plans and for which they bear the full responsibility.

Such a statement when read alongside of the actual evolution of Sweden's program of development assistance, confirms the growing conviction that Sweden has moved far from the traditional concept of a donor-recipient relationship to one of full and equal cooperation. Moreover, the emphasis on the meeting of basic needs, a deep concern for environmental conservation, the special concern for the improvement in the status of women - all finding expression in actual programs - represent a growing consensus that human goals are central in



development policy. And this in turn reinforces a belief that the Swedish international program is not only a projection into international relations of social and democratic principles realized in national society, but also a continuing involvement of the Swedish people in a combined effort to achieve an equitable and democratic world community.

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I met Sven Hamrell on the station platform at Uppsala. I was to have come by train and over the phone he had said: "You will recognize me: I shall be wearing a green coat and a green hat and I am very fat." In the meantime, Swedish friends kindly offered to drive us the 75 kilometres to Uppsala and I was delivered safely to the railway station, while our friends took my wife and a Canadian friend to explore the old city dominated by the cathedral and the red castle on the hill.

I had no difficulty recognizing Sven Hamrell although he was not very fat and most Swedes seemed to be wearing green coats and hats on that wintry morning. Hamrell drove me to the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation office in an old mansion on the grounds of the 500-year old Uppsala University. The Foundation was established to honour Dag Hammarskjöld in 1962, the year after his death. In 1965 it found a permanent home in Uppsala in the house once occupied by the Swedish philosopher and poet,

Erik Gustaf Geijer. It is on a road not far from the castle along which Dag Hammarskjöld used to walk each day on his way to school and then to the university.

The Foundation was set up to focus serious discussion on the critical problems of a world that had outgrown the patterns and policies of the nation state but had not yet created the institutions and practices necessary to serve the needs of a world community. The discussion was not to be confined to academic deliberations, although high-level scholarship was called for. Nor was it to become a vehicle for ideological propaganda, although the suffering and injustice in the existing order encouraged bitter protest. It was to operate, as two members of the Board of Trustees described it, "on an interface between research and politics." The research would be respectable, as its presence on Uppsala campus implied, but the research, and the deliberations based on it, would result in political action directed to the achievement of a new international order.

Between 1966 and 1981, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation sponsored more than 60 seminars and conferences. More than half of them were held in Uppsala and some 20 in the Third World, the majority in Africa but others in Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Discussions centred for the most part on problems of international cooperation and development,

frequently with a specific regional emphasis. Eight seminars had to do with education in developing countries.

Changes taking place in the Third World and in the relationships between Third World countries and developed countries - highlighted by the solidarity of the Group of 77 at the first UNCTAD conference in 1964 and the confrontation that came out of the oil crisis in 1973 - seemed to call for radical reassessment of the international situation. It was at this point that the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation took the initiative in bringing together a broadly representative group of research scholars, political leaders and international officials to formulate a new concept of development directed towards human rather than economic goals and map out strategy for their attainment. This was presented in a striking publication, What Now: Another Development. It appeared in 1975 on the eve of the Seventh United Nations Special Assembly on Development out of which came the challenge of a New International Order.

The Foundation carries out an active program of publication, much of the material drawn from the seminars and conferences. Its journal, Development Dialogue, which appears twice a year, is well edited and attractively presented, probably one of the most stimulating and provocative journals in the field. It has carried many articles on education in relation to development, the issue of 1978: 2 being entirely

devoted to the subject. As a working paper for a seminar on education in Dar es Salaam in 1974, the Foundation asked Patrick van Rensburg to put together a selection of his writings on Education and Employment in an African country. It was published under the title: Report from Swaneng Hill. Papers by Julius Nyerere, Joseph Ki-Zerba and Asfaw Yemirru from the seminar are carried in Development Dialogue 1974:2, which also carries the interesting conclusions which were arrived at.

But while it may seem relevant to this study that the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation has made particular contributions to educational research and discussion, what to me is much more important is that it is constantly throwing new light on social and cultural situations within which education is to be seen as a factor in development, all of which must be viewed within a global context that demands radical reconstruction. The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation then must be regarded as part of a particularly Swedish approach which finds expression as well in SIDA and SAREC but which also embodies the thought and concern of the Swedish people.

There is something else which is particularly Swedish about the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation: in terms of staff it is very small. Four or five to direct their extensive activities of seminars and publications. Of course, there is an

impressive Board of Trustees which includes the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the former Director of CIDA as well as the Minister of Economic Planning and Development of Zimbabwe, the Minister of Finance of Tanzania, and an Undersecretary-General of the United Nations. Equally impressive is a very distinguished Honorary Advisory Committee of 22, of which 12 are from Third World countries. Most especially, I think, it gains a certain vitality from being based in Uppsala, the home university of Dag Hammarskjöld, the resources of which it can constantly draw on.

Sven Hamrell and I talked for an hour or so in his office in Geijersgarden. As the conversation roamed over various topics, he kept pulling out publications with relevant articles or ones descriptive of the work of the Foundation. The final one was a slim blue booklet inscribed: Dag Hammarskjöld - Castle Hill. It was the last thing that he had written, just before he left for Africa on his final mission. It is a simple reminiscence, detailed, a little sentimental, of the progress of the seasons and the activities associated with them as viewed from the castle, which was his home, just out there across the road.

We went out to lunch to a restaurant that resembled the crypt of an old church. Hamrell explained that it had been the wine cellar of the archbishop several centuries ago. Most of

the others having their lunch were professors from the university. We seemed a long way from Stockholm, from Europe, and certainly from the Third World. But not from Hammarskjöld. I recalled that flight I took with him the Christmas of 1957 from Cairo to Gaza when he had just come from Stockholm where he had delivered the lecture to the Swedish Academy on "The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time." Linnaeus had been a professor of Uppsala University. Hammarskjöld gave me a copy of his lecture. And I remembered the passage that caught my attention:

Only those who do not want to see can deny that we are moving these days in the direction of a new community of nations, however far we may be from its full realization, however often we may seem to have chosen the wrong path, however numerous the setbacks and disappointments have been. Could it be otherwise when no other road appears open out of the dangers a new era has created?

After lunch, Hamrell and I drove over to the cemetery where we met our Swedish friends with my wife and friend. We made our way towards a large stone that marked the grave of Hammarskjöld's father. Dag Hammarskjöld's grave was next to it. Hamrell said it was marked by a simple brass plate with an appropriate inscription. Now it was covered with snow. We stood for a few minutes beside it. On the snow was a bunch of yellow daffodils.

#### IV. THE COMMONWEALTH CONNECTION

What struck me when I arrived in England and began to make the rounds of old friends and colleagues on the educational network was the deep concern over the savage cuts on university funding ordered by the government. Not only did these mean curtailment of academic programs and staff - Sussex faced a likelihood of 200 layoffs - but the policy seemed dangerously short-sighted in terms of Britain's future. Moreover, the cuts appeared arbitrary: Bradford, one of the new red-brick universities with a strong emphasis on technology, was said to be required to cut back 40 per cent.

Nor was the protest confined to educational circles. The media were picking it up. A late television broadcast on March 3 was carried live from Stirling where the university - the first "new" university in Scotland in 400 years - faced a cutback of 27 per cent. The whole community - the public, students, professors, the Vice-Chancellor, the distinguished Chancellor himself - were expressing their outrage in a very direct, articulate Scottish way.

The policy, naturally, has had a direct bearing on the government's and the universities' international programs of educational assistance and cooperation. A case in point is the fate of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education

Overseas. Established in 1946 by the British Universities, with government support, it did an extraordinarily effective job in relating the resources of British universities to the needs in higher education of the emerging nations of the post-war Commonwealth. In some measure the IUC resembled NUFFIC of the Netherlands in its historical origins: in each case there was a surfeit of high-grade scientists, scholars and educators as an empire came to a close. However, in the British case, there was an ongoing Commonwealth and the beginnings of educational linkages with British universities. Flexible and responsive, with a minimum of administrative bureaucracy, the IUC made an impressive contribution to the growth of the new universities and at the same time - because it was an instrument of the British university community - mobilized the commitment of British universities to a larger international responsibility. On the basis of carefully prepared budgets, annual funding was made available by the Ministry of Overseas Development, to the small and efficient administration of the Inter-University Council. As in the case of NUFFIC, one got the impression that the pattern of support and cooperation was being determined by the priorities of universities in the Third World, which in turn reflected a perception of development needs.

In a sense, it would appear, the priorities on which the Inter-University Council operated and its large degree of



Inter-University Council operated and its large degree of independence from government control left it particularly vulnerable in a period when university funding was being severely curtailed and when international cooperation was paying special concern to the promotion of British interests. To quote a government statement on aid policy dated 20 February 1980: "It is right at the present time to give greater weight in the allocation of our Aid to political, industrial and commercial considerations along-side our basic development objective." And there was another important factor. The activities of the IUC were focussed on institutions of higher education in Africa and to some extent in the Caribbean. The universities in India, on the other hand, were being assisted through a cultural organization of the government known as the British Council, established in 1934, financed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Ministry of Overseas Development, with a staff in Britain and abroad of over 4,000. In a handbook of Commonwealth Organizations its aim is defined: "To promote a wider knowledge of Britain and of the English language abroad, and to develop close cultural relations between Britain and other countries."

The case was presented, therefore to abolish the Inter-University Council and transfer its responsibilities and its functions to the British Council. In this way, economies would

be effected and inter-university cooperation brought directly under the control of an organ of the Government, tied closely to British foreign policy and with considerable experience in the field of educational support. In 1981 the action was taken - the IUC was abolished and the British Council was in full charge.

A study of the British program of aid to education reveals that a good many sectors are administered by the British Council and funded by ODA: the Key English Language Teaching Program (KELT) for which some 150 specialists are recruited; in-training service courses for teachers; several sections of the books supply program; specialist advice on the use of radio and television technology in teaching; university support and inter-university cooperation formerly under the Inter-University Council; advisory and operational support in technical education, industrial training, public administration, and agricultural education and training, formerly under an organization known as TETOC. In addition, the British Council supervises the British Volunteer Program (BVP), coordinating the work of four independent voluntary societies and joint funding projects in several areas of non-formal education.

The British Council, in fact, has a wide range of responsibility as shown in a recent paper on British Aid to

to Education, prepared by the Education Division of ODA:

An important role that the British Council plays in the British Aid program is the provision of advice to ODA and British diplomatic missions on educational matters generally in the developing world, carrying out this function in parallel with its function as a centre of information for overseas countries about British life and culture. This latter role is recognized by the funding arrangements for the Council's 'mixed money' under which the FCO and ODA each pay a proportion of the Council's core budget, respectively some 64% and 36%. In the case of the aid-receiving countries, however, by far the larger share of the cost, which may be as high as 90%, is borne by ODA.

Conversations with representatives of the Education Division of ODA and with the British Council's Committee for International Cooperation in Higher Education left me in some doubt as to how well the new arrangement was going to work out. On the one hand, much stress was laid on the fact that the former IUC budget was intact - or nearly so - and that it was protected against any infringement from the country-program requirements of the main ODA program. And the declaratory guidelines bore a close resemblance to those of the IUC. At the same time, I got the impression that present arrangements amounted to the completion of commitments and programs already en train. It was not at all clear what was going to happen next year or the year after. Certainly, the free input from British universities and their linked sister universities in developing countries seemed to be regarded as a luxury under the new arrangements. One didn't hear a great deal about the

central goal of educational cooperation being to strengthen the capabilities and promote the self-reliance of the Third World participants.

It was this last that seemed to produce anger, even dismay, among many who had been closely associated with the work of the Inter-University Council during its distinguished history. For them it appeared to be a retrogressive step. For the encouragement of university initiative and flexible response one might anticipate a studied adherence to policy guidelines. And the priorities of needs arising in developing countries were not so clearly the determining factors in day-to-day decisions; they would have to be carefully weighed against economic and political considerations. But in fairness, the new arrangements have been in effect only a year and one must give them a chance to serve the educational goals they are intended to serve.

There is one important organization whose aims and activities bear a close resemblance to those of the Inter-University Council. That is the Association of Commonwealth Universities. Its aims are: "To promote, in practical ways, contact and cooperation between the universities of the Commonwealth." The Association is made up of 221 member universities in 28 Commonwealth countries. For many years, its distinguished Secretary-General was Sir Hugh Springer of Barbados, former Vice-Chancellor

of the University of the West Indies. He was succeeded in 1981 by Dr. Anastasius Christodoulou, formerly Secretary of the Open University.

The ACU plays a network role in the Commonwealth university community, acting as a clearing house of information, promoting the movement of students and professors, making information generally available on centres of excellence, admission standards, awards, etc. It holds quinquennial conferences - the last at UBC in Vancouver in 1978, the next in Birmingham in 1983 - where issues having to do with the university's role in a world undergoing radical change are discussed. It publishes a Commonwealth Universities Yearbook and a regularly updated Register of Research Strengths in Universities of Developing Countries of the Commonwealth. It also provides the secretariat for the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission that administers the British portion of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan in collaboration with the British Council.

The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan was established in 1959 by the First Commonwealth Education Conference that was held in Oxford. The scheme was intended to make it possible for students of ability and promise to attend postgraduate study in Commonwealth countries other than their own and for a few outstanding scholars to take up visiting

Professorships or Fellowships, usually in response to invitations. Some fifteen countries offer scholarships. The number of scholarships has remained at some 1,000 a year. It has been generally regarded as one of the most successful contributions to the development of higher education in Commonwealth countries as well as to their professional leadership. While I was in London an evaluation committee drawn from a broad and representative group of educators was conducting a decennial review of the program. Talking to a number of them at a reception given by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, I encountered almost universal enthusiasm in regard to the program and little to indicate that any important suggestions for modification or improvement were being brought forward.

This brief study of these two institutions, the Association of Commonwealth Universities and the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Program, tempts one to probe deeper into the complex of organizations and activities that usually carry the prefix "Commonwealth" and somehow or other fall under the aegis of the Commonwealth Secretariat. But if we do so, it is necessary to put out a clear warning that if one finds difficulty in sketching a clear picture of the Commonwealth - which I consider to be one of the most important phenomena in the international scene today - one will find similar difficulty in giving a tidy description of an

inter-connected group of institutions and activities which together may be making one of the really serious contributions to education in developing countries.

The Commonwealth Secretariat was established in 1965 as an international body at the service of and responsible to all 40 members countries of the Commonwealth. An official statement of its aims reads: "To facilitate joint consultation and co-operation between member countries; to collect and disseminate information for their use; to organize meetings and conferences in areas of common concern and to put into effect decisions for collective Commonwealth action." On a number of occasions, it has demonstrated a capacity for bringing about a remarkable degree of political unity in divisive situations. One such instance was the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Jamaica in 1975 when a large measure of unanimity was achieved on the concept of a New International Economic Order just prior to the Special Session on the UN General Assembly. Another even more dramatic instance in which the Commonwealth Secretariat played an important part was in negotiations that led to the establishment of Zimbabwe as an independent state. Most of its success, however, has been in the maintenance of an open and intelligible network of communications among members, so that members from the North and members from the South, left-leaning members and right-leaning members can maintain a civilized and constructive dialogue. In our contemporary world, that is

quite an achievement. The dialogue may reflect genuine concern. But it may also reflect innovative departures which, with adequate support, can lead to significant economic and social advance. Perhaps most of all it represents an abandonment of the concept of dependency arising from the old colonial relationship or from a transformation of that relationship into one of generous giver and grateful receiver. In the relationship integrated through the Commonwealth Secretariat, human dignity is preserved in the cooperative effort to attain a better life for the people of the member countries.

In the support of educational development in the developing countries of the Commonwealth there are two sectors in the Secretariat that are making a significant contribution. The first is the Education Division. It would be misleading to talk about the "program" of the Division of Education. Programs are not drafted for Commonwealth countries in the faded imperial splendour of Marlborough House. Rather they are put together in the classrooms and school boards and teachers' associations and vocational training centers and ministries of education and health and agriculture in 40 member countries. At best - and it is a very important best - the Division of Education of the Commonwealth Secretariat can contribute to the environment in which programs are planned and critical decisions taken.



Take the question of the teaching of science and mathematics in the schools - a question, as we saw, UNESCO is very much interested in. One of the serious issues is the high cost of science equipment, most of which has to be imported. Three successful regional workshops were held in Bahamas (1976), Tanzania (1977) and Papua New Guinea (1979) on the production of low cost equipment. Following a lengthy discussion at the 8th triennial Commonwealth Education Conference in Sri Lanka in 1980, with a number of suggestions as to various forms of logistic support the Commonwealth Secretariat might provide, a regional meeting was held in Suva, Fiji, in April/May 1981 "to examine the feasibility of establishing a science equipment production centre for the South Pacific." At this meeting, it should be noted, not only governments but regional and international organizations were represented.

Another example of the contribution of the Education Division of the Secretariat is in that basic problem area of educational development, book production. To some extent the emergence of the problem reflects the constructive move to new curricula relevant to the cultural, social and economic needs of a particular country. But it goes beyond this in the growing recognition that an efficient and successful book industry is an important element in the achievement of self-reliance. The obstacle is the lack of knowledge, skill and

training facilities in all departments of the publishing process. Pressure from Commonwealth members for assistance to overcome these obstacles has resulted in the formation of a Commonwealth Book Development Program. A meeting of Commonwealth experts was held in London in 1975 to identify sectors in the book industry where training was badly needed and produced some syllabuses that might be useful in teaching the needed skills. Two years later in Guyana the Secretariat sponsored a highly practical training course for the Caribbean region and is being urged to set up other regional training courses. It is also assisting in the development of book production through the provision of experts through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation and giving financial assistance for attendance at established national and international training centres and attachment to book industries in developed countries. This assistance, unfortunately, is severely limited by shortage of funds in CFTC.

In a closely related field, attention is being given to the training of non-professional library staff in collaboration with the Commonwealth Library Association. A meeting of Commonwealth library experts was held in Fiji in 1979 to identify the skills needed in this field, and out of this meeting came training modules which will be tested out in a pilot edition before being revised for publication and made

generally available. The Education Division has produced a Handbook for Teacher Librarians "to help teacher-librarians with no previous experience to organize their libraries and use them to support the educational work of the schools in which they work." As a means of promoting the distribution of books within the Commonwealth the Secretariat has published a directory of Commonwealth national bibliographies which will be kept updated.

These are but two of many areas in which the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat is involved, not so much in initiating and implementing programs but in responding to initiatives taken and requests for cooperative support put forward individually or, more often, collectively in regional workshops or seminars or in the general conclave of the Commonwealth Education Conference. Similar examples could be cited in such fields as technical and vocational education and training, non-formal and adult education, education for women, teacher education and educational administration.

I have already referred to the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation. Alongside of a General Technical Assistance Division which provides specialists to work in a country requiring assistance, there is an Education and Training Division which provides funding for the training of nationals. One very important aspect of this training-support program is

its close tie-in with no less than ten regional training centres located in various parts of the Commonwealth. For example, it has supported in the past two years 111 technicians from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland at the Multi-Country Telecommunications Centre in Malawi. It has sponsored 200 trainees at the Agricultural Management Centre in Swaziland and 168 technical education planners and administrators at the Colombo Plan Staff College in Singapore. 394 teachers of French from The Gambia, Ghana, and Sierra Leone have received training at six-week summer schools held in the Village du Benin in Lomé, Togo. More specialized training in such fields as seriology, animal husbandry, cartography, soil conservation, management of cooperatives, and training of the deaf has also been made available in Commonwealth institutions. The result has been not only more trained people but a strengthening of the educational and training centres which mean so much to a country's development and to the level of science within the whole Commonwealth.

It seems extraordinary that the tangible and highly relevant contributions being made to educational development within Commonwealth countries with the support of the Education Division and the Education and Training Division of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation are being curtailed through lack of funding. The amounts involved seem

incredibly small in the light of the resources of Commonwealth nations and the amounts they are making available to bilateral programs of international development and to other multilateral programs. The annual regular budget of the Secretariat is ~~£~~3.25 million and the pledged contributions in 1980/81 to the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation amounted to ~~£~~9.38 million. This was ~~£~~2 million less than the level of expenditure in 1978/79. There are indications that some recovery will be made this year. But considering that the Commonwealth's 40 nations include about one-third of the world's people, that it enjoys a common language of communication, that it has achieved a remarkable record of political and economic cooperation associated with a high respect for national self-reliance, and that in a wide range of educational endeavours it has shown commitment, social realism and innovation, it is very strange that member states and other donor agencies do not leap at the chance of adding to this meager budget.

The Eighth Commonwealth Conference Report, on which we have already drawn, merits careful study. In its analysis and recommendations it reveals remarkable unanimity on some of the most urgent issues in educational policy. Universities must be more aware of their responsibilities to the needs of the countries in which they are placed; higher education must

assume much more of the burden of developing the science and technology necessary for development. At the primary level and going on to the secondary and tertiary it is an urgent necessity to give much greater attention to the education and training of women and to insist on equal employment opportunities. And greater attention to non-formal education in relation to rural development. In these and other fields, the resources of the Commonwealth and its Secretariat should be drawn on. Much dismay was registered over the discriminatory fees now fixed for overseas students by certain developed countries. The practice was having a serious effect on essential training and student mobility. An attempt should be made to have the discrimination lifted for certain categories of scholarships, find more scholarship money but also, for the longer term, strengthen the academic standing of other Commonwealth universities so as to add to collective self-reliance.

One notable characteristic of the Commonwealth is that it constitutes an environment and a climate within which groups and associations of like purpose come together and thrive. There are a great many. Two are worthy of special mention. The Commonwealth Foundation was established in 1966 to promote closer professional cooperation within the Commonwealth. It provides financial assistance to some 21 Commonwealth professional organizations and 16 professional centres. In a number

of professional fields it offers support for continuing study and research and widening of professional experience. The Commonwealth Science Council is composed of 29 countries and is devoted to the promotion of scientific and technological co-operation and a particular concern for efforts to increase the capabilities of member nations to use science and technology for their economic, social and environmental development.

The topic for the Eighth Commonwealth Education Conference was "Education and the Development of Human Resources". It is evident that the process referred to was more than the careful application of an attractive veneer or even the care and nurture of a sensitive plant by knowledgeable gardeners. It was rather a participatory process, drawing mutually on human resources, developing new resources through the mutual experience. The Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth Science Council are contributors to the development of human resources through education but they share in the process of participation.

And so do other centres of research, learning and scientific expertise. They are to be found throughout the Commonwealth but partly, I suppose, for the same reasons that apply in the Netherlands, have an impressive concentration in Britain. Queen Elizabeth House, for instance, was founded in Oxford as early as 1954 as a study centre focussed chiefly

on Commonwealth studies. But in 1968-69 its scope was broadened to include extensive research in development economics with a global application.

The Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex came into existence in 1966 with financing from the ODA. Research has been at the core of its program and it has made a substantial contribution to development theory. It has sponsored seminars in specialized fields which have brought together government officials from developing countries. A characteristic of its activities has been that much of its research has been closely related to actual problems and its permanent staff and research fellows have been actively involved in association with international agencies and governments of developing countries on cooperative assignments. An important contribution has been the biennial publication of research projects in British universities linked to a unique seminar conference at which all the projects come under discussion. In association with the University of Sussex it conducts a M.Phil course in development economics. And a key to the excellence of the Institute is a development sciences library which is probably unmatched in the world.

The Overseas Development Institute in London has been active since 1960. Its chief focus is research with an emphasis on development policies. But like its counterpart in



Washington, the Overseas Development Council, it is vitally concerned in furthering the public understanding of and involvement in development cooperation programs. Recently, under the guidance of a European editorial board of distinguished development economists, it has combined forces with the Institute of Development Studies to produce an annual survey on the European Economic Community and the Third World. The first issue appeared about a year ago: the second survey entitled "Hunger in the World" is just appearing. Since 1975 under an Agricultural Administration Unit, it has been conducting an active research program on agricultural problems and policies and publishing the results.

And then there is a new and important centre - The International Institute for Environment and Development - tells a story. Originally called the International Institute for Environmental Affairs under the sponsorship of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies of Colorado, it had been active in the preparations for the 1972 UN Conference on the Environment held in Stockholm. The Institute contributed much of the staff work for the publication of the book by Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, Only One Earth. As a follow-up to Stockholm it was decided to strengthen the Institute and Barbara Ward was asked to become President. She accepted on the condition that the name be changed to include "Environment", since one could not approach

development without consideration for the environment in which people lived and moved and had their being. Nor could one consider environment and its use and conservation unless one considered the imperatives of development.

The IIED would consider itself an educational institution even more than a research institution - although research is involved. And education represents an integrated approach such as we have encountered very often in this review. The educational emphasis, for example, put forward by Dr. Hellberg in his exposition of WHO's concept of primary health care, is completely in line with the thinking of the Institute. For it is a knowledge of the integrated environmental factors in a community and the application of that knowledge that provides the basis of health. A pamphlet with the title Energy Policy for the Rural Third World, written by Arjun Makhijani and published by IIED says little or nothing about oil or hydro-electricity or nuclear power but it tells a great deal about the efficient utilization and conservation of the relevant energy resources in the village - water, food, fuel from the forest and the need for wisdom in harvesting, gas from vegetable and animal waste, efficiency of stoves, energy from the wind and the sun. And all of these related to increase of knowledge, changed practice, the strengthening of local institutions.

There are other centres and institutes which we might mention. But what we have described is probably enough to illustrate the importance of a partnership in development which within the Commonwealth and extending beyond includes input - and outflows - at the grass-roots level but also at the highest level of scientific research.

## V. CIDA AND IDRC

### The Canadian International Development Agency

My task in this brief chapter is to give a description of CIDA's policy and practice in regard to support of educational development in the countries within the scope of its programs of international cooperation for development and give some kind of a judgment as to what that policy and practice is likely to be during the remainder of this decade. And if my description and judgment are to have any meaning they must be made within the context of important changes in the international system, changes in Canadian policy and changes in the very philosophy of development. It is not an easy task.

To begin with a short background sketch: the Canadian aid program, as it was called, was a post-war phenomenon, conceived at San Francisco when the Canadian delegation to the founding United Nations conference pressed for increased status for the Economic and Social Council in the Charter which was being drafted, because of a firm belief that international economic cooperation aimed at improving the standard of living in the world's poor countries would be an important contribution to peace. The Canadian government took heart from the results of the Marshall Plan, responded favorably to President Truman's challenge to a world-wide international assistance program which

he outlined in an address to Congress in January 1949, and found an immediate object for its own bilateral aid program in the Colombo Plan to give assistance to the group of newly-independent Commonwealth nations in south and south-east Asia after the ending of British rule over India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. The plan was extended to include other nations in south-east Asia as they gained their independence.

The main objectives in both the Marshall and Truman plans - and they applied as well to the Canadian efforts - were three: repair the war devastation suffered by countries and their people in Europe and in other parts of the world; in so doing, strengthen a barrier against the spread of communism; and provide a market for the glut of products produced by industries, undamaged by war and, in fact, enlarged through serving war needs. These foreign policy objectives were reinforced by a spirit of post-war internationalism which, as I suggested, expressed itself in a determination to enhance international understanding by charitable giving.

Added to these motivations was a simple faith in a technocratic approach to what came to be known as "development." Just as battered and suffering Europe was being restored to robust health by the infusion of money and machinery and building and expertise provided by the Marshall Plan so the primitive, in some cases war-damaged, and in all cases poverty

stricken countries of south and south-east Asia could be given the advantages of our advanced industrial civilization by a sufficient infusion of western capital and equipment and know-how. With sufficient technological help they would take off and fly on their own. It was such a faith that dominated most international assistance through the 60s.

And associated with such a faith was a firm belief in education - beginning with literacy and going on to the highest level of university scholarly attainment. Education provided the trained manpower by which the modern world would be created and maintained. And the educated were those who would partake fully of the benefits of the new world.

Canada contributed to the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance which was set up in response to Truman's Point Four challenge. Its own participation in the Colombo Plan - which was a coordinated complex of bilateral programs - was administered under a loose inter-departmental grouping recruited from Industry Trade and Commerce and External Affairs. Much of the aid consisted of equipment and structural materials produced in Canadian factories and mills and technical advisors to guide the construction of the new society. At the early stage little needed to be provided in educational support since south Asia was well supplied with institutions of higher education. But when in the late 1950s

and early 1960s the aid program was extended to Commonwealth Africa, Francophone Africa and the Caribbean, while the main industrialization program continued the demands for educational support became clamant.

By this time the interdepartmental team had been given some structure and a name. The External Aid Office had four divisions responsible for capital assistance, technical assistance through the provision of Canadian experts, a training division which opened places in Canadian universities to students from developing countries, and an education division responsible for supplying Canadian teachers for schools in Anglophone and Francophone Africa.

Strangely enough, all four divisions were involved in a very active educational program during the 50s and into the 60s. It was a period when the building of schools, vocational training institutes, and university buildings and extensions were called for. These activities came under the capital assistance division. For technical assistance, experts from Canadian universities were very much in demand and EAO representatives made the rounds of engineering faculties, agricultural faculties and departments of economics like weekend shoppers in a supermarket. The admission of foreign students to Canadian institutions was handled quite separately from the recruitment, dispatch and maintenance of teachers

overseas. It didn't seem to occur to the Office that the building of an educational system was an integrated process and that there was an intimate relationship along the chain from the architect to the newly-trained teacher. Not to mention the users of the school and the drafters of the curricula.

Meanwhile, important changes in the international system and in the philosophy of development - the two were related - were taking place and were to affect the Canadian aid policy. In the first place, the process of decolonization quickened: at one stroke DeGaulle dissolved the French colonial empire in a speech at Brazzaville. This had the effect of creating a majority of developing countries in the membership of the United Nations. And their united vote called, in the first place, for a speedy end to the remaining colonial regimes, and then for an international meeting on the relationship between international trade and development. At that conference held in 1964, a group of 77 developing nations showed remarkable unanimity in calling for structural changes in the international order to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources as well as greatly increased development assistance from the rich countries.

About this time, and coming to a climax at the end of the '60s, which President Kennedy had christened the "Development Decade", it was generally recognized that the vaunted



technological approach to development did not work. National GNP might be increased somewhat. Certain urban groups close to the growing industrial and commercial centres might enjoy improved status. But the great majority of the poor, whether in the urban areas or in the slums of the cities, were no better off. A large international Crisis in Planning Conference held at the Institute for Developing Studies at Sussex University decided that economic goals were not enough: consideration had to be given to actual needs of people, to social goals of development. More than that, it came more and more to be believed that people in developing countries, from village to national level, should have a large say in the making and implementing of development policy. Some of these conclusions were reflected in the report of the Pearson Commission, prepared for the World Bank and issued in 1969, the same year as the Sussex conference.

A foreign policy review, issued by the government of Canada in 1970, reflected some serious heart-searching in the volume dealing with International Development. It said:

The people of these countries have accepted the primary responsibility for their own development and provide most of the resources required. They must set their own economic and social objectives, chart the main direction and dynamics of their growth, and accept the economic sacrifices required. Development assistance can provide the extra margin of support that will enable their sacrifices to be tolerable, and that will supplement their own resources with particular skills, experience,

equipment, and materials that are limited within their own economies but are essential to the continuation of their development programs.

It is not surprising that a serious examination of Canada's foreign aid policy should coincide with a decision to regroup into a more compact but at the same time more responsive structure Canada's development aid organization. In the late '60s, the Canadian International Development Agency came into existence.

In the first place, it got away from the sectoral divisions of the External Aid Office, establishing the Agency to permit concentration on regional and country programs - Asia, Africa, Commonwealth Africa, Francophone Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Three operational divisions administer the programs - Bilateral, Multilateral and Special Programs.

The Bilateral Branch accounts for the largest share of the program budget, 55 per cent. Countries of concentration are selected on the basis of certain criteria suggested in the foreign policy review - potentiality for development, relevance and availability of Canadian resources. The poorest countries receive high priority.

The Multilateral Branch looks after funding programs executed by international agencies, mainly but not exclusively

belonging to the United Nations family, on which Canada is represented. While programs under the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the World Bank, and the International Development Association (IDA) are determined by their governing bodies, there are a number of more specialized international programs, as we have seen, to which an individual country has the option of making a contribution. The Multilateral Branch is responsible for some 37 per cent of CIDA's budget.

The Special Programs Branch made a modest beginning in 1968 as a division concerned in giving support to Canadian non-governmental organizations committed to programs or projects in cooperation for development. In the decade of the 1970s, the division expanded rapidly international as well as Canadian NGOs applying for and receiving support on a matching basis. The division was promoted to the status of a Branch. Quite recently it established the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division to finance linkages between Canadian universities and universities in Third World countries. In fact, other institutions concerned with development cooperation are eligible for CIDA support. CIDA had been stretching the definition of a non-governmental organization and waving some of the matching requirement to fund university linkages for some time: now the establishment of

ICDS made the operation legitimate, brought about a new definition of criteria and priorities and generally added an important element to university support. It should be noted as well that much of the NGO activity, perhaps 50 per cent, was directed toward some form of education and usually in the neglected rural and village level.

We shall have more to say about the Institutional Cooperation Division but first we should take some note of two other Branches which, to use old-fashioned terms, play a "staff" rather than a "line" role. These are the Policy Branch and the Resources Branch.

The Policy Branch, as its name implies, is concerned with the necessary adaptation of CIDA policy to changing needs and situations and also has an active interest in the evaluation of CIDA's ongoing programs.

The Resources Branch might be regarded as a carry-over from the days when the External Aid Office was divided along sectoral lines. In fact, today it has a key role as the emphasis shifts to social and away from purely economic development and concerns itself with human goals involving education, health, human habitations, communications - all sections of the Resources Branch alongside of the infrastructural and engineering sections. In the case of education,

while it is credited with having concern for the educational aspects of every program or project sponsored by the Agency, it tends to be sought out when the program or project bears a recognizable educational label - a technical training school, a teachers' training institute, some educational project in an integrated rural development program. But when it is a project with heavy infrastructural content the resource section called upon will be engineering, and the educational consultant will be brought in at a later stage to give advice on certain peripheral training or maintenance aspects. Too rarely is it considered that the chief considerations in building a dam are human considerations and not considerations centred on cement and steel and bedrock and hydrology. For a dam to irrigate cropland is also a displacer of people and a transformer of society, opening up possibilities of improved health and nutrition and sanitation and way of life, but only if the people who are affected become participants in the process of transformation. Which suggests that at the very beginning the counsel of the education section - and perhaps also the health and population section, the human settlements section, the social development section, and the communications section - should be sought. And beyond them, and in cooperation with them, the full participation of the local authorities in those same areas of social development since, after all, it is their project. And in this context the building of the dam takes on

enhanced human significance.

Such an approach is not too far out of line with a new Strategy announced by CIDA in the mid-70s. Important international developments had produced basic changes in relations between what had come to be known as The North and The South. First came the sudden demonstration of the power of the OPEC group in the oil crisis of 1973. Then came the not unrelated demands of the enlarged Group of 77 for a restructured international economic community to introduce a measure of equity into a divided world. And this demand became articulate and specific in two Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly in 1974 and 1975. The immediate result was increased polarization between the rich and poor countries. But some more careful reflection brought a recognition of the justice of the claims of the poor countries on the part of the developed countries. Canada's Prime Minister was one of those who came out strongly in favour of a combined effort to achieve a New International Economic Order and played an important role in producing a measure of consensus in a meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government just prior to the critical UN Special Session in 1975. And at about the same time, CIDA produced its Strategy for International Development Cooperation 1975-1980.

The document is no doubt a familiar one to those who have been following the evolution of development policy. But I have found it worthy of more careful study as an almost autobiographical account of a dawning awareness of a world community within which a realistic development cooperation policy must be formulated.

We start with where we came from:

The evidence is overwhelming that in the 1960s despite the achievement of an overall 5 per cent growth rate by the developing countries, negligible per capita income gains resulted for those living in the most desperate poverty.

Now a recognition of the emergent world community:

The viability of an increasingly interdependent world order rests on the creation of an international economic system which will provide a more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities for all people.

Then a recognition that within that global system the developing countries are responsible for setting the goals and designing the programs for their economic and social development so that the majority of their people may enjoy and participate in the achievement of a better life. Canada's obligation and opportunity is to support those efforts:

The objective of the Canadian development assistance program is to support the efforts of the developing countries in fostering their economic growth and the evolution of their social systems in a way that will produce a wide distribution of the benefits of development among the

population of these countries, enhance the quality of life and improve the capacity of all sectors of their population to participate in national development efforts.

And finally, within this context, there is the recognition of the central goals of development, the human goals, and the need to lend support to the struggle against those conditions that keep millions prisoners of poverty and ignorance:

The Canadian International Development Agency will focus its assistance to a greater extent on the most crucial aspects or problems of development - food production and distribution; rural development; education and training; public health and demography; and shelter and energy.

The practice of CIDA in the last half of the decade of the 80s reflected in considerable measure the guidelines set forth in the Strategy. The Bilateral Division put considerable emphasis on infrastructural projects designed to promote rural development. Food aid in the form of surplus wheat alleviated famine conditions occasioned by drought in many countries of Asia and Africa. And the International Development Research Centre - of which more will be said later - more than fulfilled the criteria set by the Strategy:

- that the research and innovation be directed to solutions of major world problems of food and rural development, training and basic educational needs, health and population planning, shelter and energy;
- that supported activities strengthen the capabilities of developing countries for advancing their own indigenous research and innovation;
- that supported activities have an impact beyond one country or region.



But by far the greatest recognition of the new priority to be accorded the human goals of development was evident in the activities and expanding role of the Special Projects Branch. We have already noted the significance of this development, beginning with the involvement of Canadian NGOs in programs and projects closely related to basic human needs and closely linked with the activities of social and educational organizations in developing countries at the local or village level. As we noted, the activities were supported by matching grants from CIDA: but overall, the contributions made by the NGOs in 1980/81 more than doubled the grant from CIDA. It would appear that we have something resembling the Swedish situation where the involvement of the people in international concern gives backing to government in its policy of assistance but also transcends it in a determination to participate as members of a world community.

The Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division merits some additional attention. In 1968, with CIDA support, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada named Dr. Norma Walmsley, a professor of political science, to conduct a survey of Canadian universities' resources national development. In her report, she recommended the establishment of a Council - not unlike Britain's Inter-University Council or the Dutch NUFFIC - to coordinate Canadian

universities' policies on development and to be responsible for facilitating mutually satisfactory linkages between Canadian and Third World universities. Unfortunately, the recommendation was not acceptable either to CIDA or to AUCC and ten years were to elapse before the idea was revived.

Meanwhile, students from developing countries received training in Canadian universities, Canadian universities served as banks of professional expertise on which CIDA could draw, and in its bilateral program CIDA funded some useful inter-university and inter-institutional linkages; Guelph University and the University of Ghana in agricultural sciences; McGill and the University of Nairobi in medical training; University of Alberta and the Ministry of Education in Thailand in educational administration. And then a proposal originating in a committee on which CIDA, IDRC, and AUCC were represented came forward with a proposal for an International Development Office attached to AUCC which bore a close resemblance to the recommendation of the Walmsley Report. This time it was accepted and the International Development Office was established to coordinate Canadian universities' interests in development, establish criteria for linked university projects, and act as a clearing house of information for Canadian and Third World universities seeking cooperative association in teaching, consultation and research. And as a counterpart, to work in

close association with the IDO, CIDA set up the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division with identical criteria and priorities. At a conference held at York University in Toronto, Mr. Marcell Massé, President of CIDA said:

Our first and most important reason for launching a new program of institutional cooperation was that we wanted to move away from the notion of aid with its confining 'donor-receiver' connotation to new relationships between Canada and the developing countries based on partnership and mutuality. The developing countries do not wish to be permanent recipients of aid or charity; they seek equality in their relations with other nations. We must be prepared to work with them as partners.

The approach is as realistic as it is humane. It confirms a central position in the Brandt Report that there is a mutual advantage to developed and developing nations in seeking out areas of cooperation within a single world community. And it is an approach quite in line with the Strategy and with subsequent policy objectives. Unfortunately, its general implementation is blocked by a serious constraint which goes back to early concepts of aid and to the close historical relationship between Canada's evolving policy of international cooperation and its origins in the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce. The constraining policy may be stated in simple terms: give all the help that you can to aid poor countries but remember that it must be Canadian aid. CIDA's 1979/80 annual report put it neatly:

By regulation, 80 per cent of the funds spent by CIDA on bilateral programs have to go into the Canadian economy for goods and services used on overseas projects.

Tied aid was condemned by the Pearson Report and in the Strategy there were prayerful and somewhat guilty hopes that it might be reduced since it was quite incompatible with the affirmation that development policy was made in and by developing countries. Moreover, since aid tied in such large measure to the products of Canada's factories and mills and to Canadian technocratic direction tends to be concentrated on the building of industrial infrastructure, social and human goals are apt to be pushed to one side. And this can be true even in the rural sector, as we have seen. Within the context of this study, it is impossible not to recall that with Sweden's annual development assistance allocation in excess of 1 per cent GNP, tied aid in the fiscal year, 1981/82 remains at 14.8 per cent of the total aid budget, 22 per cent of the bilateral budget.

It would appear to be consistent with CIDA's present direction of policy to liberate itself from this quite unnecessary constraint. The technocratic temptation would of course still remain. There is a bureaucratic inertia that resists change, holds to familiar patterns, and rejoices in monuments of steel and concrete with a real or imaginary Canadian flag

flying on top. But there is also a momentum and dynamic in the involvement of people, seeking goals they have set with others, subjects not objects in the development process. And even in an international development agency one observes a dialectic between the technocrat and the humanist.

The most recent change in CIDA policy - and to some extent structure - has been the adoption of the "country focus". This carries into actual design and planning a principle that has been implicit, at least in declaratory form, in CIDA policy since the publication of the Strategy. It means that the policy to be followed in any country must be related to priority needs, must be consistent within itself, and must call for integrated action on the part of all sections of CIDA that may be involved. As Marcel Massé stated in the speech to which we referred: "This approach, which will emphasize the developing country as the centre of all our efforts, should help to ensure that all CIDA assistance to a particular country be complementary and mutually reinforcing."

In the context of our earlier discussion, this means that the technocrat must effect a reconciliation with the humanist, the humanist with the technocrat. But since the evolution of CIDA policy has been toward the assertion of the priority of human goals in development strategy and participation, technocracy must go hand in hand with social development, institution

building and education. And this opens the way to a much wider range of cooperation. Marcel Massé continues:

One of the main reasons why we are moving towards this country focus approach in CIDA is to enable us to tap the creativity as well as the expertise and capability which our universities possess in such abundance. In the past our bilateral, government-to-government relationships have been confined mainly to large-scale, capital-intensive projects between national governments, implemented through contracts with firms, large institutions and the like. I am anxious that we should diversify our capacity to respond to the development needs of a country and, in this process, cultivate a wide range of relationships with room for many types of organizations and institutions. In this way I believe we can respond more flexibly, swiftly and effectively to development needs.

The budget of CIDA is increasing year by year and will continue to do so. And the proportion of that budget devoted to the support of educational programs in developing countries is also increasing. But the support of education does not depend as much on resources as on attitudes and priorities. What is more important in estimating CIDA's future policy on educational support is where it is placing human goals in the strategy of cooperation for development. Recent trends are encouraging.

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson advanced the original idea for the International Development Research Centre in 1967, Canada's centennial year, in an address before the Canadian Political Science Association when he explored the need for "concentrating more attention and resources on applying the latest technology to the solution of man's economic and social problems on a global basis." At about the same time, Maurice Strong, President of CIDA, was exploring with some associates the means of strengthening the research capacity of developing countries as a key factor in their progress. The two men met and planning began on the design of an institution that would flesh out and eventually bring to realization the two closely-related ideas. A report was drawn up by a steering committee and submitted to cabinet, now headed by Pierre Elliott Trudeau, in September 1968, and the proposal for establishing the Centre appeared in the throne speech the following month.

The Act establishing the IDRC contained the following terms of reference:

The objects of the Centre are to initiate, encourage support and conduct research into the problems of the developing regions of the world and into the means of applying and adapting scientific, technical and other knowledge to the economic and social advancement of those regions, and, in carrying out these objects

- (a) to enlist the talents of natural and social scientists and technologists of Canada and other countries;
- (b) to assist the developing regions to build up the research capabilities, the innovative skills and the institutions to solve their problems;
- (c) to encourage generally the coordination of international development research; and
- (d) to foster cooperation in research on development problems between the developed and developing regions for their mutual benefit.

A unique feature of the new Centre that contributed greatly to its achievements and reputation was that while it was fully funded by the government of Canada, its operations were directed by an international Board of Governors of twenty-one, ten of whom were Canadians, ten non-Canadians, with a Canadian chairman. Of the non-Canadians, it became the practice that at least six would be appointed from developing countries. The first President of IDRC was Dr. David Hopper, an internationally respected agricultural economist who had served for many years in India under the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations' research programs in the field of high-yield wheat and rice. The first Chairman of the Board of Governors was Mr. Lester B. Pearson.

The Centre sponsors research under four operational divisions: Agriculture, Food, and Nutrition Sciences; Social Sciences; Health Sciences; and Information Sciences. There is also a Communications Division responsible for publication of



some of the research findings sponsored by the Centre and reports on the broad range of Centre activities. From the beginning the Centre has offered support for researchers in developing countries on projects and programs with a close relationship to economic and social development on priorities established by them. And in order to bring the work of the work of the Centre closer to the needs and research resources in the Third World, the IDRC has established five regional offices in Singapore, Dakar, Nairobi, Bogata and Cairo.

At first glance it might appear that a Centre devoted to the funding of development reseach would have little significance as a sponsor of educational development. But from the beginning the IDRC has focussed its main concern on the second objective in its terms of reference: "to assist the developing regions to build up the research capabilities, the innovative skills and the institutions to solve their problems." This is essentially an educational support activity, closely related to the support being given to universities and other institutions of higher learning that will make an ongoing contribution to the scientific community in the Third World.

In some cases the educational contribution has a direct linkage with a research project, as when the results of research efforts in food production must be made available to farmers working their fields. Or, as in the case of a rural

development project in Sri Lanka, it is linked to the organization of a training program in the Faculty of Agriculture in one of the universities. Or again, in the rural development project in association with the Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario (ICA) in Columbia, the project team learns from the farmers about the biophysical environment within which they have carried out their agricultural production for centuries and later the farmers can learn from the project team, not only about improved methods of cultivation but also about nutrition, housing, clothing and home food production that will improve the standard of living of their families.

In some of the activities under the Health Sciences Division experiences in developing technology for an improved rural water supply opened the way to a broad range of social education in sanitation, basic health care, and maintenance necessary if pure water were to meet people's basic needs.

The activities of the Information Sciences Division are obviously strengthening educational infrastructure by contributing to the building of information networks in regions where access to current scientific literature and knowledge is extremely difficult and libraries are scarce. The Division is unable to provide training for librarians unless it is specifically identified as a requirement for infrastructural

development. But it can and does give support to cooperative arrangements among librarians and libraries so as to maximize their resources. The Centre's own library is run by the Information Sciences Division and its use is not confined to the Centre's staff but is a major information source for the Canadian development community.

One of the important contributions made in recent years to community development education has been made by the magazine Famille et Developpement. It came into existence as a result of the recommendation of a seminar on family health problems held in Bamako, Mali, in April 1973. With financial support from IDRC the first regular issue appeared in January 1975 and has met with widespread and enthusiastic response. The magazine, which is attractively produced by any standard, deals with every aspect of family economy and well-being - hygiene, family planning, safety of mother and child, education and rural schools, rural development and obstacles to development such as the Third World arms race. It is particularly directed to a group of people close to where the majority of people are living - teachers, nurses, midwives, technical health officers and so on. To reach the group for which it is intended subsidization is necessary and IDRC contributed some \$900,000 during its first five years. In June 1978 Famille et Developpement was taken over by the Association Africaine d'Education

pour le Developpement (ASAFED) and receives support from a number of international agencies including UNFPA, the Ford Foundation, Actions de Carême (Switzerland), Cooperation technique suisse, and Swedish SIDA.

Support for educational research is one of the major interests of the Social Sciences Division. The research covers a wide range of educational subjects: classroom environment and student achievement in Thailand, urban pre-school environment in Guatemala, effectiveness of primary education in Tanzania, the status of primary school teachers in Egypt, women's participation in community organizations in Peru, and a comparative study of the people's schools in the Philippines. Among larger projects it has continued to support the work of the Advisory Committee for Educational Research. The education program of the Division was budgeted at \$1.75 million or 20 per cent of the divisional total for 1981-82. By 1984-85 it should amount to \$2.6 million.

The Fellowship Program of the IDRC has been designed to assist scholars and researchers who wish to upgrade their competence in their fields of specialization so as to render them more effective in their contribution to development co-operation. Until recently, scholars from both the Third World and Canada have been eligible for awards. It has now been decided to increase very significantly the support for

researchers from developing countries and confine Canadian support to young researchers at present attached to a university or research institute, so that they may spend one or two years working in a research institute in a developing country.

In its support of Third World scholars, the Fellowship Program will give more emphasis to training in areas of concentration associated with the work of the operational divisions. This may mean support for training directly related to the preparation, implementation and follow-up work linked to a project within the responsibility of a single division. Or it may mean scholarship support for researchers and professionals in the broad fields of interest of the divisions and in regions where the need for professionally trained people is acute. And in addition, in close association with the divisions, the Fellowship Program will introduce a number of group training courses, either in a developing country or in Canada. A Centre report states that "when organized regionally ... they build up the teaching strengths of the institutions in developing countries and they create a network amongst the researcher trainees."

The Pearson Fellowships are designed for young public servants in developing countries who are given the opportunity of improving their managerial and professional skills by being placed in positions in government, industry, universities or

research centres in Canada.

The Fellowship Program accounts for some 6 per cent of the Centre budget. If the IDRC budget increases as expected, the Fellowship Program in the next five years will increase from approximately \$2.5 million to \$6 million.

The Communications Division of IDRC makes its contribution to education - in the Third World and in Canada. The publication of reports and monographs related to research supported by the Centre adds to the store of knowledge relevant to the urgent needs of people and societies in developing regions. And for the people of Canada - the children in the schools, the members of non-governmental organizations, churches, trade unions - the well-written, well-preserved publications of IDRC open up new options for involvement in international cooperation and development.

The latest and very promising addition to IDRC's roster is a unit known as the Cooperative Program. It was created, to quote the official book, "to promote research collaboration between groups in Canada and those in the developing world, in the execution of projects that address some problems of Third World development." A more comprehensive goal of the program is to strengthen the global community of scientists and scholars through common efforts and improved channels of com-

munication and to influence the direction of Canadian research towards Third World concerns.

In a sense, the Cooperative Program is IDRC's counterpart to CIDA's Institutional Cooperation Division. To a large degree the background is the same. But in addition, IDRC, through the initiatives of its then senior vice-president, Dr. Louis Berlinguet, took an active role in the preparatory work for the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development which was held in Vienna in the summer of 1979. Dr. Berlinguet served on the Advisory Committee of scientists that held several meetings prior to the conference and, in collaboration with the Ministry of State for Science and Technology (MOSST), contributed to the mobilization of Canadian scientific interest. As a result, at Vienna the head of Canada's delegation announced that Canada would contribute \$12 million a year to the goals of UNCSTD through sponsoring scientific cooperation and that IDRC would be responsible for supervising the expenditure.

The Cooperative Program is concerned with supporting research linkages between universities and research institutions in Canada and institutions in developing countries that will result in strengthening the scientific capability of the countries involved. Specific criteria in accepting projects would be the priority attached to the project by the Third

World institutions, the commitment of both institutions, the scientific worth of the project and the special qualification of the Canadian university for being a partner in the research. Projects within the scope of any of IDRC's operational divisions will be administered by the appropriate division. Projects outside of the field of interest of any of the divisions, e.g. in such fields as construction technology, geographic surveys, energy-related research, telecommunications, studies relating to the New International Economic Order, will be administered under the Cooperative Program.

Funds available for the current year amount to \$2 million, divided equally between the divisions and the Cooperative Program. If IDRC's budget increases in proportion to the projected increase in Canada's development cooperation budget the grants for the Cooperation Program will rise to \$2.5 million, \$5 million and \$10 million by 1984-85. That fiscal target will still be less than 0.5 per cent of Canada's ODA, far short of the 1 per cent promised at Vienna. But linked with CIDA's parallel contribution through Institutional Cooperation and in close coordination with Canadian universities through the International Development Office, IDRC's Cooperative Program can make a substantial contribution to higher education in the Third World. Moreover, one has good reason to hope that this kind of cooperation would be extended



even more than heretofore to similar programs in the Commonwealth, in international agencies, and in the like-minded countries which we have examined in this study, to the growing advantage of the emerging international community.



GORDON

686 Echo Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario.  
K1S 1P3

January 21, 1982.

Dear Friend:

I am sending you a copy of a letter from Prime Minister Trudeau, in response to the Statement on Canada Foreign Policy in the 80s signed by yourself and seventy-seven other Canadians.

I would appreciate it very much if you would let me have your reactions to the Prime Minister's letter, and your suggestions as to what action, if any, we should take to extend the dialogue represented by this correspondence, to more Canadians.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Andrew Brewin*

Encl.

Andrew Brewin



PRIME MINISTER • PREMIER MINISTRE  
OTTAWA, K1A 0A2

December 27, 1981

  
Dear Mr. Brewin,

Thank you very much for your letter of October 15, and the statement which it enclosed, conveying a number of recommendations on priorities for Canadian foreign policy in the 1980s.

There is a great deal in what you and your associates have said with which I am personally very sympathetic. Your views on the critical importance, especially today, of disarmament and of Canadian efforts to promote a more stable and equitable order in the world are so natural an expression of the Canadian perspective on these dimensions of world affairs that I am sure almost every Canadian would agree with them.

But foreign policy today is an immensely complicated business. Policy must be made in the light not only of international realities, but of Canadian realities as well. In setting the direction for our policy in the uncertain decade ahead of us, Government must be conscious of its obligations to Canadians, as well as of Canada's obligations in the world.

You will forgive me if I do not address in detail all the points on which your recommendations largely agree with existing policy priorities. These points of agreement are many: the importance of Canada's role in the United Nations and other multilateral institutions; the strength of our commitment to development assistance, especially to countries at the very bottom of the income scale; our role in the North/South dialogue; our dedication to the Commonwealth; our balanced relationship with the United States. On all these issues, your proposals are already reflected as priorities in Canadian foreign policy.

Mr. Andrew Brewin  
686 Echo Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1S 1P3

Your statement also addresses, as it should, the vital questions of peace and security for ourselves and others. There are no easy answers to these questions. In endeavouring to protect and promote the security of Canada, successive Governments have recognized that until such time as an effective multilateral disarmament regime involving the two super-powers is established, our efforts toward disarmament must be matched by a realistic contribution to common defences.

Because there is a military threat to our security - including a nuclear threat - we are a member of the North Atlantic Alliance, through which Western nations cooperate in a collective defence effort intended to deter aggression and preserve the peace. Nuclear weapons play an important part in the deterrent strategy of NATO. This is unavoidable in the world as we know it. To try to maintain our security outside the NATO Alliance, or by unilateral declarations, would be ineffective. The military threat to our national security, and to the security of those who share our democratic values, can only be eliminated through collective efforts to reduce the level of armaments, including nuclear armaments, on both sides. For this reason, support for multilateral disarmament has been a key element in our policy. It is also the reason why we believe that declaring Canada to be a nuclear-weapon free zone would not add to, and could well detract from, our own security and that of our Allies.

Disarmament has been a personal priority of my own for many years. Your letter refers to my remarks at the first UN Special Session on Disarmament, when I proposed a "strategy of suffocation" to halt the spread of nuclear arms. Canada has also been a strong supporter of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and a vigorous advocate of binding and effective full-scope nuclear safeguards. We supported the efforts of the two super-powers in reaching agreement on SALT I, and were disappointed by the fate of SALT II. Recently, we were encouraged by the proposals advanced by President Reagan for talks on theatre nuclear forces reductions, for balanced reductions of conventional forces in Europe and for the early resumption of strategic arms talks. These are positive moves, fully deserving the support of Canada.

As we look forward to the second UN Special Session on Disarmament, we must be mindful of the complexity of the task ahead of us. In our reply to Secretary-General Waldheim on agenda items, we pointed out that arms control and disarmament proposals must be practical to be effective; they must take into account the wider political context and reflect the legitimate security interests of nations. The fact that there are no simple solutions to these problems does not dismay us. Rather, it shows that the emphasis we have placed on disarmament in our foreign policy has been correct. You need not doubt that this emphasis will continue.

But while I am happy to note the many points of agreement between your recommendations and present Canadian policy, I am uneasy about the fact that an essential dimension of our foreign policy is nowhere reflected in your proposals. I refer to the principle that Canadian foreign policy must involve the pursuit of Canada's own well-being. That principle should not be confused with greed or simple self-interest. But as a major trading nation, we have a vital stake in the openness and stability of the international trading environment. Our prosperity, indeed our capacity to make a contribution to a safer and more prosperous world, depends, more than that of our partners, on our situation within the global economy. Accordingly, we have been active participants in multilateral efforts to strengthen and liberalize the international trading regime. As a nation with a relatively small population, we have also had to place an emphasis in our foreign policy on developing markets outside Canada for Canadian products, and on ensuring the coherent development of our own economic resources.

In recent years, there have been a number of developments, both at home and abroad, that have brought this requirement into sharper focus. We have come to realize the importance to Canada of a diversified economy whose benefits are shared by all Canadians. For Canada, economic development goes hand in hand with the development of a range of international linkages including bilateral trade and effective multilateral economic institutions. This must be reflected as a priority in our foreign policy.

There have been a number of changes in the world economy that have a significant bearing on Canada. Power relationships are shifting. All countries have become increasingly vulnerable to economic forces over which they have little control. New markets, and new competition, have emerged in the newly-industrialized countries of the Third World. What we have, then, are new imperatives in domestic policy, new challenges and new opportunities in the international environment. All are closely linked to the Government's over-riding obligation to ensure peace and prosperity for Canadians. All must be reflected in our foreign policy.

I hope that Canadians who share your informed perspective on world affairs and who share the concerns expressed in your proposals, will also realize the significance of this other dimension of our foreign policy. As you point out, Canada's responsibilities in the world are of tremendous importance today. So too are our interests. We must work toward meeting both.

Finally, I would be most grateful if you could circulate this letter to the many Canadians who have endorsed the statement on Canadian foreign policy in the 1980s.

Yours sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "James S. D.", is written below the typed text.

★ Children in Snow • by Ilse Ackermann-Hongell, Finland. Design contributed to benefit the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). ★ Enfants jouant dans la neige • par Ilse Ackermann-Hongell, Finlande. Composition offerte au Fonds des Nations Unies pour l'enfance (UNICEF). ★ Niños en la nieve • por Ilse Ackermann-Hongell, Finlandia. Contribución al Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia (UNICEF). ★ Дети на снегу • Ильзе Акерманн-Хонгелл, Финляндия. Работа передана Детскому фонду Организации Объединенных Наций (ЮНИСЕФ) в благотворительных целях. ★ 雪中的孩子。伊尔斯·阿克尔蒙—洪格尔（芬兰）作。图案赠给联合国儿童基金会。





involving U.S., UK, Germany  
and - with Japan? I noticed  
that Buckley seemed very disturbed.

Well, there are quite a  
few things still to be done!  
Incidentally, Bob Ogles - the  
Catholic priest representing the NCP  
from Saskatchewan - is a person you  
should meet. He was a member of  
the North-South Task Force and also  
the Task Force itself. He just is and  
a very good rapport re Latin American  
which De Galarza has the misnomer of  
"ideological". I had a talk with him  
Friday and he seems to have good  
intuitive ideas and is prepared to  
fight for them.

Paul joins me in sending my  
warmest regards and much love

Kathy

Gordon

Merry Christmas • Happy New Year

Joyeux Noël • Bonne Année

Feliz Navidad • Feliz Año Nuevo

С Рождеством и Счастливым  
Христовым • Новым Годом

恭祝圣诞 • 恭贺新禧

All good wishes for Christmas and  
good things with the New Year.  
Two things since we talked, what  
a strong result in Alaska: it  
doesn't look too good either for  
progress or stability. How  
what about it's new alleged  
"policy" on sea-bird mining



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

3 January 1980

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 2J5

Dear Elisabeth,

Welcome back home and happy New Year.

I was very happy that you would have Ivan Head's note to greet you on your return with its assurance of continuing IDRC support to assist Third World people attend the Pacem in Maribus convocation. I hope that the plans for the training course are firming up. I was much interested in the letter from the new director.

Enclosed are two items from the recent newsletter of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges which deal with American universities' involvement in international development. It occurred to me that both items suggest groups that might be interested in the work of the IOI.

All the best and I hope to be seeing you soon,

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

Enclosures

Dictated by King Gordon and signed in his absence

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OF STATE UNIVERSITIES  
AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

One Dupont Circle, Washington, D. C. 20036 202 293-7120

International Letter No. 172 - December 12, 1979

TO: ADMINISTRATORS AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM LEADERS

FROM: James W. Cowan, Director  
Margaret Fahs, Editor  
Suzanne Meeks, Secretary

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1. FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS BILL STILL IN DISAGREEMENT

The foreign aid appropriations bill (H.R. 4473) continues to hang in disagreement between House and Senate Subcommittees, despite a trial meeting between the two chairmen last week. House members are continuing to hold firm against Senate "red-lining" of specific projects in the AID functional accounts. This would delete funds for some 30 projects in total, but of specific interest to NASULGC members are the funds for four Collaborative Research Support Programs (CRSPs) and the Strengthening U.S. Universities grant program. These cuts as recommended in the Senate Committee report would delete some \$15.895 million from the Title XII program. The CRSP program would be sharply curtailed, allowing no new planning grants. The \$4.5 million cut in the Strengthening grant funds would allow only those universities now in the program to continue, with no funds

faculty member at NC A & T, Dr. Robbins has participated in a number of international programs involving the 1890 Land-Grant institutions.

A. Colin McClung has been named acting president of the International Agricultural Development Service (IADS). McClung succeeds Sterling Wortman, who is now acting president of the Rockefeller Foundation. He had been executive officer of IADS.

10. NASULGC-IIE GUIDE FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS IN AGRICULTURE

A new publication on the Study of Agriculture in the U.S., A Guide for Foreign Students has been prepared by the Institute of International Cooperation, in cooperation with NASULGC and the BIFAD Training and Education Group. The guide includes an introduction to agricultural study in the U.S., with information on land-grant and non land-grant colleges and universities, agricultural and technical institutes and degree and non-degree training.

Practical information with regard to accreditation, costs of study, visa requirements, and a topographical map with soil and climate conditions is included. A directory of 103 four-year and graduate schools and 107 two-year schools offering associate degrees.

Copies may be ordered at 75 cents per copy from: Information Services, Institute of International Education, 807 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

11. AMERICAN SAMOA PROPOSED FOR LAND GRANT STATUS

A new land-grant college is proposed in H.R. 5912, the higher education reauthorization bill now before Congress. The bill provides to the Community College of American Samoa land grant status similar to the College of the Virgin Islands and the University of Guam. Both were given land grant status in 1972. The bill would appropriate \$3 million dollars in lieu of the donations of public land or land scrip for the endowment and maintenance of the college for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

12. SEA GRANT NAMES NEW INTERNATIONAL MARINE PROGRAMS GROUP

The Sea Grant Association has established a new committee on International Marine Programs. Nelson Marshall, University of Rhode Island, will serve as chairman of the steering committee, which will also include: Hugh Popenoe, University of Florida; Frank Williams, University of Miami, and Victor Neal, Oregon State University.

The group also named two additional committees: Task Group on Program Support, Ivar Duedall, State University of New York, Chairman; and Task Group on Inventory and Combined Capabilities, Ken Price, University of Delaware, Chairman. The next meeting will be on April 22, 1980 in Washington.

13. NEW CONSORTIUM FORMED FOR INTERNATIONAL FISHERIES

A group of five universities in the U.S. with special expertise in fisheries and aquaculture have formed a new Consortium for International Fisheries and Aquaculture Development (CIFAD). They include: University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, University of Hawaii, University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Oregon State University.

The group will work together in a complementary way in research, training and extension to assist other countries with fisheries problems. The consortium will be able to assemble personnel through its computerized data bank from member institutions and cooperating entities. Special emphasis will be placed on training extension personnel from other countries, both in the U.S. and in individual countries. For further information, contact: Harvey L. Moore, Coordinator, Consortium for International Fisheries and Aquaculture Development, 307 Extension Hall, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Ore. 97331.

14. WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT NETWORK ESTABLISHED

A Women and Food Communication Network has been established by the Arid Land's Natural Resource Committee of the University of Arizona, through funding from AID. The network's two objectives are: (1) to expand the network of people with professional interest in women and development issues, and (2) to serve as an on-going information and communication resource for people with professional interest in this area.

A series of newsletters and information packets will be distributed to network participants. They include information on the progress of women and development policies and guidelines, resources and publications of interest, current research, and news of Title XII activities of particular interest to women.

For further information, contact: Kathleen Cloud, Project Director, Women and Food Communication Network, 24 Peabody Terrace, Cambridge, MA 02138.

15. NATIONAL ARTS ENDOWMENT NAMES INTERNATIONAL GROUP

Dolores Wharton, arts patron and art collector and wife of SUNY President Clifton Wharton, has been named Chairman of the International Committee of the National Endowment for the Arts. Jacob Lawrence, Professor of Art at the University of Washington, also serves on the new committee that hopes to increase the exposure of American arts abroad.

At its first meeting this fall, the committee named three goals for the Endowment's international activities:

1. To foster individual creativity by providing financial support to American artists who wish to further their development through international experiences, and by providing logistical support for artists from abroad under Endowment-sponsored exchange programs.
2. To broaden the exposure of American audiences to international arts activities by providing financial support to special international programs and U.S. arts institutions.

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

THIRD CONFERENCE  
ON THE LAW OF THE SEATROISIÈME CONFÉRENCE  
SUR LE DROIT DE LA MERPOSTAL ADDRESS — ADRESSE POSTALE: UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017  
CABLE ADDRESS — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

25 de enero de 1982

*Mi Querida Bárbara:*

Como sé muy bien que en las decisiones que toma la Casa de la Madre y el Niño sobre adopciones pesan mucho los antecedentes familiares de los posibles adoptantes, me tomo la libertad de darte referencias de una pareja italiana que acaba de presentarse como candidata para adoptar un niño.

Se trata del Doctor Ettore Guidi, distinguido médico en ejercicio en Milán, casado con la Doctora Dominica Borgese, bióloga, nieta del famoso escritor Thomas Mann e hija de la escritora y profesora Elisabeth Mann Borgese, una de las personas que más han contribuido en nuestra época al conocimiento del mar y de sus problemas. Estoy seguro de que serán excelentes padres, desde todo punto de vista.

Hasta hace un tiempo, estos mensajes te los hacía llegar por conducto de mi hermana Emilia. Ahora, desgraciadamente, ya no la tengo para que me ayude en estas gestiones, pero esto por lo menos me permite reiterarte que estoy a tus órdenes en Nueva York y en la ONU en lo que pueda serte útil.

*Recibe un afectuoso saludo de**Guillermo*  
Bernardo Zuleta

Señora Doña  
Bárbara Escobar de Vargas  
Casa de la Madre y el Niño  
Calle 48, No. 28-30  
Bogotá, Colombia

UNITED NATIONS



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SUR LE DROIT DE LA MER

POSTAL ADDRESS — ADRESSE POSTALE: UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017  
CABLE ADDRESS — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

25 January 1982

→ ZULETA

Dear Mrs. Borgese,

Please accept my apologies for my delay in answering your kind letter of December 25 which I only saw upon my return from a short visit to Bogotá.

... I enclose copy of a letter that I addressed to Mrs. Vargas, the charming lady who has chosen to devote her life to the well-being of children who cannot enjoy the benefit of a natural family of their own.

*With warmest regards*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. Zuleta".

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Dalhousie University  
Department of Political Science  
Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 4H6

Gordon

686 Echo Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
9 December 1981

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of the statement on "Canadian Foreign Policy in the 1980s" endorsed by yourself and 77 other Canadians. It has been sent to Prime Minister Trudeau and acknowledged by his Correspondence Secretary in these words: "... Given the thought and concern that has obviously gone into the preparation of these recommendations, they deserve a correspondingly detailed and considered reply. The Prime Minister will therefore be writing to you as soon as he has had the opportunity to reflect at greater length on your proposals."

A group of persons who have endorsed the statement will meet this week to determine what further steps should be taken to circulate it. Your suggestions would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely,



Murray Thomson,  
on behalf of  
Andrew Brewin

PS: Though in poor health, Andy Brewin is determined that we continue this initiative and extend its support base in Canada. MT

Encl:



A group of Canadians with a special concern for Canada's role in the global community have consulted together and have come to the conclusions set out in this statement.

1. The basic priorities of Canada's foreign policy should be threefold:

- 1) removal of the threat of nuclear war, the greatest danger facing mankind today;
- 2) the strengthening of the United Nations and other global institutions designed to bring about a pacific settlement of disputes, foster international cooperation, promote the growth of world law and the protection of basic human rights;
- 3) the mobilization of world resources to achieve a more equitable international order and bring an end to the crushing poverty which is the common lot of the majority in the Third World.

These objectives require a new emphasis in our foreign policy based on the recognition that national security depends on an international effort to maintain an equitable and stable international order.

2. Canada should incorporate in its foreign policy the principal objectives set forth in the Final Document of the 1978 U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, and take an active part in the preparations for the Second Special Session in 1982. In declaratory policy statement and in practice, Canada should demonstrate:

- 1) a recognition that "security cannot be built on the accumulation of weapons"; (from the Final Document)
- 2) a change in spending priorities so as to concentrate on helping to meet the basic needs and promote the self-reliance of 800 million "absolute poor";
- 3) vigorous pursuit of the "strategy of suffocation" as advocated by the Canadian Prime Minister at the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament so as to cut off the resources required by the nuclear arms race;
- 4) declaration of Canada's intention of becoming a nuclear-weapon free zone and appropriate action to receive recognition of that status from other nations.

3. Canada should make it clear that from the beginning it regarded the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an interim security measure until such time as a general system of collective security could be established. It was never intended to be an organization to perpetuate, let alone to wage the Cold War. In association with other middle powers, Canada should make use of NATO to promote consultation among its members and should enter into negotiations with the Warsaw Pact countries to achieve a planned reduction of military power on both sides.

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• Selon le «groupe des 78»

# Le Canada doit changer sa politique internationale

par Reine Degarie

OTTAWA — La politique extérieure du Canada devrait être modifiée en vue de tendre, prioritairement, à l'instauration de la stabilité, de la justice et de la paix internationale.

C'est en substance le contenu d'une déclaration commune signée par 78 illustres citoyens canadiens et rendus publique, hier, lors d'une conférence de presse.

Au nombre des signataires étaient présents à cette conférence: Sylva Gerber, ancienne directrice du Bureau de la main-d'œuvre féminine au ministère du Travail; J. King Gordon, lauréat de la Médaille Pearson de la paix en 1980; John Sigler, directeur de l'école des Affaires internationales à l'Université Carleton; Murray Thomson, directeur du projet Ploughshares; et Norma Wamsley, fondatrice du Centre international MATCH.

La politique extérieure canadienne devrait viser les trois objectifs prioritaires suivants: dissiper toute menace de guerre nucléaire; raffermir l'Organisation des Nations unies et les autres institutions mondiales conçues pour régler pacifiquement les conflits, promouvoir la coopération internationale et la protection des droits humains fondamentaux; et mobiliser les ressources mondiales afin de parvenir à un ordre international économique plus équitable.

«Nous préconisons une approche intégrée, en ce sens que notre sécurité nationale et internationale dépend des efforts déployés pour construire un ordre international stable et basé sur la justice», a indiqué M. King Gordon.

Le groupe des 78 demande au gouvernement de ne plus s'en tenir à l'expression de bonnes intentions mais bien «d'incorporer» dans sa politique extérieure divers types d'action, notamment ceux rattachés aux principaux objectifs énoncés dans le document final de la session extraordinaire des Nations unies sur le désarmement tenue en 1978.

Parmi les revendications, il est exigé que le Canada devienne une zone dénucléarisée. Il est aussi demandé que le gouvernement déclare «explicitement que, dès l'origine, il a considéré la création de l'Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN) comme une mesure provisoire de sécurité en attendant l'instauration d'un système général de sécurité collective. On n'a jamais voulu que l'OTAN serve à déclencher la guerre froide et encore moins à la perpétuer».

La déclaration commune souligne l'importance de revitaliser le dialogue Nord-Sud et précise que le Canada devrait être plus indépendant des États-Unis «particulièrement quand il s'agit d'entreprendre ou de promouvoir des actions que le Canada juge, réflexion faite, contraire à ses obligations et aux besoins de la population mondiale».

Murray Thomson a indiqué que le document est appelé à circuler par-

mi une très large portion de la population canadienne. Ce qui sera facile, a-t-il dit, puisque de nombreux signataires sont des chefs religieux, syndicaux, politiques et des leaders dans le monde universitaire et artistique.

La déclaration est signée par exemple, par Dennis McDermott, président du Congrès du travail du Canada; Tommy Douglas, ancien chef du Nouveau parti démocratique; Renaude Lapointe, sénateur; Marion Dewar, maire d'Ottawa; Roger Guindon, recteur de l'Université d'Ottawa; et l'ancien ministre des Finances, Walter Gordon.

«Le but de notre action, a dit Sylva Gerber, est de mobiliser l'opinion publique pour contrer un certain cynisme régnant dans ce pays où

l'attention est dirigée sur nos problèmes internes et où l'on est trop ignorant de ce qui se passe dans le monde».

A ceux qui peuvent taxer les «78» d'idéalistes, Norma Wamsley répond: «Il n'y a rien de sain dans l'actuelle course effrénée aux armements. Notre approche est la plus réaliste possible. On ne peut perpétuer le monde insensé et irrel que nous subissons».

Le professeur Sigler a appelé, pour sa part, avoir été frappé par l'influence qu'ont exercée sur les Nations unies les manifestations monstres qui se sont déroulées récemment en Europe. La mobilisation européenne nous donne l'opportunité de se joindre à ce mouvement».



Marion Dewar, signataire de la déclaration commune du «groupe des 78».

(Photo: archives LE DROIT)

King Gordon

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
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September 6 1981

Dear Elisabeth,

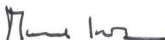
We have been back in Ottawa about ten days after four weeks at the island and three days at a North-South Seminar for highschool students in Brandon, Manitoba, where I had to make the "keynote speech." Joe Morris, former head of the Canadian Labour Congress, former chairman of the Governing Body of ILO and a member of the Brandt Commission was our moderator. So we had a bit of realism to begin with: I found some lift in the fresh reactions of young minds.

I'm just getting things back in order and I realized today in a desk-clearing operation that I had missed the first opportunity after the postal strike to get back to you your Introduction with some suggested editorial revision. I send it now with apologies, hoping it is not too late. As you see I have retyped a couple of pages and marked proposed changes - most of them fairly simple - on your text. I think, incidentally, that marking you four vitally important functions of the International Seabed Authority by sub-titles is an improvement and almost necessary for emphasis.

Reading the final news of the Geneva meeting - there has been very little else - just yesterday is pretty discouraging. It is hard to tell from the report just how serious is the majority decision to carry on even without the Americans and I am anxious to hear your estimate.

I have not yet had an opportunity of reestablishing my contacts. There are some reasons to believe that the Canadian plans for the Cancun Summit are proceeding well although the total atmosphere within which the talks will take place is pretty discouraging. I thought you might be interested in a CIDA release, delayed by the postal strike, in regard to ASEAN fisheries support.

All the best and I look forward to hearing from you



Yours



CANADA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE UNITED NATIONS

→ J. King Gordon

University of Calgary  
June 15, 1981

In the introduction to his report, Willy Brandt says:

"We see signs of a new awareness that mankind  
is becoming a single community."

This statement was made in connection with the North-South dialogue. But Brandt loses no time in making it clear that his statement goes far beyond economic interdependence and accountability. A single community - as distinct from an anarchic collection of nation states - means a responsible society of human beings within an accepted order governing social conduct.

Brandt's statement was made just 15 years after the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter, which is an international treaty and therefore the basis of international law, has tended to be honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Nevertheless, it has constituted a moral challenge and an ideal aspiration. But developments in the last decade have tended to reinforce the conviction that its articles together constitute the blueprint of a global community which is in the process of coming into being and, at the same time, the imperative for a program of survival.

We read the first Article of the United Nations Charter today with a little more anxious commitment than when it was first published in 1945:

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends.

I have recalled the farsighted realism as well as the imminent imperative of the United Nations Charter because once more the principal organ of that body representing all nations has taken unanimous action which places the issue of peace in the Middle East in the very centre of world concern.

The first two paragraphs of the unanimous resolution adopted last Friday strongly condemn the military attack by Israel as a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international conduct and calls on Israel to refrain in the future from any such acts or threats thereof.

But it then reminds not just Israel but all nations of the newly emergent international order designed to contribute to international peace and security in the presence of the catastrophic dangers posed by the nuclear age. The attack has not been merely an attack by one nation on another but it has constituted a serious threat to the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguard regime which is the foundation of guaranteed security under the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The New York Times, usually a staunch defender of Israel, carried a strong editorial condemning the raid the day after it was reported. Commenting on the fact that other nations - the United States, the USSR, India - had toyed with the idea that "security in a nuclear age can be achieved by nuclear monopoly," it went on to state: "But Israel has become the first nation to act on that impulse and thus tear yet another of the international system's fragile barriers against anarchy."

The Security Council resolution then asserts the right of all states, particularly developing countries, to establish programs of technological and nuclear development for peaceful purposes "consistent with the internationally accepted objectives of preventing nuclear weapons proliferation." It then calls on Israel to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

I have taken this time to comment on the Security Council resolution to show that the building of peace - of which the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the international control and inspection of nuclear facilities are important parts - is a permanent concern of the world community and that today the Middle East is in the centre of that concern.

I would go farther and suggest that in my view the majority of the people in the Middle East share that concern and in their hearts give priority to the establishment of a just and durable peace. And it may well be that this shocking incident and the response of the United Nations to it, a response supported by all the great powers, will lead to an urgent resumption of a search for peace within the context of and through whatever are the appropriate instrumentalities of the global community represented by the United Nations.

After the discussion we have already listened to, it is perhaps necessary to remind ourselves that during the entire post-war period the United Nations has played an active role in the continuing effort to prevent war, maintain a fragile truce, care for the victims of war and displacement, work out the basis for a durable peace, and encourage negotiations to achieve that peace through mutual agreement. I have had the privilege of seeing the United Nations in action in that region, not as a great impersonal organization, but as committed people, supervising a truce, caring for refugees and seeing that refugee children get a decent education and training in usable skills, as active members of a peacekeeping force, supervising the withdrawal of invading armies and patrolling armistice demarcation lines, and as diplomats and mediators, working out a viable basis for a just and stable settlement. What is too often forgotten is that, when called upon, the United Nations has provided the means of ending strife, maintaining a truce, and sponsoring a large measure of agreement on the basis for a just peace. Most of all, it has constantly reminded the parties to the conflict that the achievement of peace is not just a matter for the people of the region, least of all for foreign powers seeking strategic or economic advantage: it is the concern of the people of the world whose security is threatened by continuing Middle East tension and conflict.

A solid basis for peace must, in general, reflect a sense of both justice and security for the people of the area. This is admitted by all: differences arise from interpretations of what is meant by justice and security.

But let us go farther. In regard to the elements which together constitute a solid basis for peace, there are those which over the past 33 years have commanded a large measure of international acceptance - in international law and/or in practice. What are they?

1. The existence of Israel as a state

This, it seems to me, must be a starting point. In the deep feelings and rhetoric of the region I know such a simple statement does not command general acceptance. And this lack of acceptance has prevented direct - and even indirect - negotiations, on the one hand,

and has induced a continuing sense of insecurity on the other. The acceptance of Israel as a state by other states in the region must be in the basis of negotiations for a durable peace.

## 2. The right of the Palestinians to a homeland

This right was enshrined in the original partition plan worked out by the United Nations and the protective advance to the prescribed borders of that state by Jordan in the fighting of 1947-8 in no way negates that right. While it is not specifically mentioned in Security Council Resolution 242 - since at the time of its passage Palestinian political consciousness had not yet found full expression - it has received wide acceptance since then as a necessary condition of peace. In a number of independent studies based on first-hand investigations and consultations in the region - and we cite the Quaker Report of 1968, several reports of Lord Caredon, one of the authors of Resolution 242, and most recently the report of Mr. Robert Stanfield - a recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland is made central in any viable basis for peace. Lord Caredon states in 1977: "The twin principles of Israeli security and Palestinian self-determination have long enough been discussed and have widely enough been accepted. There is no other basis for peace."

## 3. Withdrawal of Israel's armed forces from territories occupied since the 1967 war

This is a specific call in Resolution 242 based on "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state can live in security." The reference to the 1967 war and occupation suggests that the pre-1967 lines of sovereign control should be reinstated. However, some modification of boundary lines is suggested by clause 1.(ii) of the Resolution which speaks of the right of states of the region to live in peace "within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats and acts of force." This latter condition suggests local border modifications in recognition of the ad hoc character of Armistice Demarcation Lines which have caused social dislocation in the division of land and villages or have invited insecurity to one side or the other. The redrafting of border lines, however, was certainly not intended by the authors of the resolution to be so extensive as to include large transfers of territory, such as the inclusion of the West Bank within Israel or the nullification of the prospects of a Palestinian state in the area originally assigned by the United Nations partition plan of 1947.

## 4. An international status for Jerusalem

In a strange way, the status of Jerusalem is the issue at the hub of the Middle East conflict between Arab and Israeli, Moslem and Jew - with Christians thrown in for good measure. Because



Jerusalem is the Holy City for the three world religions. In the original United Nations plan for the establishment of a Jewish and an Arab state, Jerusalem was to be an international city, open to the three religions. As a result of the fighting it became a divided city with most of the Holy Places in the eastern or Jordan side. It was occupied by Israel in the 1967 war and declared to be its capital. Since then considerable modern development has taken place in the ancient city. With very few exceptions, it has received no recognition by states with diplomatic relations with Israel.

The action of Israel in declaring Jerusalem to be its capital has received strong and repeated condemnation from the United Nations and it is generally agreed that <sup>East</sup> Jerusalem is to be treated as part of the occupied territories from which under Resolution 242 Israel is required to withdraw.

In general, and this is the essence of the Stanfield recommendation as we have seen, the future of Jerusalem must be regarded as tied in with the comprehensive settlement on which peace shall rest. Moreover, there is a strong disposition on the part of objective observers, to hold to the view that in some way Jerusalem's very special religious status must be maintained. Lord Caredon has accepted the fact of a divided city under two secular authorities but with special provision for a religious administration for the Holy Places and guaranteed access for all who wish to visit them. A similar scheme has been proposed in great detail in a perceptive article by former Canadian diplomat, James George, in International Perspectives of March/April 1979. And Mt. Stanfield seems to favour a similar solution.

Whatever the ultimate solution, a new status for Jerusalem should be seen as the culminating achievement of the peacemaking process. It should signify the basic agreement of people of three great faiths that their religions call for living together in peace and security in a confidence that justice has been done.

There is another element in the peacemaking process which while not regarded as crucial in the same way as the four we have focussed on nevertheless has a large measure of support and could be an important component in the later stages of the process. I speak about a cooperative development plan for the region. Today, the economic development of the region and the social fulfilment of the people are completely distorted and frustrated by the preoccupation of governments with questions of security expressed in military preparedness, violence and counter-violence, and the breakdown of normal economic and cultural relationships. The establishment of a secure and just peace should be accompanied by a major program of regional development under international sponsorship and with the collaborative involvement of the principal states of the region.

We have been talking about ultimate objectives. It has seemed to us, freed from the strong emotional involvement of those most directly involved in the present crisis, that it should be possible to start a new search for peace with several basic premises on which there is already a large measure of agreement and which have the broad support of the international community. It has also seemed to us that in all countries directly interested in achieving a settlement there are those who are prepared to take a moderate and constructive position, in the belief that lasting peace is more important than immediate tactical gain, territorial aggrandisement or apocalyptic fulfilment.

In the broader world community there is the utmost interest in the achievement of a stable Middle East and a growing conviction that there must be a restatement of the unanimity discovered in Resolution 242 in an active resumption of the peacemaking process. And here Canadian initiative could be valuable.

Our record has not been bad: Canada was represented on the original Palestine Commission through Mr. Justice Rand and when partition seemed to be the only possible solution, pressed for an economic union that would guarantee the necessities of life for all the people in both states. Elizabeth McCallum offered wise counsel based on first-hand knowledge of the region. Canada gave strong support to the activities of the United Nations Mediator in his attempt to achieve reconciliation before he fell victim to the bullets of terrorists. General Burns was one of the early Chiefs of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization. Mr. Pearson's proposal to establish a United Nations Emergency Force opened the way to the acceptance of a cease-fire to end the Suez War and to UNEF. Canada contributed skilled staff, a reconnaissance unit and a very distinguished Force Commander. Canada gave strong support to the work of UNWRA - the United Nations Works Rehabilitation Administration - in its invaluable assistance to refugees. After the conclusion of the 1967 war Canada played its part on the Security Council through its Ambassador, George Ianatoff, in the formulation of Resolution 242 to lay the basis of a durable peace. Today Canadian soldiers are once more doing their duty on a United Nations peacekeeping force in the Middle East. And, as we have been reminded this afternoon, a distinguished Canadian named Robert Stanfield has brought a clear, fresh eye to the complicated Middle East and produced a most valuable contribution to the search for peace.

And we are in a good position today - as Mr. Stanfield has suggested - to take new initiatives. This is not a distant or peripheral obligation. We have reason to believe - and for many years it was central in our policy - that Canada's security depends on the maintenance of world security through combined international action



taken in keeping with our solemn pledge under the United Nations Charter. Today that world security is threatened by events in the Middle East. And it has become obvious - and last weeks' event and the Security Council response underline it - that the establishment of a durable peace there depends on concerted international action along lines which are just and acceptable to the several parties to the conflict. What the basic elements in that settlement might be I have been suggesting this afternoon.

In any settlement, the great powers, West and East, have to be involved and have to stand behind it as guarantors. But in the process of peacemaking there is an important role for like-minded middle powers. And beyond that, for men and women of good will of nations involved in and not involved in the conflict. Mr. Stanfield, in his report, reinforced by what he has said today, has made positive suggestions as to how their good will can be enlisted.

In fact, the Government of Canada could do no better than adopt the Stanfield Report as providing policy guidelines for a new Canadian Middle East initiative. It would be an act of imagination that would receive broad non-partisan support and serve to mobilize Canadian opinion to support an international role in a critical period that would be in keeping with the best in Canada's record as a contributor to world peace.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA CONVOCATION

29 MAY 1981

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

BY

→ J. KING GORDON

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA CONVOCATION

29 May 1981

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

J. King Gordon

Madame Chancellor, I must begin by saying how deeply moved and how grateful I am to my own University for conferring on me this honorary degree. Members of my family have been closely associated with the University of Manitoba for a great many years.

I must confess that when I received your kind invitation to accept this great honour and address this convocation, my first thought was: Oh, oh! Now I am going to have to give an accounting of what I have been doing in the last sixty years to justify the education I received from this University. And it was a most embarrassing thought.

But then it occurred to me that I might turn the question around and ask: Just what is the role of a university in today's world? And the first quick answer I got was: A university sees things as a whole. For special study and research and training it may divide itself into disciplines. But that doesn't mean that each discipline stands on its own feet. Each is integrally related to all the others.

A university is a universe of learning. And universe means, literally, "turned into one" or "combined into one whole". The Greeks had a word for it: they called it "holistic" from "holos", a whole.

I apologize, Madame Chancellor, for this excursion into classical erudition. I felt I was called upon to demonstrate in some way that this University once conferred on me a bachelor of arts degree in Greek and economics.

Our professor of economics had almost a mystical belief in a self-ordering economic system. We came away with the conviction that it was no accident that democracy on the North American continent was born in the same year that Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations saw the light of day. The lectures, as befitted the subject, were very orderly and if we had a good memory or good shorthand or a good set of last year's notes we would get an "A". I did very well.

Then, through good fortune, I got a chance to go to Oxford and entered the new course of Philosophy, Politics and Economics. Oxford was rich in philosophers and political scientists but poor in economists. My college had none.

So I was sent to another college where there was a tutor who had graduated with distinction in classics and had read some economics on the side. He assigned me as essay and to me it was duck soup: exactly what I had been drilled in at Manitoba, calling for good, straight, Adam Smith, free enterprise doctrine. So I brought my essay to my tutor with some assurance, if not pride.

He read it carefully and then he said: Gordon, have you every read R.H. Tawney's The Acquisitive Society? I had not even heard of Tawney. So my tutor said: On your way back to Queens you pass Blackwell's bookshop; drop in and buy a copy of The Acquisitive Society.

I think it was the most important book purchase I ever made. It was a bit of a shocker, too. I had had a feeling - I am sure that none of you is so naive as to share it - that my education was pretty well complete, with a bit of polishing up here and there that Oxford and foreign travel might provide. Now I was faced with the awful thought that it was just beginning.

I came across a stopper like this:

"Industrialized communities neglect the very objects for which it is worth while to acquire riches in their feverish preoccupation with the means by which riches can be acquired."

What was worse, it got me listening to other people, reading other books - J.A. Hobson, G.D.H. Cole, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw. And what they were saying was that an economic system to be consistent with the goals of democracy, let alone the ethics of the religion we professed, had to be man-centred, not theory-centred or machine-centred, least of all, power-centred. One thing about these new teachers of mine was that they were exploring and articulating the reality of the contemporary world, they were also deeply involved in an on-going process of social change.

I think that at that time I learned that the university can no more hold itself aloof from the problems of contemporary society than can the church hold itself aloof from the injustice practiced in society which defies the ethics of Christianity or one of the great religions.

I had an opportunity of testing both theories when some years later I found myself a professor of Christian Ethics in a college in Montreal. And I discovered in McGill and Queens, and Toronto and other universities, professors and students who, within the Canadian context, were formulating ideas of social reconstruction not unlike those I had encountered in Oxford ten years previously. One of them was a brilliant young Rhodes Scholar named David Lewis - even in those days, a man with a deep sense of social justice and great compassion.

And again it was not so much the voicing of a counter-philosophy to the free enterprise doctrine which was floundering in the confusion and suffering of the Depression, it was rather a positive effort to articulate and put into practice the broadly-held principles on which a just and stable society could be built.

And it is not without significance that the recognized leader of this movement which made a deep impact on Canadian social thinking and practice was a great Canadian, a graduate of this University, a prophet in politics, J.S. Woodsworth.

There's an uncomfortable thing about a university that some of you may have felt already and will feel more as the days go on. It spoils the satisfaction of being parochial and provincial! Just as you are feeling snug in your little bailliewick, padded in comfortable prejudices, something hits you and insinuates that there are things beyond the horizon you should be worrying about. Things like war and peace, the nuclear threat, disarmament, famine, gross injustice.

You're tempted to say: Look, these are no concern of mine. And settle back into your little niche. But this University has done something to you. It won't let you deny the universe - and your part in it. And sometimes it sets your feet on an interesting course.

You will forgive me, Mr. President, if I revert back to my Oxford experience of many years ago. There was a distinguished professor of Greek named Gilbert Murray and naturally I gravitated toward him. He had this thing about the danger of war and the importance of the League of Nations and how we should all support it. And I suppose that had something to do with my accepting an invitation from my cousin in Geneva to spend Christmas with her family - although, to be honest, it was mostly the prospect of good skiing.

Now my cousin was married to a Manitoban, a graduate in theology from here, who represented Canada in the International Labour Organization. His name was Walter Riddell. He was a good solid downhill and cross-country skier and we spent quite a bit of time on the slopes. But our talk was not all about skiing. He was a strong supporter of the League. My education in the organization of world peace began somewhere above the treeline near Gstadt, Switzerland, and in the awesome presence of Mont Blanc above Chamonix.

I was not surprised, a dozen years later, when I learned that Walter Riddell, now Canada's representative to the League of Nations, had called for oil sanctions against Fascist Italy, embarked on a ruthless assault against Ethiopia, only to be repudiated by the newly-elected Prime Minister MacKenzie King who, as my friend Frank Scott once said, "never let his on the one hand know what his on the other hand was doing".

Walter Riddell's political advisor at the time was a young foreign service officer named Lester Pearson, who had been captaining the Oxford hockey team playing against Cambridge at Murren when Riddell and I were discussing world politics not so far away at Gstadt. After Oxford he had become a lecturer in history at the University of Toronto, joining the Department of External Affairs five years later. In his Memoirs, he recalls the Riddell sanctions episode as the most important international crisis between the wars. He wrote:

"It confirmed my own convictions, which had been developing since I first began to teach history, that only by collective international action and by a consequent limitation of national sovereignty through the acceptance of international commitments, can peace and security be established and ensured."

No Canadian leader was able so effectively to put these beliefs and principles into practice as Mike Pearson. In 1956 I was in Cairo with the United Nations when the Suez War broke out. I remember through the long night of November 3rd, a group of us listened to the short-wave broadcast from New York that finally brought the news that the General Assembly had ordered a cease-fire and that it had been accepted when Pearson of Canada proposed that the Secretary-General set up a United Nations Emergency Force to be interposed between the belligerents and supervise the withdrawal of the invaders. We came out into the sunlight. Overhead at about 30,000 feet a British Canberra bomber was leaving a vapor trail in the shape of a figure eight. But today no bombs were falling on the Cairo airport.

For the next seven months I continued my international education in the Sinai Desert among blue-helmeted men of many nations, including Canada, learning what could be done through a combined international effort to maintain the peace, but also how much more was needed if a solid and just peace were to be established. Part of the answer came in an unexpected way. Dag Hammarskjöld was visiting his UNEF troops in Gaza for Christmas and I flew in with him from Cairo. He was kind enough to give me a copy of the address he had just made to the Swedish Academy. I was reading it, flying over the desert with the Mediterranean on our left, when I was stopped by this paragraph:

"Only those who do not want to see can deny that we are moving these days in the direction of a new community of nations, however far we may be from its full realization, however often we may seem to have chosen the wrong path, however numerous the setbacks and disappointments have been. Could it be otherwise, when no other road appears open out of the dangers a new era had created?"

Dag Hammarskjöld was a man of outstanding intellect and of great perception. He was also a man of faith - faith in man and faith in God. He was fully aware of present dangers. But he also saw signs of the emergence of a new order - the ending of colonial domination, an international recognition of human rights, an emerging solidarity among newly-independent nations, a growing awareness of the interdependence of nations and the need for a global approach to world problems.

If a university makes life more difficult by destroying your comfortable parochial world, it makes it richer by giving you citizenship in a community transcending national boundaries. During the past decade, I have been associating with university people from five continents - sometimes on their home base, sometimes in international meetings. And they talk and act as a community, with common concerns, and with a deep understanding of the dangers and inequities that face our world, and with a deep commitment to working together to overcome them.



We are past the point where we can afford to view with resignation a global society in which 800 million of its people are hungry, with the prospect of less food year by year. We are past the point where we can contemplate meeting the situation through the charity of the affluent rich towards the desperately poor. The global community we are talking about must be a community in which the resources of the world are distributed justly. We must have a new international order that reflects the common interest of the world's people. Stability and peace rest on justice - as we have learned in our national societies. And, as that remarkable report of Willy Brandt tells us, there is a mutual advantage for the people of the South and the people of the North to achieve this new order. And we who are entering on our careers as graduates of this University will recognize that we are already in the midst of this process of change and plan our lives accordingly.

Today I feel particularly honoured because my own University has been in the forefront of that involvement. In the mid-sixties Manitoba was involved in a joint effort with Khon Kaen University in Thailand to build faculties of engineering and agriculture. In Kenya and in Zambia and in Indonesia it has been cooperating in very important agricultural research that spells more food. Manitoba has pioneered the development of the remarkable new grain, triticale, in association with international agricultural research centres in many parts of the Third World. And back of this, the scientific capability and personal commitment of staff members providing leadership and active participation. I think of your distinguished President, who at the close of his tenure will take on new responsibilities in the agricultural development of Kenya. I think of Len Shebesky, whom you honoured yesterday for his outstanding contribution to meeting the world's food needs. And so many others - Clay Gillson, David Lawless - now giving his wise counsel to IDRC - Len Siemens, Bob McGinnis, back from useful service in Njoro and Hyderabad to take over the post of Dean, and many others. You who go out today from this University in your very important fields of education and business administration will be inheriting an honourable tradition.

1981 is a year when the Government of Canada is giving leadership in no less than three summit conferences, all committed to improving North-South cooperation for development: In Ottawa in July, a conference of western heads of government; in Australia in early October, a conference of Commonwealth leaders; in Mexico, later in October, a conference of representative leaders of North and South. If the opportunities are grasped, these meetings will bring new hope and new challenges, and, to quote the title of the Brandt Report, "a program for survival". And in this program there is a place for us who graduate today. With commitment and rejoicing, we can welcome this challenge and affirm with Willy Brandt:

"We see signs of a new awareness that  
mankind is becoming a single community."

J. King Gordon  
May 1981

984 Fairlawn Ave.  
Ottawa K2A 3S5  
June 15 1981

Dear Elisabeth,

I just talked with David Hilton.  
He is working on the 7-nation Ottawa summit  
notthe North-South in Mexico on which it seems  
very little has yet been done.

On the matter of the sea and the  
Ottawa summit, it appears that there will be  
little if anything except for the big issue of  
the whole UNCLOS process which has been raised  
by the U.S.Administration and which, it would  
appear, is now getting some support from the  
Germans. You wi ll know all about this.

I offered on your behalf to have some  
material prepared in regard to ocean management  
particularly as it affectsthe Third World countries -  
he knew, incidentally, all about our training  
programs - environmental controls, etc. But he  
said these issues would not be raised. By the way,  
he registered positively when I mentioned Mahbub  
and E.M.B.

So I am afraid there is nothing there.

Here is my clipping on Mr. MacArthur's  
trust. As you say, perhaps Norton can do something  
about this.

I hope the course is doing well. And we'll  
certainly try to look in on you when we come down to  
Nova Scotia early in July.

All the best

12-7



P. O. Box 1102, Montreal, P. Q. H3C 2X9

Telephone 874 - 6679

May 12, 1981

The Selection Committee has decided on the recipient of the 1981 Royal Bank Award. As you were good enough to recommend a candidate, I am writing to thank you for your interest and to advise you that the Committee has chosen Mr. Harry E. (Red) Foster of Oakville, Ontario as this year's recipient.

Mr. Foster has been selected for his many years of personal support and contributions to the cause of the mentally retarded both in Ontario and across Canada. His volunteer community activities on behalf of the handicapped have been longstanding and impressive. Besides his efforts in fund-raising for research into mental retardation, he developed the first Canadian Special Olympics in 1969, believing that participation in sports and recreation would add a new and beneficial dimension to the lives of the mentally retarded. Mr. Foster is the retired founder and former President of Foster Advertising Limited, Toronto. He was an all-round athlete in his early years and was also a radio and television commentator who helped pioneer play-by-play broadcasting of sporting events.

Nominations were, as usual, submitted from every part of Canada and included the names of a great number of eminent Canadians. It was a difficult task to make a choice from among such a large group of deserving individuals. The Committee is grateful to you for assisting in the compilation of a list of names for its consideration and it hopes that you will continue to do so in the future.

Yours sincerely,

J.V. Clyne  
Chairman, Selection Committee



R. J. MOORES

Secretary, Selection Committee

P. O. Box 1102, Montreal, P. Q. H3C 2X9

Telephone ~~874-6679~~ 874 - 6679

March 6, 1981

Professor Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 4H6

Dear Professor Borgese:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 24, 1981 concerning the nomination of Professor J. King Gordon for the 1981 Royal Bank Award.

We will be pleased to record your name as a seconder of the nomination and we are very glad to have the additional data concerning his career which you have provided.

The Selection Committee will meet in the spring and it is expected the name of the recipient will be made known shortly thereafter.

Your interest in the Award is much appreciated.

Yours truly,

984 Fairlawn Ave, Ottawa  
April 19 1981

Dear Elisabeth,

Here's something I've been thinking about for some time - and I am sure you have been too. The established base for the IOI. We could go a bit further; the effective existence of the IOI as a functioning entity.

Now this we all know is tied up with Malta. Malta as a base had everything to be said for it - as was proved in the first years before the long and painful death of the university and the other things that accompanied it. Now, it seems to me, if we are to survive - and if we are to continue to get support - we have to re-establish a base with a working Institute on it.

A natural step would be Halifax and Dalhousie. There is much to be said in its favor. An existing institute in the Faculty of Law in a university with a strong commitment to international studies in a maritime city with highly developed ocean research facilities. And in all of this you have established yourself and won support for the aims of the IOI and Pacem in Maribus. Moreover, to carry a step further what has already been achieved would mean more commitment of Canada to a leading part in all that will emerge from the Conference.

Only shortcoming in this, as I see it, is that in contrast with Malta the base would be in a highly developed country rather than a Third World or in-between country. If this is a dominant consideration then perhaps we should be looking towards the Caribbean with which the Atlantic Provinces universities are looking for increased linkages. Trouble there - a bit like Malta - is political stability: Costa Rica looks to be one of few viable possibilities in that respect.

But perhaps other advantages of Dalhousie more than outweigh disadvantages. And, as we used to say, Canada is a middle power.

These are my thoughts for the day.

hug .      J. King

monday 3.40 pm

dear elisabeth,

sorry i have been such  
a bad arranger. if the world  
depends on the efficiency and  
courtesy of the diplomatic service -  
wherever did the expression  
'be diplomatic' come from - then we  
are in a sorrier state than i had  
imagined.

so here is your passport  
in the same shape as i received it.  
your applications for the soviet  
visa are still with the algerians.  
i hoped to pick it up today but  
ran short of time for this despatch.  
anyway, they are no use to you.

i hope all goes well on  
the journey and that perhaps you  
may even manage to get to moscow.

good luck

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J. K. J.' or similar, with a stylized, cursive script.



984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, Ontario K2A 3S5  
October 4 1980

Dear Elisabeth,

I'm afraid that fate, in one way or another, has decided that I am not going to be able to get to Pacem in Maribus X. I had thought that IDRC might be willing to send me - as they had several times in the days of David Hopper. But just this week I got word that they wouldn't. The same day I received word of a different sort which pretty well made it impossible to consider going even if the funds appeared from an unexpected source. The United Nations Association has instituted a Pearson Peace Medal, to be presented on UN Day by the Governor-General to someone judged to have made a contribution to peace. For some strange reason they have chosen me. The presentation is on Oct. 23rd. This is immediately followed by a UNA sponsored conference on Foreign Policy and International Law on Oct. 24, 25, which my award makes it almost obligatory to attend. (Anyway, it's the kind of thing - with McGuigan making the main speech - that I probably should attend.)

So it looks as if this time I shall not be with you - except in spirit. However, to the best of my knowledge IDRC support for Third World delegates is still available as promised earlier. I hope you have a good conference and lay out a plan of action for the next few years. A

The Pearson Medal business, while a bit embarrassing and really quite undeserved, opens up some opportunities for helping mobilize opinion in the important areas in which we are interested - greater support for development, the new international order, and disarmament, as well as issues related to a new order for the seas.

In regard to disarmament, Geoffrey Pearson, who as you know had special responsibility for government policy in this field, related to the education of public opinion, has now been appointed our ambassador to Moscow. He is



being succeeded by a foreign service officer with considerable seniority and experience, Arthur Menzies, who is pretty highly regarded although he has not had specific experience in the disarmament field. But he is near retirement and the talk is that in a year or so he will be succeeded by our old friend Allan Beesley.

In the other area of economic development, it appears to be pretty certain that Canada is going to up its involvement and is taking pretty seriously some of the objectives in the Brandt Report. Trudeau himself I know is interested and so is McGuigan. Of course, right now there is so much concentration on domestic matters surrounding the constitution and these greedy provincial premiers who seem bent on tearing the country apart, that the government's concern for foreign affairs will take second place. Where I can, I try to make the point that a sure way to achieve and strengthen national unity is to set challenging international goals in which Canada can take a responsible part in achieving.

Anyway, a good deal of what this diverse interdisciplinary group you have at Dalhousie is concerned with will be given high priority once this constitutional matter is settled one way or another and perhaps before.

CIDA continues to be hopeful. They are certainly seeking new ways in which they can expedite the application of Canadian science and technology to development. Their new President, Marcel Massé, who unfortunately is ill at present is, I understand, an admirable person. And Lewis Perinbam, who is vice-president in the division or branch where John McRae operates, is pushing ahead in an innovative way. So I am not unhopeful.

All the best and give my regards and good wishes to many friends. I'll see you, I hope, soon after you get back.

*much love*

By the way, the medal bit is not public yet.

*John King*

GORDON

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, Ontario K2A 3S5  
September 16 1980

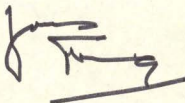
Dear Elisabeth,

I have just had an exasperated note from Max Dunbar resigning from his position as Treasurer of the Canadian Friends of the International Ocean Institute. It is doing nothing and we are paying to keep it in existence. Now he has received a note from the Toronto-Dominion Bank - where we keep open our account - asking if we have taken the necessary steps to have our incorporation renewed. We haven't and it must be done before December 15.

I wrote in reply saying that the dissolution of the CFIOI had seemed to me to be a logical course of action all things considered but that you had urged that we let things stand until after PIM X, partly because of the likelihood of Max Bruce's return to Canada and his interest in continuing to drum up support. So I asked him to hold up action on his part until after the Vienna meeting.

Frankly, unless Max is coming back and is prepared to draw on his contacts in the Canadian business world it seems to me we have two choices: a) shift the base of the "Friends" to Halifax where we have the only non-governmental presence of Law of the Sea interest in the Dalhousie group and you, or b) close the Friends up and rely on the maintenance of the support from the Canadian government. This will put us on the same base that we are on vis a vis Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands etc. At present we have sympathetic relations with the government through CIDA and - one step removed - from IDRC. The "Friends" is rather an awkward nothing!

All the best. I look forward to more news of Vienna.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J. F. G.', with a long horizontal line underneath.

GORDON

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, Ont., K2A 3S5  
September 10 1980

Dear Elisabeth,

I was about to sit down and write you a letter when you phoned and I was delighted to hear your voice and get your news. But I still want to say that I thought the article in the weekend TODAY magazine was great. Stephen Kimber did a good, perceptive job and I hope you like it. I'm also glad to know that you are thinking of becoming a Canadian. Please do: we need you!

After talking with you I read more carefully the tentative agenda for PIM X. I imagine with the change in venue there will have to be some changes in program. But the emphasis is right in its forward look. It seems to me that after the close of UNCLOS the real work begins.

It might be useful, incidentally, in your next communication to enclose a brief list of readings. It is extraordinary how our press manages completely to exclude any reference to what is happening at these UN conferences - apart from a few brave attempts by Geoffrey Stevens in the Globe and Mail.

One thing occurred to me, particularly with the new conference site. Have you thought of inviting Alan Beesley? I don't know how close you have kept to him and how useful he might be. But I think it important to keep Canada's role in sea law high these days - partly in view of these parochial and greedy provincial attacks. And Beesley, as former Canadian ambassador to Vienna, might enjoy a return visit.

If there is anything you'd like me to do here please let me know.

All the best

Lou

King

984 Fair Lawn Ave  
Ottawa, K2A 3S  
May 12 1980

DEAR ELISABETH,

I received the sad news  
of your Mother's death and I write  
to express my deepest sympathy  
on behalf of Ruth and me. From  
a brief talk before you left  
I knew that you had feared that  
this might be the last time you  
would be with her. But the  
parting is none the less a grievous  
one. What an extraordinary long  
life she has lived!

From the announcement  
I gather that a number of the members  
of the family were together and that  
would bring our part.

back up for a couple of weeks  
with a wretched embolism that  
located itself in my left leg.  
But after ten days of painful  
rest in hospital I'm on again;  
just have to cover sharp things  
for a while!

On good work - again  
on my deep sympathy  
And love.

King

I am anxious to hear news  
of your trip to Berlin as the  
program of the first training course.  
The news of the fate of the old  
Omnibus - which was set forth in  
detail in the article in the  
International Association of University teachers -  
and with brief finality in a vote  
in a recent resolution of the Association of  
Communist University - seems now  
complete.

It is hard to think of 101 activities  
there. What has happened to them?

I hope to talk to you soon  
about 1.17.8 and the EEZ  
training programme. I'll be

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA

B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

May 22 1980.

Mr. Xing Guo An  
Class 138  
P.O. Box 935  
Beijing, China

Dear Mr. Xing Guo An:

Sorry things are moving slowly, but I suppose that is the case more or less anywhere.

Professor King Gordon advised that there are three points that should be clarified before anything further can be done:

1. You should kindly get in touch with the cultural attaché of the Canadian Embassy in Peking and arrange for an English examination which you should take. A certification from the Embassy, showing that you are indeed competent in English and that you will have no language problem when pursuing your studies at a Canadian University would be most helpful.
2. You should obtain some sort of sponsorship from your own Government. The only recommendation you have thus far is Dr. Blissenbach's. That is indeed an excellent recommendation, but Dr. Blissenbach is not from your country, and it is necessary that you show at least one recommendation from your University and/or your Government.
3. It appears from your letter that you have applied for a fellowship in the United States. At what stage is this application? If you have indeed already applied to the United States and your application is being processed, you should not initiate any action in Canada at this time.

Once these three points are clarified, I think we can help you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,  
*Elisabeth Mann Borgese*  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Department of Political Science

Dalhousie University, Halifax,

N.S., B3H 4H6, Canada

Respected Prof. Elisabeth Mann Borgese,

First allow me to thank you for helping me to get a scholarship or teaching assistantship at your University. I feel very much uneasy for causing a lot of trouble to you who are yet unknown to me.

Almost at the same time of receiving the letter from Mr. Erich Blissenbach, telling me to write a resume, I was told by the school authorities that I will be sent to the States to teach Chinese and at the same time learn English for a year.

But I wouldn't like to miss the chance to study in your country. So I would like to be admitted at sometime around September, 1981 if that is possible.

Please arrange everything as it has been, because the whole thing is not yet finally decided. I will tell you the final decision as soon as I am told.

Yours,

林同安 (XING KUO AN)

Enclosed are a copy of my resume, a copy of autobiography and an application letter.

RESUME

Name in full: Xing Guo An

Address: Class 138, P.O.Box 935, Beijing, China

Date of birth: August 15, 1945.

Place of birth: Shenyang, Liaoning Province, China.

Marital Status: Married.

Education & Experience:

1957-1960 No.6 Middle School, Shenyang.

1960-1963 No.1 Senior Middle School, Shenyang.

1963-1968 Studied in the English Department of the Peking Foreign Languages Institute as an undergraduate.

1968-1970 Worked on a farm.

1970-1978 Served as a customs officer at the Tientsin Customs.

1978-now Studying at the Graduate School of the University of Science and Technology of China as a M.A. candidate of English.



### AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Since childhood I have been fond of English. I won the first place in a school-wide English contest in high school. I was admitted into the English Department of the Peking Foreign Languages Institute in 1963. Competition for admission into my Institute has always been severe and chances rare. My grades at college were very good, where I was intensively trained in all courses necessary for a student of languages. I was one of the top students of my grade, distinguished for my spoken English, quick response and receptive abilities.

After graduation from college I had been a customs officer for eight years before I came to my present school. I used to teach English to other officers there and my English saw great progress due to frequent contacts with foreigners of all nationalities. Thus I have been called upon to do interpretations once in a while during all these years. In addition, I am also interested in foreign trade and business management.

Now I am a M.A. candidate of English at the Graduate School of the University of Science and Technology of China.

Courses available for us are Linguistics, Language teaching, Scientific English, Writing Skills, translation, English and American Literature.

Class 138, PO  
Box 935, Beijing  
P.R. of China

To whom it may concern:

Re. Application for a scholarship or T.A.

Dear Sirs,

I am writing to inquire about the possibilities for a scholarship or teaching assistantship at your school.

I am now in the second year of a two-year course of English for M.A. candidates at the Graduate School of the University of Science and Technology of China. I have a fair command of both spoken and written English. Given the chance to study abroad, my potentials will be brought into fuller play, since I believe real automatic responses can only be mastered in a country of native speakers.

since the establishment of relations between China and Canada, friendly contacts have been developing to such an extent that everyone here in China is trying to make his or her contribution to further these relations. As a student of English, I think I can contribute more by going to study in your country. The courses I would like to take are English as a Second Language, business administration, foreign trade, education, psychology or other courses available. People in these fields are urgently needed in China for her modernizations.

I will prove to be a hard worker and live up to your expectations. Once in Canada I will also do whatever I can to help promote Sino-Canadian friendship. I am confident I will make due contributions back in China, too.

Yours,

邢同安

(XING KUI AN)

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA

B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

May 22, 1980.

Professor King Gordon  
IDRC  
P.O. Box 8500  
Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9

Dear King:

O.K.?

I wrote the name of the Professor in Alberta down somewhere -- and cannot find it any more. So, occasionally, in your next letter, please write it down for me. But there is no hurry.

I am drowning in Manganese Nodules.

Love,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

P.S. On May 22 we are having a meeting here, with Jan Van Ettinger, Frank Barnaby, people from McGill, Carleton, and California, on Disarmament and Development (dual purpose technology). Would that not be a splendid pretext for coming out here? We would love to have you.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA

B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

February 21, 1980.

Dr. J. King Gordon  
IDRC  
Box 8500  
Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9

Dear King:

I have been musing. I really believe that an alliance of smaller States, in international fora in general, in our Conference in particular, would be the only salvation.


I have a hunch, furthermore, that the Trudeau Government might go for it. Canada could play a leading role, together with Sweden and the Netherlands, in such a movement. The initiative must come from the small industrialized countries. It could affect disarmament, development -- the whole range of issues. It could do something really very concrete and specific at the Law of the Sea Conference. It could save the Conference.

Is there anything you could do, to have such an idea tried out at External Affairs?

I have written to my friends in Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, and Spain. I have not written to Beesley: he has to get new instructions anyway.

Tomorrow I am going into the lion's den: I have asked for an appointment with Mr. Zuleta! I'll get my hair cut; I'll be terribly naive, and I ask for his advice and help!

Love,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese

End.



# I The Point of Departure

The training course is specifically designed to benefit third world mid-career professionals responsible for certain aspects of basic management.

The contrast between the science and technology available to those with the same responsibilities in the developed countries is so great that the problems faced though basically similar are in fact markedly different. Nor is it realistic to assume that the purpose of the course is to enable the third world professionals & technicians to draw extensively on their science & technology to solve their management problems. The infrastructure simply doesn't exist or its acquisition is too slow and too expensive.



This by way of preamble to suggest that in the design, planning and implementation of the course the input from knowledgeable professionals from Third World countries is very important. One great value of this workshop has been that there has been a sizeable representation from developing countries.

In the further reshaping of the course design there should be very significant enlistment of advice from those who have first hand experience with marine management in developing countries.

One carries over with the recruitment of teaching staff - as I understand has already been done in the Deep Sea mining course.

I don't want to seem to pour it in to hand but I feel that



it is essential that the design and carrying out of this course must be and be seen to be a response to felt and declared needs of people in developing countries — we have quite a bit about this in your mind — and react in specific ways to their development goals.



## II The Sea as a System

Here I am restating what I said  
in my introduction yesterday which  
I think reflects the general emergent  
consensus of the workshop

The opening up of the files of study  
and training in the past days shows  
set forth the concept of the sea as a  
system, with its varied uses and  
multiple and often competing uses  
and its interacting facets in its  
management in the interests of human  
benefit and conservation.

This systems approach is centered  
on with the main details examination  
of its resources and uses: minerals,  
water, marine life, navigation, energy etc

It centers on with the actual  
problems of integrated management



When we consider the scientific and technological as well as institutional resources available — and actually operating now in the management process

And how we shall get with specific conflict problems

Joint ventures — who do they benefit?

marine resources → human needs vs. commercial exploitation?

The growth of national and international legal frameworks

The resources available in effective marine management of inshore and offshore resources

There is obvious possibility and need for sectoral amplification here — mineral, fishing, navigation, pollution etc. — but in no case shall we be getting

out of its integrated environment  
and institutional systems.

## Methodology

The members of the course will be  
professionals & technicians with  
varying degrees of experience in  
ocean management.

The course will be another of  
different from a traditional student-  
teacher relationship. This will permit the  
examination of actual problems and  
will benefit from the introduction of  
actual experience.

There is a strong theme said for  
incorporating ongoing activities some  
from developed countries. As the  
said previously, it is desired to encourage  
to have a number of them worked



countries among the instructors or  
senior leaders. It was  
wishing that design that is  
instructors should be a  
cooperative learning experience.  
I'm inclined to think that there  
are so many alternate and  
possibly conflicting goals with  
management process that there  
are no sure answers, and  
a lot for everyone to learn.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA

B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

February 20, 1980.

Dr. J. King Gordon  
IDRC  
Box 8500

Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9

Dear King:

I am sending you this by ordinary special delivery rather than by Air Canada (\$29!) because it now really appears that there is still a chance for the UNDP to come through. I have taken the bull by the horn and asked for an appointment with Mr. Zuleta! I'll call you next Monday and let you know the result.

In the meantime, and for the case that the result should be negative, here is the information you need for Rampah:

The Training Programme is a very comprehensive one, dealing with all aspects of ocean management and its integration into development strategy. We intend to train 250 people from developing countries over a five year period.

There are two courses: Class A, focusing on ocean mining, and Class B, focusing on EEZ management.

Both courses are being prepared on the basis of special grants. Class A, with a grant of \$40,000 from SIDA, Sweden, Class B, with a grant of \$100,000 from CIDA, Canada. Both courses are self-sufficient on the basis of our scholarship programme. Scholarships are contributed by various Governments and inter-governmental organizations. Each scholarship costs \$7,200 (this will have to be raised next year, because of inflation and rising costs), which includes a tuition fee of about \$4,000.

*1 Sudan*  
The first course, Class A, takes place in Malta from April 14 to July 4. We have 23 participants from India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Ghana, Cameroon, Nigeria, Tanzania, Turkey, Mexico, Belize, and St. Kitts, plus Malta.

Scholarships were provided by the EEC (7), the Commonwealth Secretariat (5), the Federal Republic of Germany (5), Mexico (2), the Netherlands (1), and the IOI (2). One will be provided from private sources.

The cancellation of the Commonwealth scholarships raises very serious problems for us. The scholarships had been assigned to 2 participants from India, one from Malaysia, one from Sri Lanka,

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY  
HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA  
B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

- 2 -

Dr. J. King Gordon

February 20, 1980.

and one from St. Kitts. These applicants are of a very high quality; they are sponsored by their Governments. The cooperation of these Governments confirms to us once more that we are doing something that is really needed. I think we are setting up an example of a new form of cooperation between developed and developing countries.

In no way do we want to let down these Governments and these applicants who are busy and qualified people and have made the effort of taking three months of their working time to dedicate to this programme. You know what a sacrifice that is on the part of the developing countries. There is no way in which we can cancel the scholarships. I feel it would be a betrayal. It is a moral obligation to accept these participants.

So I am making every possible and impossible effort to raise these \$36,000.

We fully understand the difficulties of the Secretariat. But could they at least provide one of the five scholarships? Even that would be a great help, under the circumstances. I still think we may get one or two from the Nuffield Foundation, and perhaps one or two from the Government of the UK. Should it be totally impossible for the Secretariat to provide even one of the scholarships, Ambassador Ramphal's personal intervention with the Nuffield Foundation certainly would carry a lot of weight.

I think that probably covers it for today.

Yours as ever,



Elisabeth Mann Borgese.



INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT  
RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES  
POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT  
INTERNATIONAL

April 15 1980

Dear Elisabeth,

I don't know whether you or any of your Malta friends saw this article in the current issue of the paper put out by the Canadian Association of University Teachers. It is a story that we are all pretty familiar with but spelled out in detail it is pretty shocking.

But you will have even more recent word and I am anxious to hear it.

All the best

King

J. KING GORDON



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

*Take care of*

11 March 1980

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3J5

Dear Elisabeth,

On reading through the report of the Council of Ministers of Education recently I came across the item on educational cooperation with the People's Republic of China which reminded me of the request you got from one of your German friends concerning a young Chinese scholar. As this item affirms, the Council of Ministers of Education has the sole responsibility for the handling of Chinese students coming to Canadian universities. If your friend were interested he could write to them at Suite S500, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1V5.

I am sending this to Dalhousie to await your return since I am sure you will have no time to look into this in New York.

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

Attachment

## Finance

As in previous years, the senior education finance officials of the 10 provinces held a two-day meeting during the fiscal year 1978-79. Discussions focused on the following issues: Review of the provisions in each province with respect to declining enrolment and of research projects which address the specific problems related to this phenomenon; the implications of long-term leasing versus the purchasing of capital items; format for the collection of information on school finance policies; definition of a resident pupil in each province; description of property assessment procedures in each province; school insurance policies including self-insurance; revision and updating of comparative provincial data for funding the education of Native students, out-of-province students, private schools, and Department of National Defense Schools.

Work also continued on a standard accounting and reporting terminology for educational operating expenditures. The task force established for the purpose of developing standardized definitions of school operating costs, with the help of input from the Interprovincial Committee on Education Data and in consultation with Statistics Canada, completed its work in the spring of 1979. A test run is presently underway which will allow further evaluation of the practicality of the proposed reporting format.

## International

In addition to responsibilities for coordinating the briefing of Canadian delegations to international education conferences, as well as for preparing the appropriate reports in cooperation with the Department of External Affairs, the CMEC was actively involved in the past year in a special activity concerning the People's Republic of China.

### **Educational cooperation with the People's Republic of China**

In August 1978, the Chinese Government asked Canada to consider accepting 500 Chinese students and scholars in Canadian

postsecondary and research institutions to study a variety of disciplines related to the fields of science and technology. The Chinese Government indicated that it was prepared to absorb all costs of such training provided by Canada. Similar proposals were made to a number of other countries (e.g., USA, France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Japan). Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs responded that Canada would, in principle, agree to receive up to 500 students in 1978 and possibly additional students in subsequent years, subject to the ability of Canadian universities, research institutes and industrial enterprises to accommodate them.

The CMEC was invited to attend a meeting held October 25, in Ottawa, between federal government representatives (External Affairs, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Secretary of State) and a Chinese education delegation to discuss the details of this request. The Canadian side suggested that this project be negotiated by means of a government-to-government agreement in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding. It was also proposed that a central administrative mechanism be established to implement the program once agreement had been reached.

Following the December 1978 Council meeting, the CMEC chairman informed the Secretary of State for External Affairs that, in the Council's view, the CMEC secretariat was the appropriate agency for the coordination and administration of the proposed program dealing with the placement of Chinese students and scholars in Canadian postsecondary institutions. The CMEC chairman further proposed the establishment of a federal-provincial Steering Committee to be responsible for supervising the implementation of the agreement.

After discussions on this matter between federal and provincial representatives at a December 15 meeting in Ottawa and by the Council at its January 22-23, 1979 meeting, a Steering Committee composed of federal and provincial representatives, was established with responsibility for developing policy guidelines relative to cooperative educational



arrangements between the People's Republic of China and Canada. In addition, it was agreed that the CMEC secretariat would be the contracting agency for the administration of programs of educational cooperation between Canada and the PRC, in collaboration with the provincial and federal departments and agencies concerned.

The Steering Committee met several times early in 1979 to develop guidelines for the preparation of a draft of a Memorandum of Understanding, strategies for negotiations with the Chinese authorities, and for the identification of costs and available disciplines. Input was also received from the Canadian education delegation, led by the Council chairman, which visited China in April 1979.

A team of five representatives of the Council of Ministers of Education and five representatives of the federal government travelled to Peking at the end of May to initiate negotiations with representatives of China's Ministry of Education on a Memorandum of Understanding between the two countries. On June 7, 1979, an agreement was signed by the heads of the respective delegations to further the development of educational exchanges and cooperation between Canada and the People's Republic of China.

A main feature of the agreement was the establishment of a special program to facilitate the placement of approximately 100 Chinese scholars in Canadian institutions in 1979. The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, in concert with provincial education authorities and other provincial or federal agencies, was identified as the agency to assist in the placement, language evaluation, orientation and liaison with the academic community for this program.

In the agreement, the Chinese government accepted responsibility for the accommodation, living, travel, personal books and equipment, health insurance, and supplementary language training costs, as well as for such fees as a province or university or other institution requires of a person of scholar status. Under the terms of this special program, a "scholar" was identified as a person pur-

suing research or studies for purposes other than attaining a university degree in Canada. The Chinese authorities also agreed to be responsible for direct research costs, except where other individual arrangements may be applicable. In order to implement this special program, an academic advisory panel was convened at the end of June in conjunction with a meeting of the Steering Committee. This panel included representatives, nominated by the provincial education authorities on a regional basis, of the three main areas of study of interest to the Chinese, namely, engineering sciences, medical sciences and physical and biological sciences. On the basis of procedures established by the Steering Committee and recommendations received from the academic advisory panel, admission forms were forwarded to the Chinese education authorities, through the Department of External Affairs, for 98 of the first group of 100 scholars who had submitted applications for admission in the fall of 1979. It is expected that the special program will be in place in the course of the next few months.

#### **Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)**

A major activity in the education sector of the OECD during the past year was the first ministerial-level meeting of the OECD Education Committee, held in Paris on October 19-20, 1978. Such meetings are arranged periodically by the various OECD sector committees to permit appropriate ministers from Member countries to discuss mutual concerns. The Canadian delegation, led by the Honourable Bert Hohol, Alberta Minister of Advanced Education and Manpower, included the Honourable Jacques-Yvan Morin, Minister of Education for Quebec, as well as provincial, CMEC secretariat and federal government officials.

Education ministers from 24 Member countries dealt with two major issues: a) how to raise the overall quality of education and to continue to widen access to educational opportunities against a background of economic uncertainty and structural change;



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

12 February 1980

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3J5

Dear Elisabeth,

I have just had an invitation to attend the seminar at the University of Toronto for our old friend Shirley Amerasinghe. I had no idea that he was in these parts but I thought it worthwhile to make the trip, I will be interested to get his estimate of where things stand now.

Since talking to you, I read with greater care Pietro Dohn's letter to you with his rather curious and somewhat irrelevant reference to my possible role vis à vis the gentleman in Costa Rica. Does any of this make any sense? I know, of course, the MAMBA interest and wonder whether, considering the state of things in Malta, it may be worth further exploration.

Please keep me up to date on the plans for New York and Malta.

With all the best,

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA

B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

January 16, 1980.

Professor King Gordon  
IDRC  
Box 8500  
Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9

Dear King:

Two matters today:

1. Enclosed please find the letter you suggested I should write to Bert Allsopp. I had a lot of phone conversations with him some years ago, when I was working on my aquaculture book. He even gave a paper at the Center in Santa Barbara, but I was not there at the time, and thus never met him personally.

2. The second point concerns a request from Erich Blissenbach. Let me permit that Blissenbach has been incredibly nice and generous helping with the training programme, and helping with my new book on ocean mining. So I gladly gladly would do him a favor. At the same time I know he really is a very competent man, and if he recommends somebody one can be rather sure that his recommendation is good.

Is there anything you could do for this young Chinese he recommends?

Perhaps in view of the Afganistan crisis it becomes even easier to do something for a Chinese! Please let me know as soon as possible, so that I can advise Blissenbach.

Nothing else new.

Love,



Elisabeth Mann Borgese.



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

31 July 1979

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Permanent Mission of Austria  
to the United Nations  
809 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017  
U.S.A.

Dear Mrs. Borgese,

I have just received your letter of 27 July to King Gordon and the attached letter to John McRae at CIDA.

Mr. Gordon is presently on vacation in Lake of the Woods and is not expected to return to Ottawa until the end of August. However, I am forwarding any special or personal mail he receives and will be sending a copy of your letter and attachment to him.

Yours sincerely,

Krysia Pazdzior  
Secretary to King Gordon

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

HALIFAX, N.S. CANADA

B3H 4H6

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES

Mar 22, 1979

Dear Kerry,

Here is the letter for John, minus the Annexes,  
which I will send tomorrow.

Please give me a call when you have read it --  
and if you think it is o.k., please send it on. If  
not, I'll make the changes you may wish to suggest.

Best love!

Love,

Elisabeth



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

1 May 1979

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3J5

Dear Elisabeth,

Thank you for your letter of April 19. The conference I gather will have ended and consequently, I am sending this to Dalhousie.

I hope that your interpretation of Alan Beesley's attitude is not correct. I see no reason for our External Affairs taking a scunner towards this little project, particularly when it has such strong backing from Third World countries and since CIDA is obviously so well disposed. I thought, therefore, that you would have had a chance for a longer talk: with his responsibilities as Drafting Chairman I can imagine that he was to some extent preoccupied.

Meanwhile, I have forwarded the letter you addressed to my care to John MacRae having alerted him before hand and passing along some of the more positive expressions of support to which you referred in your letter.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon,

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

*Your letter of 23 April has just arrived.  
I shall look for it. It is a little different from  
the one I received.*

JKG/kp

Head Office / Siège social: 60 Queen Street, P.O. Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9  
Telephone: (613) 996-2321 • Cable: RECENTRE • Telex: 053-3753

Please reply to:

P. O. Box 4716

Santa Barbara, California 93103 U.S.A.



Pacem in Maribus

April 25, 1979.

Dr. King Gordon  
IDRC  
Ottawa, Canada

Dear King:

Now we need your Older Statesmanlike advice and, if possible, your help.

The CIDA grant has really gotten fouled up and, in my modest opinion, in a rather irresponsible way. I should say, it must be embarrassing for CIDA and for everybody involved.

When Alan Beesley, who was the one who held up the grant, saw me the first time here, he had not read the project and did not know what it was about. As a matter of fact, he thought it involved fishing technologies, for he invited two fishing experts (Ken Lucas and a young lady) to the meeting with us. When he realized that the project was about seabed mining, he said, oh, maybe I made a mistake. He then was called to the phone and left us for the rest of the meeting with the two fishing experts.

I sent him a lot of information, about which I have kept you au courant. We were to have a second appointment, but this was extraordinarily difficult to arrange. Finally, yesterday, he gave me five minutes of his time during which however he was extremely agitated and nervous. This of course may be due primarily to the rather difficult situation Canada finds herself in at the Conference. But, at any rate, I found his position rather baffling. He thinks seabed mining technologies, economy, management, etc., is of no use to developing countries. Under no circumstances should CIDA spend any money on the crazy idea of training Third-World personnel in seabed mining. We should change the project and submit a different version, concentrating on EEZ management.

I told him we had no vested interest in the idea of teaching them seabed mining, that we were flexible in wanting to adjust the program to the real needs of developing countries, and if training in EEZ management was what they wanted, we would be happy to give it to them, and that this could be arranged.

Dr. King Gordon

April 25 1979.

Two of our own members, Castaneda and Pinto, who in Mexico were enthusiastic about a seabed mining training course, had, in the meantime, somewhat modified their own view on the matter, as you can see from the minutes of the last Council meeting, which I am enclosing.

But the fact is that we have, in the best of faith, and in step-by step and word-by-word accordance with CIDA, arranged that the first course should deal with seabed mining, albeit in a broad context, and it would obviously be quite impossible to change this between now and October. The program is ready, has been widely publicized and received a great deal of support.

The OAU, at its summit in March adopted the following resolution:

The African States are of the view that, having regard to the nature of the international machinery contemplated by proposals at the current Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the new International Sea-Bed Authority will need personnel with inter-disciplinary skills in various technical and administrative aspects of the exercise of its powers and functions. They consider that the only existing qualified individuals in the various skills in contemporary times are nationals of the industrialized countries.

They consider that in order to avoid monopoly by nationals of the industrialised countries in the functioning of the Authority in the technical fields of mining and processing as well as the negotiation of contracts relating to exploitation and exploitation of resources in the Area,

- (i) a training program for nationals of developing countries should be worked out forthwith to equip them in the skills needed for such functioning of the Authority and to meet the need for effective participation by the Developing Countries in all functions of the Authority, its organs and activities in the area; and
- (ii) to intensify any existing programs in this field, including a co-ordination of the efforts involved in these program.

We obviously cannot go to our other sponsors now and say, "oops, we made a mistake: you are not really interested in seabed mining, and we should not teach it to you: we'll teach you something else instead." The only thing we can do, it seems to me, is to go ahead, keeping an open mind to adjust and enlarge the program next year.



Dr. King Gordon

April 25, 1979.

The resistance of the USA, Japan, and some other countries, to teaching Third World people the skills of seabed mining is unfortunate and re-inforces the worst fears at the Conference. That Canada should join this group is even more unfortunate and jeopardizes its credibility with the Third "orld."

Now, of course, first of all I would like to know whether you share this view. Secondly, should you agree with me. I would be deeply grateful if you could rediscuss it with CIDA and bring it to the attention whoever you might think could be useful in the Government.

I'll call you as soon as I get back home, which will be on Monday May 7.

Love,

*Elisabeth*  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Encl.: minutes

P.S. what we ought to try to work out, it seems to me, would be a face saving formula, to get CIDA, Canada, and ourselves out of a rather embarrassing situation. One way might be this: CIDA should reconsider the training project next year. In the meantime they might give us the money that had been allocated for the first year for general program support (Yearbook, Pacem in Maribus X). But we might discuss all this after my return.

Please reply to:

P. O. Box 4716

Santa Barbara, California 93103 U.S.A.



Pacem in Maribus

April 19, 1979.

Dear King:

Here is a little interim report: Not much cooperation from Alan Beesley. I have a feeling he is avoiding me. Of course this may be paranoid: I am sure he has other things on his mind, what with the Conference falling apart.

Outside of the Conference, instead, the picture is increasingly encouraging. I am enclosing two excellent letters, just received. Yaker is helping with the OAU. Delegations are asking for application forms. I think we must go ahead.

I am writing also to McRae, although, of course, there is not much he can do at this point.

Love,

E. King



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9 · Telephone (613) 996-2321 · Cable: RECENTRE · Telex: 053-3753

7 February 1979

Dear Elisabeth,

Here's a nice bright picture to cheer you up.  
Two, in fact, one of which you might send along  
to Amerasinghe whose whereabouts I have no inkling of.

The application, which you were good enough  
to send me, arrived today. It looks good and from a talk  
I had with John McRae he seems pleased too. He sounded  
quite hopeful today and was planning further talks with  
External Affairs. He is more or less incommunicado for  
a couple of days but will reach me again by Friday afternoon.

Incidentally, I tried to reach Dave Pasho but  
got the information he is not yet back from Geneva!  
I had no idea he would be in on the inter-sessional talks.

As you know, John is away all next week but  
as far as I know is expecting you the week following.  
But I have no doubt we shall both be hearing from him  
before that.

All the best.

PS By the way, did you know there was a new fisheries  
research and technology laboratory in the Nova Scotia  
Technical College. I met the President last week in Ottawa.  
His name is Clair Callaghan and he spoke as if one of the  
objectives of the lab in the future was to provide training  
in fisheries science and research for Third World people.  
Their first objective is obviously related to Canadian  
fisheries needs. It may be that Bob Hart has been in touch  
with Callaghan.

## THE INTERNATIONAL OCEAN INSTITUTE

### Introduction

Early in 1972, Lord Ritchie Calder, a friend of long standing, visited Ottawa to see his son who was then an instructor in Carleton University. He looked me up and spoke with some enthusiasm of a new project in which he was involved which focussed on the control of pollution and the regulation of marine resources in the Mediterranean. A conference had been held in Naples in 1971 and another was planned for the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia in the coming spring. He told me that the Mediterranean project was just one part of a much larger program known as Pacem in Maribus that was concerned with the new challenge to manage the oceans and their resources in the interests of all mankind.

At Ritchie Calder's request I arranged a meeting with former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, then Chairman of the Board of the International Development Research Centre, who expressed great interest in the program although its parameters appeared to exceed the existing objectives of the IDRC. A few weeks later, when Elisabeth Mann Borgese, the Chairman of Pacem in Maribus, came to Ottawa, Mr. Pearson had a lunch for her that included Paul Martin and me. He again expressed interest in the work of the new organization.

In April 1972, I received an invitation to attend the Third Convocation of Pacem in Maribus to be held in Malta in July. On the authorization of the IDRC's President, Dr. W. David Hopper, I was sent to the Convocation as a consultant for the Centre. At that session, the International Ocean Institute was formally established with its headquarters at the Royal University of Malta. I was named as a member of its Planning Council.

### The Origins of the International Ocean Institute

In November 1967, the Ambassador of Malta, Dr. Arvid Pardo, made a speech at the United Nations General Assembly calling attention to the unexploited wealth of the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and advancing the principle that this wealth should be regarded and administered as the common heritage of mankind. The traditional principles of international law governing the sea were not adequate for the protection and management of these resources now becoming available through the advance of technology and the United Nations should elaborate the procedures and establish the institutions that would ensure that the resources of the seabed be used for the good of mankind.

The speech had a profound effect. A Committee on the Seabed was constituted, a Declaration of Principles on the uses of the Seabed was formulated and adopted, a Seabed Disarmament Treaty was signed, and, following a series of preparatory meetings, the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was convened in 1973.

Meanwhile, a parallel and significant non-governmental movement had begun. At the same time as Pardo was making his speech in the UN General Assembly, the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California, was carrying out a study on a new approach to ocean management which resulted in the production of the first model draft treaty for an international ocean regime. The impact of the Pardo proposal and the consequent intergovernmental action was felt in Santa Barbara, and the group there led by Elisabeth Mann Borgese organized an international conference which took place in Malta, on the invitation of its government, in 1970. The conference that brought together an impressive assemblage of scientists, oceanographers, international lawyers and international statesmen, carried the name of the counterpart of Pope John's Pacem in Terris: Pacem in Maribus.

The post-war period has been characterized by the increasing influence of non-governmental organizations and movements. The United Nations itself provided for the accreditation of international non-governmental organizations to the Economic and Social Council, with power to bring to bear on intergovernmental decisions representative sections of world public opinion. During the seventies we have witnessed the dramatic impact of non-governmental conferences and organizations on official intergovernmental conferences on such subjects as environment, food, population, human habitation, etc. The inter-governmental action in the Law of the Sea Conference also had its important counterpart in the potent non-governmental movement centred in Pacem in Maribus.

The successful Convocation of 1970 revealed the opportunity and, in fact, the necessity of continuing study and analysis of the complex issues faced by the UN Seabed Committee in its search for new procedures and institutions for the effective and equitable management of ocean space. Moreover, the very site of the conference suggested the need to study at first hand the problems of the sea-between-the-lands that for millenia had been sustainer of European civilization but was now threatened by the pollution of harbours, contaminated river effluences and the extraction of oil from its seabed. Lacking was any international machinery for regulation and management. The meeting of Pacem in Maribus in 1971 was preceded by a conference on the Mediterranean in Naples. The following year, a conference which took into account the studies and discussions in Naples was held in Split, Yugoslavia, with representation from most of the Mediterranean countries.

By this time it had become apparent that something more basic than an annual conference was needed and the decision was taken to establish an International Ocean Institute with headquarters in Malta that would be a centre for research, continuing studies, education and publications on the issues surrounding a new law of the sea.

The Institute was registered as part of the Royal University of Malta (now the Old University of Malta). Suitable space was provided for three offices, a library and a seminar room. Until such time as a Director was appointed in the autumn of 1973, the Rector of the University, Dr. Edmund Borg Costanzi, served as acting director. A Board of Trustees was named which included such international figures as Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka as Chairman, Gunnar Myrdal, Aurelio Peccei, President of the Club of Rome, Hernan Santa Cruz, Chilean Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva and Maurice Strong, who was about to become Secretary-General of The United Nations Environment Programme.

A Planning Council of twenty-four was made up of a broadly representative group of marine scientists and oceanographers, economists, international lawyers and ambassadors active in the United Nations Seabed Committee who were later to play leading roles in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

#### The Objectives of the Institute

The main activities of the International Ocean Institute are described in an article written by the Chairman of the Planning Council, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, the January/February 1977 issue of *OCEANS*, a publication of the Oceanic Society, an article which merits reading in its entirety:

"The purpose of the Institute is to study in depth the issues underlying the establishment of a new international order in the oceans, to propose new approaches and solutions, and to widen the scope of the dialogue on ocean affairs. Besides the Annual Pacem in Maribus Convocations, five of which have taken place in Malta, a sixth in Okinawa and a seventh in Algiers, the Institute has organized a series of regional meetings in cooperation with the governments of Yugoslavia, Jamaica and Mexico.

"The Institute has sponsored a series of research projects on such subjects as the development of the Mediterranean, the development of the Caribbean, the feasibility of an Ocean Development Tax, sources of energy from the oceans, as well as disarmament and arms control in the oceans. It has organized seminars and summer schools at the University of Malta and published a series of books and proceedings.

"The International Ocean Institute has official observer status at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea whose proceedings it has been following closely, and analyzing meticulously."

#### The Achievements of the International Ocean Institute

It is sometimes difficult for a civil servant to appreciate what can be accomplished by a committed non-governmental organization that can command efficient support from a wide range of highly expert and qualified people. I know because I was a civil servant for twelve years.

The International Ocean Institute at its physical base always operated on a minimum budget with a spare staff consisting of a Director - or in some cases Acting Director - a secretary or two, a part-time librarian, and support from the university in which it was lodged. But at all times it could command highly-qualified workers from a broad range of professions to carry out its studies, assist in its seminars and conferences, and even produce its publications for a minimum compensation.

One evidence of its enormous significance was the continuing support it has received from the leading - and I mean the leading - governmental representatives on the Law of the Sea Conference. Beginning with the Canadian representative, Ambassador Alan Beesley, Chairman of the drafting committee for the Composite Negotiating Text of the Treaty, who attended the first or second meeting of Pacem in Maribus as well as the conferences in Okinawa in 1975 and Algiers in 1976, we have Ambassadors Amerasinghe, Chairman of the Law of the Sea Conference, and the Chairmen of the three main committees - Galinda Pohl of El Salvador, Paul Engo of Cameroun, and Yankov of Bulgaria, all interested participants in the activities sponsored by the International Ocean Institute.

This has meant that the contributions on various themes covered by the Law of the Sea Conference, carried out through the research initiated by the IOI or through discussions in regional seminars or the annual conferences, have had an important influence in the intergovernmental sessions. The impact of the non-governmental organization and individual on the governmental has been one of direct dialogue as well as of formal presentation.

Some of the studies conducted under the aegis of the International Ocean Institute have had a direct effect on intergovernmental action. The Mediterranean studies are a case in point. The two conferences at Naples and Split, the study on Pollution of the Mediterranean written by Lord Ritchie Calder and the subsequent study carried out by Norton Ginsberg, Professor of the University of Chicago, stimulated a series of intergovernmental consultations leading to the Barcelona Conference sponsored by the United Nations Environment Programme in 1975 which resulted in a convention signed by 13 of the 15 Mediterranean states leading to the establishment of a series of institutions to control pollution in the inland sea and provide for the conservation and equitable utilization of its living resources.

From the beginning, the International Ocean Institute has been closely in touch with international developments concerned with a more stable and just international economic order with a particular emphasis on the rights of the peoples of the Third World. The United Nations Special Sessions of 1974 and 1975 which placed the weight of the world organization behind the goal of achieving a new international order had a definite bearing on the Law of the Sea discussions and on the orientation of the International Ocean Institute. In 1976 the International Ocean Institute joined with the Club of Rome in a Conference in Algiers to discuss the implications of the study coordinated by Dr. Jan Tinbergen on Reshaping the International Order. The following year, the Eighth Convocation of Pacem in Maribus was sponsored by the IOI in Mexico City in collaboration with the Third World Development Centre. And this year, a conference on Africa and the Law of the Sea was held in Yaounde, Cameroun, and attended by a large number of representatives of African states as well as by leading government representatives of the Law of the Sea Conference.

A similar emphasis has been placed on the importance of disarmament and the establishment of nuclear free zones in the oceans and also on the relationship of disarmament and the managed development of marine resources in the interests of mankind - the latter subject of immediate and current interest to Canada. Active participants in such discussions and studies have been Alva Myrdal and Inga Thorsson of Sweden and Frank Barnaby of the Swedish International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).



### Work in Progress

A major project of the International Ocean Institute during the past two years has been the preparation of the first volume of the International Ocean Yearbook. The editor for the work has been Professor Norton Ginsberg of the University of Chicago acting in collaboration with an editorial board. Special arrangements have been made with the University of Chicago Press for printing and distribution. The first volume is now published. The work comprises a number of essays on new aspects of ocean management and the law of the sea, the collation of oceanographic and marine statistics from various recognized sources and independent research in new areas of interest. The second volume is now in process of preparation and it is anticipated that it will be available in the late autumn of 1979 or early in 1980.

A second important project for which support from CIDA has been sought is the Training Program for Deep Sea Mining. The project has received very strong international backing, particularly, as evinced at the Yaounde Conference last month, from representatives of developing countries. It has already received funding from the Swedish SIDA and many assurances have been given for scholarship funding from European countries, the oil states and countries of the Third World.

### Conclusion

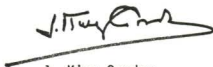
In my international experience in the past three decades I have been in close contact with a number of international, as well as national, non-governmental organizations concerned with international cooperation and development. I don't think that I have encountered any that in effectiveness, realistic appreciation and commitment can touch the International Ocean Institute.

Its strength lies in the wide and representative support it has been able to muster in its Board of Trustees, its Planning Council, its conference participants and its small but dedicated staff, who have rendered its influence great in the series of programs and projects it has sponsored.

Its financial support has never been excessive but in its seven years' history it has had the backing in various endeavors from the UNDP, the FAO, and UNEP; from a number of Foundations including the Ford Foundation, and the General Service Foundation; and from a number of governments including Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands, Algeria, Japan, Mexico and Cameroun. Private individuals, including members of the Planning Council, have given financial support, the Chairman having assigned the royalties from her book, Drama of the Oceans - which last year totalled \$20,000 - to the International Ocean Institute.

It has been a privilege to be associated with its activities even in a modest way.

It seems to me that if the International Non-Governmental Organizations Division of CIDA were to seek a model of the organization meriting their support, they would find it difficult to discover a better one than the International Ocean Institute.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. King Gordon', with a long horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

J. King Gordon  
26 February 1979

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

THIRD CONFERENCE  
ON THE LAW OF THE SEA



TROISIÈME CONFÉRENCE  
SUR LE DROIT DE LA MER

POSTAL ADDRESS — ADRESSE POSTALE: UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017  
CABLE ADDRESS — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

31 January 1979

*Dear Elizabeth*

.....

Enclosed is the text of my statement on "Military Activities - Indian Ocean as a zone of peace" made at the meeting of Pacem in Maribus IX in Yaoundé on 20 January 1979.

I found the meeting very useful and I am glad that I was able to attend it.

Many thanks.

*Love*

*H. S. Amerasinghe*

H. S. Amerasinghe  
President

Ms. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Sciences  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9 · Telephone (613) 996-2321 · Cable: RECENTRE · Telex: 053-3753

5 January 1979

Dear Elisabeth,

I have been anxious to hear about what further decisions were taken at your Geneva meeting which Jan was rushing off to when last I saw him in the Hague. Also, I am a bit disappointed that we have not received from Roger the final text of the scheme proposed for the training course by the Workshop: I thought it was being corrected and sent right off.

Meanwhile, I have prepared my own report for IDRC and it occurred to me that you might be interested in a copy. You will note that there are some comments of special interest to our people and I would suggest that you make discreet use of it. Meanwhile, I have sent a copy to John McRae of CIDA after a talk with him by telephone.

This conversation was a bit disturbing. It seems that his division has been subjected to further cuts and the optimism that he expressed on the subject of substantial funding has been clouded. He is still personally interested but indicated that there may be difficulties. For that reason I thought that my report with its positive emphasis might be useful. But I would strongly suggest that the actual application for a grant - based on the terms suggested in our discussion with McRae and his letter - be sent on as soon as possible. You remember that you agreed, and repeated in your letter, that he would receive the request early in 1979 which is now.

I have also talked with David Pasho and sent him a copy of my report. He has held up on any moves to get support from his people until he gets Roger's report or something more substantial on the actual go-ahead plans. I know that the latter may be deferred in any final form until the wider consultations with the Planning Council and other Third World representatives at Yaounde.

Yaounde, incidentally, is looking increasingly difficult for me. I have a couple of serious commitments here and if I did come it would mean a very quick there-and-back trip. Jean tells me that an excellent representation is expected - I suppose there will be some feed in from the Mexico Evendson meeting - and I am not sure that my contribution would add very much. I need not say that I would hate to break

the continuity of my Pacem in Maribus involvement and would certainly miss seeing my friends.

I've just talked with Mawhinney of External Affairs whom we visited when you were in Ottawa. He said that Beesley was very anxious to come but what with the Mexico meeting the time away from his post would be just too long. He was quite disappointed. Mawhinney was not sure whether they might ask a representative from the Embassy to sit in as observer, if that were permissible. He was glad to hear - as I learned from Jean - that Richardson was coming. Thought his getting together with Enso would be useful. In general, the Canadians seem quite interested particularly with the opportunities for major African involvement.

Incidentally, Mahirney was also interested in the Malta workshop and was anxious to have a copy of my report. Said something about their interest in the technical assistance aspect. He had talked with David Pasho.

Well, there you are. I'm anxious to have word from you and feel badly about Yaounde. Much love.



50th Anniversary 1928-1978  
The Antigonish Movement  
St. Francis Xavier University  
October 5-8, 1978

HOW RELEVANT IS COADY?

by J. King Gordon

I learned a long time ago that there are no such things as 'programs': there are just men and women believing in things and doing things. That is why when I think of the Antigonish movement, I think of men and women -- some of whom are sitting in this audience.

When I go back to the beginning it is not for nostalgic reasons. It is because I think of a small priest, with deep-set, penetrating blue eyes and passionate convictions; of a large priest with a massive voice, who after apologizing, incredibly, here in the refectory that because it was Friday we had only fish to eat, led me away afterwards for a game of pool and then, in his room, far into the night argued with me the practical matters of theology until my train took me away; of a busy, devoted sister who proudly led me around her library, with well-worn books on social reconstruction and world affairs; of a down-to-earth believer and leader in adult education who drove me out 20 miles through a snow storm to meet a study group and visit his mother and translate her warm Gaelic welcome for my benefit; of a beautiful young woman, who was the radiant nerve centre for all the study clubs of the Extension Department; and of a quiet Cape Bretoner who seemed to be identified with all the miners and their families in Glace Bay. These and many more were the Antigonish Movement as I first knew it forty-five years ago.

Of course, it was a remarkable team, the team of Tomkins, Coady, Sister Marie Michael, A.B. MacDonald, Kay Thompson and Alex S. McIntyre. They don't show up in every generation. And they gave the movement a tremendous start. But they would have been the first to say that the movement which transformed these eastern Maritimes was a people's movement and its leadership kept coming up from the ranks of those who believed in things and were able to do things.

And when the movement reached out into other lands and other peoples it was not so much the spreading of methods and techniques of adult education and cooperation. It was still based on men and women believing in things and doing things. And at this point I have to say a bit about the believing part of it.

The Antigonish Movement was based on an underlying and well-reasoned theology that put God in the centre of all human relations. Man's relations with God had to find expression in his relations with his fellow men. Man's relations with his fellow men were essentially a spiritual relationship if they were to be valid and if they were to lead to human fulfillment. This was no sectarian creed: it had broad relevance, and as they say today, it was portable. I remember visiting Reserve Mines in 1935 and under the escort of Father Tomkins addressing the Council of Study Groups of Reserve. On that Council there were miners, and farmers, and fishermen, and two Catholic priests and two United Church ministers. We didn't use the fancy word ecumenical much in those days, but that's what it was.

But the important thing was that the study clubs and the producers cooperatives and the consumers cooperatives and credit unions that resulted were not primarily aimed at freeing the people from debt slavery to the big fish companies and the company stores, although they did that; they were not merely to make the ordinary people masters of their economic life, although they did that; they were aimed at opening up a new life to the men and women and their families who were involved in study clubs and cooperatives and credit unions, and who found their true selves in this new society that was emerging in which they were all participants.

Look at it another way: I found the leaders in those early days radicals in a real sense. They were against the system of economic organization and distribution and power over men's and women's lives, not just because it perpetuated the poverty of the people but because it denied the true nature of man as a child of God, as a member of the human family, as one capable of a free, useful and creative life in the society of his fellows.

This is what made the Coady International Institute possible -- and inevitable. Now, it may be asking too much of a man whose name is Gordon to deny that the breed and ancestry of the people of these parts were in some measure responsible for the success of the movement. But this in no way invalidates the belief that it was the universal character of the movement that made its goals and dynamics as relevant in Asia, in Africa, in the Caribbean, and in Latin America as in the Atlantic provinces of Canada. For while the cultural expression may be very different among the societies in these continents and regions, the essential nature of man remains the same, the essential patterns of deprivation and exploitation through greed and unbalanced power remain the same, and the potentialities of education, and social reorganization, and human redemption are the same.



One of the great assets that the Antigonish Movement possessed, which was demonstrated in the international activity of the Coady Institute, was that it never fell victim to the myth that more of the same technology and industrial development that had been the engine of progress in the Western world would cure all the ills of the Third World. It was never tempted by the favorite myth of the early directors of international aid programs that the answer to all development problems was an increase in gnp, that eventually the benefits of such an increase would trickle down to the least favored economic groups. If that were the case, why did the Antigonish Movement start fifty years ago as the boom of the twenties was reaching its peak?

The days of that simplistic growth theory of development, which neglects the social and political structure of society, are fortunately passing. So is the concept of 'charity' -- in the modern, not the basic Christian sense -- with its counterpart of dependency, that assumes that if the rich societies can spare even one percent of their income and distribute it to the poor in the so-called developing countries, all will be well. We are coming to the point of recognizing, as it has been affirmed many times at this conference, that the nations of the Third World and their people have the prime right and responsibility to plan and build societies that offer their people the means of a decent life. And the duty and privilege of the developed societies and their people are to join with them in a cooperative endeavor to achieve this goal.

The Coady did not need to learn this new approach. It was basic to its thinking and action. True development concerns people, it is carried out by people -- not handed down by governments or mysteriously flowing out from the economic system. True development concerns

meeting basic needs -- educational needs, the needs of the community, of human settlements, human health, the distribution of the necessities of food and clothing and shelter, fresh water, the organization of the productive process. This basic, grass-roots approach to development which, I think, is the Coady approach is now gaining greater credibility. It carries with it the inspired vision and initiative of Julius Nyerere and has been given living expression in the ujama village movement in Tanzania.

Whatever else development may mean, at least it calls for planning and action to meet the basic needs of people, for the involvement of people in cooperative action to build new social conditions, and for the consequent opening up of new possibilities of human fulfillment.

There are, however, dangers in this approach if it is thought of as the only road to development. The international system today is established and operated in such a way that the minority of the world's people in the developed nations enjoy the majority of the world's resources. Unless this situation changes drastically -- and there are some signs that it is changing -- the grass-roots approach to human needs as we have described it will at best result in a slightly more satisfactory organization of life in a permanently poor section of the planet, blocked off from our affluent societies by a curtain of poverty. The situation can be changed only by significant adjustments in the policies and practices of the rich nations and by their acceptance of what has been termed a new international economic order. And this calls for political action on the part of both the developed and developing nations, who today are locked in a north-south conflict.

Unless the Coady Institute has reduced its frame of reference to one concerned with methods and techniques of cooperation it should be aware of the need to cope with these large issues of power. I recall on one visit to Glace Bay back in the thirties when I talked to miners, who were trade unionists as well as members of study clubs and cooperatives, I was confirmed in my belief that cooperation was no substitute for trade union activity to bring about fairer wages and better conditions in the mines. And the belief was reinforced when I came back to Sidney in 1942 with the Royal Commission on Steel and learned first-hand of the wages and conditions in the mill.

It is no coincidence that the combined action of Third-World nations to bring about a more equitable international order is being referred to as the trade union of the poor. And Barbara Ward, Lady Jackson whose paper we have listened to, constantly draws the analogy between the struggle for greater justice today among nations and the struggle for social justice within a nation that was carried out in England in the 19th century.

And there is no contrast, no inconsistency between identifying ourselves with the poor in this struggle and the approach of the Coady in the grass-roots movement to mobilize the resources of the people to meet human needs.

There is a similar problem that may arise from too narrow an approach when we consider the inequitable distribution of power and the basic necessities of life within a developing country. Considering its origins, no-one in the Antigonish Movement should be surprised by the situation in one Third World country which has made considerable industrial progress. There the middle class live in comfort and indeed

luxury in Rio and Sao Paolo while the farmers in north-east Brazil fight a losing battle against desperate poverty. What might disturb them is that Bishop Camara, who is regarded as a saint by the hungry peasants and slum dwellers, is considered a dangerous radical by the establishment. And, depending on your point of view, perhaps both are right.

These examples, which may seem to qualify my enthusiasm for the activities of Coady, should be considered within the context of what I tried to articulate at the beginning of my talk. Its founders believed that the Antigonish Movement was more than a method of education and cooperative organization, more than an exercise in grass-roots economic improvement. Its goal was a systematic reorganization of life based on a realistic interpretation of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. And from the standpoint of the leaders of the establishment they might well be considered dangerous radicals. And at this time when the future of our world community will depend on the action, not only of governments but of non-governmental organizations in the rich countries as well as the poor countries I would hope that the active leaders as well as the friends of the Coady Institute seek earnestly to recapture the radicalism of the founders.

I sometimes think that the essentially religious base of the Antigonish Movement saves it from sentimental idealism as well as from cynical despair. It does not deny the reality of human greed, nor the destructive carnage resulting from the exercise of selfish power. But it constantly reaffirms its belief in man, as capable of breaking his chains and joining with his fellows in building a community in which he can not only meet his needs but achieve fulfillment as a child of God.



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

24 August 1979

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3J5

Dear Elizabeth,

It was good to talk to you and be brought up to date on developments.

I have had a word with John McRae who was quite glad to get your letter and is prepared to reopen the question of support with our External Affairs people. He was particularly interested in what appears to be the change in Elliott Richardson's opinion which is apparently even more positive than you indicated in your letter of August 1. I also reported to him on your latest conversation with Alan Beesley and his indication of support on the second phase of the training project which would include training of management people within the EEZ. He assumed now that in some way funding had been or would be guaranteed for the program which takes place in the Spring of 1980 and was not sure whether he should suggest some Canadian contribution to this program or push for support for the second phase. After some discussion, we thought he might do both, particularly in view of the recently promised support by Richardson.

On your other letter having to do with the direction of the training program, I regret very much that Roger Vella Bonavita has taken the initiative he has in regard to the Commonwealth Secretariat appointment which would seem to eliminate him from the directorship of the training program. It is too bad

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that Father Peter is not available but the other name you suggested would seem to be suitable particularly if he carries the endorsement of his government. I can see that there will be some problems here and I hope that ultimately we can get the full cooperation of Edwin.

Finally, I have heard no further news on the proposed Cyprus seminar as to whether it is still on and at what date it may be expected to take place.

I hope you have had a safe journey back with your two new charges and look forward to seeing you one of these days in Halifax.

With all good wishes,

*Good luck in Winnipeg  
You will enjoy much, I hope*

*Robt. Lowe*

Yours sincerely,

*J. King*

J. King Gordon

JKG/kp



Pacem in Maribus

Please reply to:

P. O. Box 4716

Santa Barbara, California 93103 U.S.A.

November 6, 1978.

Dr. J. King Gordon  
IDRC  
Box 8500  
Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9

Dear King:

Here are the copies of my letters to Ivan Head. I hope he will come through with everything.

Let me use this occasion to thank you and Ruth most fervently for the excellent time you gave me in Ottawa. These were really great days, personally and professionally. The evening at your home was delightful. Only I feel a little guilty for having imposed on you and having taken so much of your time!

There is so much work to do now, to follow up on everything.

I am leaving for Europe on Friday, and shall call you when I am back.

My love to both of you,

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, N.S.

2 encl.



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Carleton University  
Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6

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1981 05 04

The Chairperson,  
Awards Committee,  
Royal Bank of Canada,  
Head Office,  
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sir or Madame:

We understand that Dr. J. King Gordon has been nominated as a candidate for your Centennial Award, and write in warm support. We have known King Gordon well only since his return to Ottawa in 1967. Although already passed the age for normal retirement, he at once threw himself into a variety of new ventures in the international field. His special task, for which his long experience in universities and inter-governmental organizations had uniquely prepared him, was to serve as a liaison between the Canadian university community and agencies concerned with international development.

He continues to commit energy and wisdom to good causes on a scale that puts his younger colleagues to shame. His spontaneous outrage when governments behave cruelly or stupidly, his undimmed faith in the possibility of a saner, more civilized future, his great ability to communicate his enthusiasm, and his capacity for friendship -- all these combine with other remarkable talents to render him a very considerable source of inspiration and power for good.

Yours sincerely,

D.M. Farr,  
Professor of History &  
Director of the Paterson  
Centre.

P.V. Lyon,  
Professor of Political Science.

John H. Sigler, Director.



CONVOCATION, NOVEMBER 14, 1977

CITATION FOR PROFESSOR JOHN KING GORDON

PRESENTED BY PEYTON V. LYON,  
PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,  
& SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

John King Gordon was born in Winnipeg in the first year of the century. Like many other great Canadians, he was a son of the manse. His father (Ralph Connor) was even better known for his novels than his sermons. King Gordon studied at the University of Manitoba where he earned the Rhodes Scholarship that took him to Oxford. He subsequently studied theology at United College in Winnipeg, and Union Theological Seminary, New York.

King Gordon first served as a parson; and then as Professor of Christian Ethics, United Theological College, Montreal. His appointment was terminated in 1934, ostensibly on grounds of financial stringency, but he had become so outspoken in his criticisms of social conditions that the dismissal brought comfort to many in the Montreal establishment. He became organizer for the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order and also served as a member of the national executive of the CCF. In 1938 he moved to New York where he worked as a publisher's editor, and subsequently became managing editor of The Nation; and the first CBC correspondent at the United Nations. In 1950 he joined the UN Secretariat and served in Seoul, Cairo, the Congo and New York. Returning to Canada in 1963, he "professed" Political Science in Alberta and then, in 1967, became co-founder, along with Louis Sabourin, of the Institute for International Cooperation at the University of Ottawa. He is currently senior advisor on university affairs to the International Development Research Center. He is the author of The United Nations in the Congo, and contributor to several books and many journals.

over.....

PAGE 2....

The unifying element in this remarkably diverse career has been King Gordon's commitment to serve mankind as a fighter for social justice; as a promoter of peace; and as a champion of a more equitable distribution of the material elements of civilised existence. Trained as a theologian, he has manifested his religion largely through humanitarian action. King Gordon's career both at home and abroad demonstrates that there is no inconsistency between being a good Canadian and a dedicated internationalist. Indeed, Mr. Chancellor, King Gordon would agree with your predecessor (Lester Pearson) who suggested that one cannot be a good Canadian unless one is also a good internationalist, and a supporter of universal peace and equity.

Mr. Chancellor:

In recognition of his contributions to the work of the United Nations and towards a larger understanding of the problems of North-South cooperation in the modern world, I request that you confer the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, upon J. King Gordon.

KING GORDON  
↑

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, K2A 3S5  
January 13 1983

Dear Elisabeth,

Just after New Year's day Ruth and I had to take an emergency trip to Milwaukee. The husband of a niece of mine - a very good person and an excellent musician - died rather suddenly and I had to take the funeral service. It was a worthwhile experience: Edmund Assaly had many musical friends and the service was built around the music of a group of about 40 musicians drawn from his friends and colleagues - Bach's Air on the G String, 3rd movement of Mahler's 4th Symphony, two selections or arrangements by Ed, and finally, the choral finale in orchestral version of the finale movement of Beethoven's 9th. My Bible readings, prayers and tribute were fitted in.

We were quite far west so decided to go on to Winnipeg to see our family there - two of them my sister Ruth and my niece Susan Cox had come to Milwaukee - and had a pleasant visit.

Your registered letter had arrived a couple of days before our return on Sunday. I thought the revision was fine and also thought that your chart of the organizational relationship between the IOI and the other linked agencies was much more accurate than the original. (Incidentally, I think you might consider making these changes in the plan circulated from Malta which reached me this morning, not necessarily by a distributed revision to members of the Board and Planning Council but at least in the shape of the 5-year plan that will be considered in greater detail at Dubrovnik in April.)

Yesterday, I took your letter and the supporting material to CIDA and had a good talk with Ron Leger. He read your letter with care and felt in general that it went along with what we had discussed at our meeting. He was going to have copies made and passed on to a couple of his colleagues for their opinion. He said that the actual implementation was in Diana's hands and she was away until near the end of the month but didn't feel that the decision was so urgent calling for action before her return. He will send you a note of acknowledgement and said that when they had come to some more specific decisions they would be suggesting you come up for a meeting. I encouraged him to get in touch with you by phone if any question arose that seemed to call for clarification. It was quite evident that our good sympathetic relations continue.

By the way, one thing occurred to me as I was going over the five-year plan again in preparation for talking with Ron. In your final short paragraph on p.5 you refer to the newsletter and the maintenance of contacts with former participants. I wonder should we not think about maintaining even closer working links with them, perhaps tying them into the seminars in a very active way. I think you are familiar with the Coady International Institute in Antigonish which is part of the University of St. Francis Xavier. In the last few years they have developed an active program of seminars in Third World countries based on the graduates of their Coady training programs in Antigonish and focussing on issues which are being accorded high priority in the countries of the region where the seminars are being held. The seminars not only are of value to the leaders of cooperatives and government programs attending but also have a feed back into the training programs at the Coady Institute. It might be worthwhile your having a talk with A.A. MacDonald, director of the Coady, or a close friend of mine, Father Howie Gardiner who is associate director.

Finally, I was reminded of the talk we had at the time of your last visit about your father's diaries. The enclosed was a review that appeared a couple of days ago in the Globe and Mail and I thought you might have missed it.

Ruth joins me in sending her love and best wishes for 1983. What are your present travel plans? In view of our ongoing CIDA contacts it might be worthwhile to have your schedule.

Yours sincerely



KING GORDON  
A

THE GROUP OF 78  
c/o 321 Chapel Street  
Ottawa K1N 7Z2

October 22, 1982

Dear Elizabeth Mann Boyer:

The recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Alva Myrdal and Alfonso Garcia Robles has inspired new resolve in all those for whom the building of a just and peaceful world is the central issue of our time. In a recent interview, Alva Myrdal said: "We are not just two persons from nuclear weapon-free countries who have been honoured, but a whole movement."

And we are part of that movement.

It seemed appropriate to several of our group in the National Capital region that during this week, named by the United Nations as Disarmament Week, we should consult all members of the Group of 78 as to what should be our priorities during the coming year in the light of international developments. That is the purpose of this letter. We touch on some of these developments in the first part of the letter and in the latter part suggest certain goals toward which we should direct our efforts.

When just about a year ago, we addressed our first letter to the Prime Minister on the subject of Canadian Foreign Policy in the 1980s, we linked the necessity of removing the threat of nuclear war with the need to strengthen the United Nations and other global institutions designed to promote world peace and international cooperation, and with the need to mobilize world resources to achieve a more equitable international order. These linked goals still command our support.

The international event on which our hopes for advance in disarmament were fixed was the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament in June 1982. Unfortunately, owing to the deterioration of relations between East and West, the goals set by the First Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 were not realized, and at the level of formal consensus little progress was evident. However, a significant achievement in the movement for disarmament found expression in the massive demonstration of the will to peace given by the hundreds of thousands who spoke for the concerned people of nations throughout the world. It was a clear demonstration that in many serious matters, the people are ahead of their governments.

In one important matter, the Special Session of 1978 produced results of lasting importance. Inga Thorsson, the distinguished disarmament representative of Sweden, was commissioned to head a group of international experts and researchers to report on the relationship between disarmament and development. The report is a convincing analysis of the effects of massive arms expenditures on the economies of developed as well as developing countries and of the resources available to bring about a more just international community. Two members of the Group of 78 contributed to the production and the availability of the report: Bernard Wood, Director of the North-South Institute was on the Thorsson Commission, and Clyde Sanger, with funding from the Canadian government, produced an excellent popular and abbreviated version of the report in the book: Safe and Sound: Disarmament and Development in the Eighties.

Meanwhile, we have seen no relaxation in the arms race between the two super powers, no indication of a willingness to "freeze" or "suffocate" the vast and sophisticated research and engineering effort to produce more deadly weapons of mass destruction in the name of "security". Under the guidance of the military and political leaders of the super powers the survival of mankind is more doubtful than ever. Which gives relevance and urgency to the movement of people against nuclear war - of which we are a part.

There is a temptation to assume that because the two super powers appear to be directing the build-up of the balance of terror in the world, with increasingly powerful and sophisticated weapons, the rest of the world is powerless to exert a restraining or redirecting influence. This is wrong on two counts: 1. In our interdependent world no great power is alone strong enough to direct the course of history; and 2. one need not assume that the military-industrial establishment in either of the great powers is fully representative of the majority of its citizens.

There is, therefore, an important role for the Canadian government to take new initiatives, in association with other likeminded governments, to reverse the trend toward nuclear war, promote disarmament, and give priority to the building of a just and stable world community.

Such initiatives, we believe, should include as central elements in Canadian foreign policy:

1. A genuine effort to rebuild bridges between East and West, that will open the way to a renunciation of nuclear war and to a cooperative approach to mutual security and progressive disarmament.

While using every means of encouraging East-West dialogue and cooperation, the Canadian government should also pursue in practical ways its "strategy of suffocation" to cut off resources for the arms race; abandon cooperation in the testing of the cruise missile on Canadian soil, and give serious consideration to the steps necessary for Canada to become a nuclear weapon-free zone.

2. An active collaboration with likeminded governments from North and South to give practical expression to the objectives of the Brandt Report in pursuing a global approach to international economic problems of mutual interest to the nations of the North as well as the South, with the ultimate goal of creating a just and stable international order and the eradication of the massive poverty which today is the common lot of the majority of the world's people.
3. A combined effort with likeminded governments to strengthen the United Nations system of international institutions and all other global institutions relevant and necessary to the promotion of disarmament, peacekeeping, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the establishment of a just world community.

It is suggested that the Group of 78 should seek the most effective means of urging these proposals on the Canadian government through direct approaches to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The Group should also cooperate with other groups of Canadians who share many of our objectives in strengthening the Canadian movement for a just peace and disarmament. And it should also seek to open up transnational communication with similar groups in other countries concerned with world peace and development.

So as to assist in planning a program for the coming months we should like to have your opinions on the approach we have outlined in this letter. We would also appreciate receiving your suggestions for additional members of this "Group of 78", as well as alternatives to the name itself.

Yours sincerely,



Murray Thomson

  
J. King Gordon

23 September 1981

Dear Elisabeth,

You may have already received my greetings from a Mr. Rumsey representing a new North-South educational organization known as the Futures Secretariat. I know little about it except that it was the brain-child of an activist in CIDA, Lewis Perinbam, whom you may already have met. Its president is an excellent person, David MacDonald, former M.P. from Prince Edward Island who was one of the most committed internationalists in the House when he was a member. It was he who suggested that when his associate Mr. Rumsey went down to Halifax he should see you: I think he probably met you when you addressed the SID.

After a pleasant 4 weeks at our island I had an interesting two days at a high school conference on North-South where the chairman was Joe Morris, former president of the Canadian Labour Congress, former chairman of the governing body of ILO, former member of the Grandt Commission. We had a good time and got some inspiration from the young people who attended, many of whom showed much more understanding and commitment than their elders who get their ideas into the press.

Now, I am enjoying quiet retirement with an occasional sally out into the big world. I'm sitting in on a course on North-South at Carleton; doing a bit with the SID executive; maintaining some contact with IDRC and CIDA; and walking my old dog Simba.

In some housecleaning today I came across this story about the MacArthur Fund which I think you said you know about: but it's better with you than with me.

We dined with the Carvers the other day and spoke of you. I have a splendid picture of you, Humphrey and one of the dogs. I'll send you a copy. When are you coming this way? I want to hear about the summer and Geneva as well as your current plans.

All the best. We are both well and send our love





Gordon, King

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, K2A 3S5  
February 4 1983

Dear Elisabeth,

A number of my friends in the Ploughshares group concentrating on disarmament were much interested in your proposal on a general review of NATO and Canada's role in it. Undoubtedly we are facing a new situation in the whole security issue and the strength of a serious movement against the diabolically insane traditional arms race is growing enormously in all countries and constituting a force to be reckoned with.

The proposal to have members of the Group of 78 write to the PM in the present situation concerning the cruise testing met with widespread and positive response. The vigil on Parliament Hill though modest - about 60 people - was representative. There were six MPs - a liberal, two conservatives and three NDPs. Now serious thought is being given to the preparation of a statement which will update our statement of a year ago, take into account the new world situation, and link nuclear disarmament with development along the lines that Inga Thorsson's report indicated.

The Disarmament and Development Conference sponsored by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation takes place in Ottawa on March 8, 9, and 10. For more information write CCIC at 321 Chapel Street, Ottawa K1N 7Z2. It seems that both Sonny and Inga are to be there. I don't know your Preparatory Commission schedule but you might be able to combine a New York trip with an Ottawa one. Or it may be that CIDA will be wanting to talk with you and you could make the dates coincide. Anyway you are most cordially invited to stay with us.

I need to have exact dates on Dubrovnik if they have been set. There's a conference in Canada in mid-May to which I'm invited. And, of course, there is the additional question of how important is it for me to be at Dubrovnik. I mean this as a serious question.

Finally, I met Clyde Sanger the other day - he wrote the little book Safe and Sound which is a popular condensation of Inga Thorsson's report on Disarmament and Development. He told me that he is now at work on a book on the law of the sea. Clyde is essentially a journalist, a lot of African experience, spent some time with IDRC's information division, and has recently been involved in a training program for African journalists. I told him he should be in touch with you and you may be hearing from him.

All the best and much love.

Tim

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa, Ont. K2A 3S5  
May 13 1983

Dear Elisabeth,

I am delighted by the news from Australia. And I think you must find some way to accept it. And if, as I hope, it leads to a continuing association in the fields in which you have been doing your work so much the better. And speaking personally it would be just the sort of thing in which my sister was interested.

Marjorie got her introduction to international affairs by becoming personal secretary to Malcolm MacDonald when he was head of the Dominions office and later when he became British High Commissioner in Ottawa during the war. She joined External Affairs as an information officer and was on a couple of Canadian missions to the United Nations. Later she met General Kenneth Smart, who was Australian Consul-General and they were married in the early 50s. He died in 1961 and Marjorie was asked to accept the principalship of the new women's college of St. Hilda's in Melbourne University. She held the post for 12 years and did the job well. She left quite a mark, not only in university circles but in a rather wide Australian community.

I am enclosing the folder describing the fellowship. Also Prue Myer's letter to friends appealing for support tells you a bit more about Marjorie and her work at St. Hilda's.

All the best and my congratulations.

  
J. Gordon

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ELISABETH BORGESE

DEPT POLITICAL SCIENCE DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

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INTERNATIONAL  
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RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES  
POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT  
INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500  
Ottawa K1G 3H9  
July 14 1977

04-76  
"G"  
Dear Norton,

Many thanks for sending along the Yearbook outline. I've been in touch with Robert Hart who is a Senior Adviser International Development in the Fisheries and Marine Service of the Department of the Environment. He had sent Elisabeth a batch of material on aquaculture in China on which he is something of an expert.

He has become greatly interested in the work of Pacem in Maribus and appears to have some good ideas on how we may get some modest support from the Canadian government.

Incidentally, he has also sent Elisabeth the name of a Canadian who for a number of years has been responsible for the fisheries section of the FAO yearbook. Hageborn is his name and Hart thinks he may be of some use to us.

I was good hearing from you.  
Let's keep in touch

J. KING GORDON

C o p y

September 16, 1978.

Professor King Gordon  
IDRC  
Box 8500  
Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9

Dear King:

Here is a progress report on the Seabed Mining Training Project. It appears that there is a real need for a project of this kind, and we are pleased we are getting the response we are getting.

The idea of the training project originated in a conversation between myself and Juan Somavia in Rome. We were talking about the role of the multinationals in seabed mining, and how difficult it would be for people from developing countries to enter this new field and to benefit in any real sense from the common heritage of mankind.

The next step was that I asked Geoffrey Kesteven, the Director of the IOI, to prepare a tentative project outline. This outline was discussed with various experts, representatives from Third World countries, and officials of the competent U.N. agencies and institutions, and was warmly welcomed everywhere. It was clear that training in seabed mining was of interest to all the agencies involved in the oceans, but that none was really competent to take the initiative of organizing such a project: Seabed mining is such a novel subject -- and the only body competent to assume responsibility for training would be the Seabed Authority, which does not yet exist. To wait with the training until it has been established would mean to waste a splendid opportunity for the people of the Third World. For they could not really participate actively and as equals in the activities of the Authority during the first, formative, important years of the Authority, developments would be oriented in the direction of the interests of the industrialized countries only -- and the gap would widen further and further.

The project outline was then presented at Pacem in Maribus VIII in Mexico (December 1977) and, as you remember, very enthusiastically endorsed by the conference. After Mexico, we began our efforts to fund and organize the project.

We provided for an interim six-months period for a sort of feasibility study including a workshop in Malta in November. The budget for this interim period is \$60,000.

We were awarded a first grant of \$20,000 from SIDA and expect similar grants which, however, have not yet been confirmed, from the Government of Algeria and from the Saudi-Sudanese Joint Red

Sea Commission. Both these authorities have given us virtually assurance that these grants will be forthcoming.

In the meantime we have begun substantial work for the workshop; we have appointed a full-time director for the project (Professor Roger Vella Bonavita of the University of Malta), we have approached experts and technical institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, U.K., Canada, Argentina, Chile, Papua New Guinea, India, Mexico, and Algeria, and we have assured the cooperation of all interested U.N. Agencies. The information on the workshop and its agenda is already in your hands.

Discussing the project with various officials at the U.N. during these weeks, I think we have now made a major breakthrough: not only with regard to the Training Project, but with regard to the activities of the IOI as a whole: As you know, my pitch during these last several years has been to try to insert the issue of ocean management and marine resources into the wider development strategy and the building of a new international economic order. I discussed this approach with Dr. Klaus Heinrich Standke, Director for Science and Technology of the United Nations, who was so convinced of this approach that he made an appointment for me with Mr. Saidou Djermakoye, Under-Secretary General of the U.N. in charge of Technical Cooperation. Mr. Djermakoye's response was the most positive we have had yet at the U.N. He immediately offered (1) to co-sponsor the Yaounde conference and also to assist financially; (2) to send a representative to the workshop in Malta; (3) to finance the interdisciplinary, annual course that should emerge from the project; (4) and to make me his special consultant on marine affairs and technical cooperation. Cooperation with the newly established and very well financed operative Department for Technical Cooperation thus opens really excellent new opportunities for the IOI and for this project.

In the meantime, there are already a couple of countries (besides Malta) which would like to host the annual course. In Mexico, we could hold it in cooperation with CONACYT and the Center for Economic & Social Studies of the Third World. In Japan we are presently discussing the possibility of holding a course for Asian participants, with Dr. T. Senga of Kadanrei (please excuse the mis-spelling).

From Canada, I would like to invite Dr. D. Pasho, Chief, Offshore Minerals Division, Resource Management and Conservation Branch, as expert. I have seen a couple of his papers which are excellent.

We would be deeply grateful for the cooperation of CIDA at this planning stage which, obviously, is of crucial importance for the success of the whole project.

Thanking you for all your help and cooperation, yours as ever,

GORDON

Confidential

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Der 6 (KG - birthday  
10 days

\* Dear Sir,

I am here at New  
with Chamberlain & Shaw  
I am not sure exactly  
what "paper" you want  
envelope, I'm sending  
you a copy of all the  
papers, - he gave me.

I have also received  
the cover of the Marine  
affairs Register - since the  
original is supposed to  
go to Roger.

At the interest  
of pushing this off to  
you.

Best to you

Yours



Please Reply to:

Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103



Pacem in Maribus

August 17, 1978

Dear King,

I tried to call you the other day but you were away on vacation. You lucky guy!

I am just writing to a number of African institutes to invite their participation in Pacem in Maribus IX. In going through the NIO Register, it occurred to me that you have two Regional Directors who might be particularly interested in the Conference, namely E. Anthony Price, for East Africa, and Stanislas Adotevi, for West Africa. Could you see to it that they are informed about the Conference? Can you invite them to participate? Shall I send, at some stage, an official letter of invitation? I think it would be very useful to have them there. Perhaps they could even write or procure a couple of papers on any subject indicated on our agenda, or any other subject they might think we should have included.

The material gathered at Pacem in Maribus IX will serve, among other things, as a major input into our research project on Marine Resources, Ocean Management, and International Development Strategy for the 80s and Beyond. We might also use it for Volume III of the Ocean Yearbook.

There are other matters I would like to discuss with you, and so I shall call you from New York when you get back from your vacation. Any chance of your getting to New York between August 21 and September 15? We are planning to have a reception (the IOI and the University of Chicago) to launch the publication of Volume I of the Yearbook on or around September 10th at the United Nations. It would be absolutely great if you could be there on that occasion.

My love to both of you,

*E. Price*

Encl: PIM IX



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9 · Telephone (613) 996-2321 · Cable: RECENTRE · Telex: 053-3753

June 8, 1978

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
RIO Foundation  
Bouw Centrum  
Rotterdam  
The Netherlands

Dear Elisabeth,

Many thanks for your letter of May 30. I was all the more sorry that the mis-information that reached me in Rome prevented us from getting together in Geneva. As I explained in my note, there was no way of getting through to you with the Austrian Embassy in Rome and the Mission in Geneva closed for the weekend.

I have not yet received from Jean the minutes of the Council Meeting. I had better drop her a note in case they have gone astray.

Good news about the interest of the Red Sea Commission in the Seabed Training Project. There has been no time since the arrival of your letter to make any further explorations of possible Canadian support. I expect to be in and around Ottawa till mid-July when I shall be taking off for our island in the Lake-of-the-Woods.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

JKG/kp

Please Reply to:

Box 4716

Santa Barbara, California 93103



Pacem in Maribus

May 30, 1978.

Dr. J. King Gorden  
International Development Research Center  
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear King:

Sorry we did not get together in Europe. I called Santa Cruz's office and the secretary promised me to give you my telephone number so that you could call me back, and we could have arranged for your visit on Monday. Both Arvid and I would have been delighted to see you -- and to discuss a number of developments.

In the meantime, you will have received from Jean the minutes of the Council meeting.

Today I have some good news to report. Dr. Blissenbach of Preussag A.G. got in touch with the Saudi Secretary-General of the Red Sea Commission (a Commission formed by the Federal Republic of Germany, the Sudan, and Saudi Arabia, for the exploration and exploitation of the metalliferous brines of the Red Sea). The Secretary showed great interest in our seabed training project. He requested an invitation to visit Malta this summer. I am presently trying to arrange a meeting with him, a couple of our Board members, and the Government of Malta. We hope to conclude all details about the grant then and there, although the grant, pro forma, will have to be approved by the other members of the Commission.

I am now doing all I can to secure a third sponsor (besides SIDA and the Commission). Could not this be IDRC or CIDA?

As I mentioned already, we are planning for a six-months interim budget, including a workshop in which, together with leaders from the Third World, experts from the University of Aachen, of Delft, of CNEXO, U.S. Canada, U.K. IOC, UNEP, UNIDO, ILO, U.N. Secretariat, should participate: all in all, thirty people. Four days. We hope to arrange this for the end of October.

I am writing to Maurice Strong as well.

My love to Ruth.

International Ocean Institute  
The University of Malta • Msida, Malta

Yours as ever,

*Edvard*



Hotel American Palace Eur  
VIA LAURENTINA, 554 - TEL. 59.11.55  
00143 ROMA

May 22 1978

Dear Elisabeth,

Thanks for trying to get back to me.

Unfortunately, the telephone number passed on to me was the wrong one and which with the embassy being closed over the weekend I had no way of getting back to you.

With uncertainty of seeing you — perhaps UNCLOS is not meeting in May — I have decided to fly straight to Montreal since I have chairs waiting for me in Ottawa. Sorry.

I would like to get you later with the news and keep you in touch as we progress. John Head, whom I have briefed earlier on P.I.O., and I.O.C. We shall see what can be done with our mandate.

All the best and friendly regards very truly  
to you, Dad and  
King

RESTAURANT - GARDEN - SWIMMING POOL



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9 · Telephone (613) 996-2321 · Cable: RECENTRE · Telex: 053-3753

January 13th 1978

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Chairman of the Planning Council for  
the International Ocean Institute  
International Ocean Institute  
P.O. Box 4716  
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93103  
U.S.A.

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

RE: WORKSHOP ON THE THIRD WORLD AND THE NEW LAW OF THE SEA  
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER  
Centre File: 3-A-77-4157

We are pleased to enclose our bank draft # A1073964-141 payable to the International Ocean Institute dated January 12, 1978 in the amount of \$3,181.00 U.S.

Under the terms of our letter of agreement dated December 2, 1977, it was agreed that a report of expenditures, certified by a senior financial officer of the Institute, would be submitted for payment by the Centre.

The Office of the Senior Vice-President have advised us that your Institute does not have a financial officer. Under the circumstances the Centre has agreed to accept copies of the travel invoices as the documentation to meet our financial requirements. Our payment above, therefore, covers the three airfares where an invoice was provided. Upon receipt of an airfare invoice for Dr. V. Pantulu, of Bangkok, we will immediately proceed to reimburse your Institute the amount of U.S. \$1,828.50. I trust the above adjustment to our Letter of Agreement will meet your approval.

Confirmation of the above payment would be most appreciated.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Denis Rey  
Assistant Treasurer

Encl.



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

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Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9 · Telephone (613) 996-2321 · Cable: RECENTRE · Telex: 053-3753

MAURICE F. STRONG  
CHAIRMAN

March 17, 1978.

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Chairman  
Planning Council  
Pacem in Maribus  
Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Mann Borgese:

Thank you for your letter of March 8 addressed to Mr. Maurice F. Strong. Unfortunately, your letter has arrived while Mr. Strong is outside of Canada attending an IDRC board meeting.

I know that Mr. Strong will be very interested in and will be glad to have the publicity material which you enclosed with your letter referring to the Ocean Yearbook. This does indeed promise to be an extremely valuable and informative work.

Mr. Strong is not expected to return to Canada until mid-April. Although I am sure that Mr. Strong would wish to examine the material contained in your letter personally, I am planning to send copies to the relevant people within IDRC most of whom are also out of the country attending the same meeting and may not possibly return to Ottawa much before Mr. Strong does.

Hoping this is satisfactory,

Yours very truly,

Sheila M. Rozon,  
Assistant to Maurice F. Strong

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS ECONOMICOS Y  
SOCIALES DEL TERCER MUNDO, A. C.

To be paid to  
Mrs Elisabeth Mann  
Borgere

B. J. O. S. R. J. L.  
Director General

To be paid to  
UNITREX

Elisabeth Mann Borgere



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9 · Telephone (613) 996-2321 · Cable: RECENTRE · Telex: 053-3753

March 1st 1978

Mrs. Jean Muller  
Administrative Assistant to  
the Chairman  
International Ocean Institute  
Box 4716  
SANTA BARBARA, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Muller:

RE: MEXICO WORKSHOP  
Centre File: 3-A-77-4157

Further to your letter of January 23, 1978 we wish to advise you that we have received the invoice for Dr. Pantulu's airfare from CESSTW, and that payment by U.S. bank draft \$1,828.50 to CESSTW was effected today. A copy of our letter of advice of payment is attached.

We trust that the above arrangement will be to your satisfaction, and we can now close our files on this activity.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours very truly,

Denis Rey  
Assistant Treasurer

Attach.



MGMOXNB OXN  
2-136302U067 03/08/74  
ICS MGMNCSA WUCC  
00307 MLTN VA  
ZIP 93108

 **Mailgram**



ELISABETH BORGESE  
1711 FERNALD POINT LN  
SANTA BARBARA CA 93108

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:  
8059694432 NL TDRN SANTA BARBARA CA 15 03-07 0212A EDT  
PMS PROFESSOR KING GORDON  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTER BOX 8500  
OTTAWA ONT CAN  
INFORMING IOI COUNCIL MEETING APRIL FOUR TEN AM PICCARDS FOUNDATION  
CULLY SWITZERLAND AGENDA ENROUTE REGARDS  
ELISABETH

THIS IS A CONFIRMATION COPY BY MAILGRAM.

2010 EDT

MGMOXNB OXN



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July 5, 1978

Miss Jean Muller  
Pacem in Maribus  
Box 4716  
Santa Barbara  
California 93103  
U.S.A.

Dear Jean,

Many thanks for the material. It is very useful. With page 5 my minutes of the last Planning Council are now complete. I now have the draft program for PIM IX, and the status of the proposed Training Program is a bit clearer.

I hope you had a good Independence Day - perhaps we'd better call it Interdependence Day!

Again thanks and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

King Gordon

Please Reply to:

Box 4716

Santa Barbara, California 93103



Pacem in Maribus

March 8, 1978

Dear King,

Here is a copy of my letter to Maurice. I sent another copy to Johnston. It would be great if we could get some help again.

Yours as ever,



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April 12, 1978

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Chex Noetzlin  
Champs de la Joie  
Saint Gix, Pays de Gex  
Divonne-les-Bains, France

Dear Elisabeth,

Many thanks for your letter of 6 April with its kind invitation to attend the Planning Council meeting at your place near Geneva. On the basis of your earlier note suggesting that this Council meeting be restricted to those members already in Europe - in the interest of economy - I had put aside any idea of attending and made other plans for that weekend. I shall, therefore, not be there. Please accept my regrets and give my very best wishes to my friends and colleagues.

Your news of the Swedish visit is good and it is encouraging that some of the plans which we discussed in Mexico seem to be finding fruition. As for support from the Centre for one or other of the IOI projects, I can only assure you that they will receive serious consideration within the IDRC's scheme of priorities.

The news reaching us here on the Law of the Sea Conference is meager and what there is sounds pretty dismal. I do hope that the immediate crisis is surmounted and that the Conference gets on with its business which is of such great consequence to us all.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

JKG/kp



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June 8, 1978

Miss Jean Muller  
Pacem in Maribus  
P.O. Box 4716  
Santa Barbara  
California 93103

*called*

Dear Jean,

I have just received a letter from Elisabeth mentioning the minutes of the Council Meeting. They have not reached me yet and I thought I'd write you in case they have gone astray. I hope it went well. I intended to look up Elisabeth in Geneva on my way back from a recent meeting in Rome but unfortunately the message on her whereabouts was garbled when it reached me so I had to come straight back.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon

JKG/kp

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 **Mailgram**<sup>®</sup>



4-056185E334002 11/30/77 ICS IPMRNCZ CSP OXNB  
1 8059669342 MGM IDRN SANTA BARBARA CA 11-30 0539P EST

ELISAETH MANN BORGESE  
PO BOX 4716  
SANTA BARBARA CA 93103

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

8059669342 IDRN SANTA BARBARA CA 94/93 11-30 0539P EST  
PMS 1F6139962321 INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTER  
PO BOX 8500  
OTTAWA ON CAN KIG 3H9

ATTENTION KING GORDON THIS IS TO CONFIRM OUR APPLICATION FOR GRANT OF FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS TO ENABLE US TO BRING EXPERTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO PACEM IN MARIBUS VIII WORKSHOP MEXICO DECEMBER 7 TO 10 UNDER JOINT AUSPICES OF CESTIW MEXICO AND IOI MALTA. WORKSHOP WILL DISCUSS RESULTS OF RESEARCH INITIATED ON DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF MARINE RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND CONTINUATION EXPANSION AND COORDINATION OF SUCH RESEARCH. PARTICIPATION OF EXPERTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS OBVIOUSLY OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO SUCCESS OF PROJECT. WE WARMLY APPRECIATE YOUR GENEROUS COOPERATION REGARDS

ELISABETH MANN BORGESE  
CHAIRMAN PLANNING COUNCIL

1743 EST

MGMCOMP MGM



Pacem in Maribus

Dear King,

the PC information including agenda will follow shortly.

ber 8, 1977

*Love*

*Elisabeth*

*cc Strong letter  
cc "Jim"  
Printed Prog*

*(Strong letter)*

our extremely kind letter of course, sorry that for the operation here at the Center, ratulate you most heartily on DRC. While it might have been build something new here, the of activities and possibili-

some material concerning the III Convocation in Mexico. program. I very much hope come, at least for the of Trustees and Planning on December 7. Shirley during those days as well.

The conference, in spite of internal Mexican problems of all kinds, will probably be inaugurated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs personally.

There is another way in which you could help us in connection with this conference. All the basic budget has been assured by the Centro de Estudios Economicos y Sociales del Tercer Mundo and the International Ocean Institute. However, at this time, the IOI is seeking additional funds to help participants from developing countries with a travel grant. Considering the quality of the preparatory material and the direction of the discussions, their participation is vital. We already have a number of requests from high-ranking people in the Philippines, Thailand and other countries for travel grants. The CONACYT in Mexico has contributed \$5000 for this purpose. I am expecting a similar grant from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Mexico and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Venezuela. The total required will be about \$30,000. Do you think you could help us in getting a grant for \$5000 from the IDRC? We are keeping our request at this very modest level in order to facilitate quick decision-making, but it would seem

Please Reply to:

Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103



Pacem in Maribus

October 31, 1977

Dear King,

I feel very guilty for not having answered your very nice letter of July 15. The fact is that it caught up with me very late. I was looking at it while traveling in the Soviet Union -- and decided to postpone answering until I would be back in this part of the world.

Now it is time to get ready for Pacem VIII in Mexico. Enclosed some up to date information.

Do you think it would be possible to get some very small contributions to the Friends to pay for the small travel expenses of our Canadian contingent? Yourself, Bob Hart (hopefully) -- and who else? Alan Beesley, of course.

I have read two-thirds of the galleys of the Yearbook. It is going to be quite impressive.

I remember Railway Accident and A Weary Hour. I don't seem to recall A Gleam -- or perhaps the German title was different. They are early stories and very nice.

All the best and looking forward to seeing you soon,

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Encls. - *Blue PIM only*  
*no no. letter*  
*no env*  
*no reg form*





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July 15 1977

Dear ELisabeth,

I had a strange experience last evening. I had just brought home some pictures from the framers: one was a Kathe Kolwitz lithograph entitled "Brot" which was done originally as a poster for the Winterhoelfe in Berlin 1930-31, a very moving thing with a dejected mother and two hungry children; another was a painting of Ruth done many years ago by a Canadian painter, Pegi Nichol; the third was a woodblock of a crucifixion which we both thought had been done by Lynn Ward, who was a friend of mine many years ago in New York. That got Ruth hunting for some Lynn Ward books we knew we had. She produced one limited edition and then another limited edition of Thomas Mann's "Nocturnes" illustrated by Lynn Ward.

As you may recall it is three short stories - A Gleam, Railway Accident, and A Weary Hour. I read them with delight - very sensitive, a marvellous eye for detail, compassionate. I was so glad we found the little book.

The Yearbook outline arrived from Norton and I passed along a copy to Bob Hart. He is looking forward to receiving Arvid's and your study on the implications of the new international economic order since he has been asked to do a similar thing for CIDA. I think I told you he is hopeful of being able to find ways to raise some support: we shall see what we can do.

All the best

Mark 102

Krug



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June 16, 1977

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
c/o Austrian Permanent Mission  
809 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Elisabeth,

I was glad to have the chance of seeing you again at the meeting of the Planning Council and having that delightful dinner with you and Jean and Pannikar.

I thought on the whole the meeting was relevant and fruitful. We are certainly moving into a new period with the end of the Law of the Sea Conference now in sight. The conclusion of some kind of a treaty will draw a line in history and, as was said by several at our meeting, it looks as if the time for further input from Pacem in Maribus has just about passed.

That means that the immediate focus should be on the Ocean Yearbook and on a program of research into areas which will claim priority as a result of the new ocean order established by the treaty. Both projects obviously call for sustained funding and for at least a minimal core of experienced staff. In the case of the Yearbook, there obviously is a full-time job in compiling the yearly statistical data in various categories which are called for if the book is to merit the designation of Yearbook as distinct from a collection of essays no matter how important. In the case of the IOI, there is need for a full-time Director with special qualifications and a small core group that will enable the Institute to play its role of a clearing-house, a seminar centre, and also a planner and coordinator of research projects decided upon by the Planning Council. This last function will be particularly important in the post-UNCLOS period which will open up many new areas calling for study in depth.

. . . /2

All this of course calls for sustained funding. As was suggested at the meeting it seems to me that such funding may be more readily available if the specific objectives are clearly defined.

This concentration of emphasis does not exclude the possibility of some of the seminar programs which have characterized Pacem in Maribus in the past. There is considerable advantage as we have seen in maintaining the kind of profile to produce public interest and influence world public opinion. But I think that we must avoid the danger of spreading our efforts too thin.

You will be interested to know that quite by accident on the way back from Massachusetts I met Max Dunbar whom you will know by reputation as an outstanding Canadian oceanographer and who is a member of Max Bruce's Canadian Friends. I met him at dinner at North Hantley where we were visiting our friends Frank and Marian Scott. He expressed to me feelings that he had put into his brief letter to Max Bruce that the time was ripe for a conference on the relationship between oceanography and the exploitation and protection of the marine environment. It would be good if you could meet him some time. I find him an interesting man with an excellent international outlook.

I hope to have words with Max Bruce before he takes off for England and we shall see what can be done to carry on the work of the Canadian Friends and, I hope, provide more financial support.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. King Gordon", with a horizontal line drawn underneath it.

J. King Gordon

P.S.: I managed to include my stopover in New York within a longer trip I was taking for the IDRC. Therefore my travel costs for the meeting are nil. However, I enclose a bill for my hotel accomodation and terminal expenses.

P.P.S.: In connection with the proposed Pacific-rim seminars you should bear in mind Professor Mark Zacher, Director, Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, British Columbia. The Institute has done some concentrated work in the field of ocean research and you will recall Mark attended one of the Malta meetings.



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November 22, 1977

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Chairman, Planning Council  
International Ocean Institute  
P.O. Box 4068, Santa Barbara  
California 93103

Dear Elisabeth,

Many thanks for your letter of October 31. I have been looking forward to being at the Mexico meeting but only recently have seen my way clear to attending it. The material indicates that it is going to be a very important one.

As I mentioned to Jean when I called the Centre last week, I fear it is going to be difficult to carry out your suggestion for raising funds to cover my travel expenses as well as Bob Hart's. Alan Beesley, as you know, is now High Commissioner in Australia and unless the Canadian Government is prepared to pay his way I would be doubtful if he could attend. Consequently, as I informed Jean, I am afraid my presence in Mexico is dependent on travel expenses being provided by the I.O.I. or the joint sponsors of the conference.

As you perhaps realize, Max Bruce landed the responsibilities of the Canadian Friends on my shoulders *faute de mieux* as the only other Canadian who had been closely associated with the International Ocean Institute. Max Dunbar, who worked with Max Bruce, is away in England on a six months sabbatical. George Ignatieff, a good friend of mine, has lent his name to the Friends but as far as I can discern those who supported the cause were Max Bruce's personal friends and business acquaintances.

. . . /2

For the last three years I have been closely associated with the United Nations Association in Canada as President. This has involved certain responsibilities for fund raising. I had hoped to be clear of these responsibilities when I retired from the Presidency last May but, unfortunately, this has so far proved to be impossible. As you know, I have the keenest interest in the work of Pacem in Maribus and hope that we shall be able to get some financial support in Canada for its various undertakings including the Yearbook. But I am afraid it means beginning at the beginning apart from any personal contacts which I may be able to call upon.

Maurice Strong is just beginning to assume his responsibilities here as Chairman of the Board. I have not yet had the opportunity of speaking to him about the matter raised in your letter. I hope, however, to be able to reach him within the next few days. As you know, the Centre has up to now not given high priority to matters in the field of the Law of the Sea and while it has given support on occasion to the travel expenses of Third World representatives to international conferences I am not sure whether our conference in Mexico would fit within the Centre's criteria. However, it is worth trying since certainly the present discussions on the management of the ocean have enormous implications for Third World development.

I am tentatively planning to leave for Mexico on December 4 and shall await authorization for my air fare which Jean suggested would be soon forthcoming.

I was delighted to receive a letter last week from Ritchie and am very glad to know that he is coming.

With warmest personal greetings,

Yours sincerely,



J. King Gordon

JKG/kp



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January 11 1977

Received  
Jan 9, 1977

My dear Elisabeth,

I was much saddened to learn  
of the death of your brother, Michael. All your  
family and your mother our deepest sympathy.  
I'm afraid that the loss will be particularly  
hard for your mother.

Joan told me when I phoned the  
Centre that you were planning a series of  
visits along the Mediterranean including  
Algeria and Malta. I am in your station now.

I've had good and exciting material  
from you on future study and summer plans.  
Try to get the minutes of the Algeria meeting  
and from Edwin. I'll be writing soon about  
them.

All my love and good wishes for the New Year

John  
King



INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT  
RESEARCH CENTRE

1c  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES  
POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT  
INTERNATIONAL

Box 8500  
Ottawa K1G 3H9  
July 14 1977

04-16  
Dear Norton,

Many thanks for sending along the Yearbook outline. I've been in touch with Robert Hart who is a Senior Adviser International Development in the Fisheries and Marine Service of the Department of the Environment. He had sent Elisabeth a batch of material on aquaculture in China on which he is something of an expert.

He has become greatly interested in the work of Pacem in Maribus and appears to have some good ideas on how we may get some modest support from the Canadian government.

Incidentally, he has also sent Elisabeth the name of a Canadian who for a number of years has been responsible for the fisheries section of the FAO yearbook. Hageborn is his name and Hart thinks he may be of some use to us.

I was good hearing from you.  
Let's keep in touch

J. KING GORDON



Pacem in Maribus

Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

- 2 -

Professor J. King Gordon

June 19, 1977.

As I had occasion to report to the Council meeting, we have thus far received three grants: from the General Service Foundation in the U.S.A. (\$30,000), from the Government of the Netherlands (\$10,000, renewable), from the Gulbenkian Foundation in Portugal (\$10,000, renewable). The University of Chicago has assumed all costs of production (including paper) promotion and circulation; the Press is also paying us a royalty of 17 1/2 percent on a \$20 sales price. We have also made arrangements for continued cooperation with the Encyclopaedia Britannica Yearbook, which may yield another \$5,000 yearly (plus a great deal of invaluable publicity). I am expecting further grants from Japan and, hopefully, from France.

To ensure the successful publication of this Ocean Yearbook for at least three years we urgently need additional funds. In view of the above information I wonder whether CIDA could not consider our application. A \$10,000 grant, possibly renewable next year, would go a long way towards helping us.

If you need any further information or budget breakdown, I am entirely at your disposal.

Thanks for your help, as always.

Yours cordially,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese





Pacem in Maribus

Box 4710  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

June 19, 1977.

Professor J. King Gordon  
International Development Research Center  
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear King:

I promised to bring you up to date on the progress of the Ocean Yearbook, thus enabling you to mobilize cooperation and support in Canada.

You have the original proposal, which has remained pretty much what it was, except that the table of contents for Volume I has been refined and expanded. I am enclosing an up-to-date copy.

Also, some features of volumes II and III are already beginning to take shape: Thus science and technology, which is getting a rather sketchy treatment in Vol. I, will be given much space and attention in Volume II, in view of the forthcoming U.N. Conference on Science and Technology, in cooperation with the U.N. agencies, with the Marine Technological Society in Washington, with Japanese institutions, and with CNEXO in France.

The regional section of Vol II will, in all likelihood, be dedicated to the Caribbean, in connection with a seminar program carried out in cooperation between the IOI and the Center for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World in Mexico; the corresponding section in Vol. III might be given to regional developments in the Pacific, if the project we discussed at the last Council meeting materializes.

The most interesting development, however, seems to be arising from the cooperation between the IOI and the Third World Center in Mexico this summer: in preparation for our first joint seminar, on the New International Economic Order and the Law of the Sea in December this year.

The Mexican Center has decided to start a Third-World marine resource data bank, and our Yearbook staff is going to work closely with the Center staff on this project. We envisage, in fact, that the Yearbook will be the regular printed medium for the international circulation of this material.

I thought this might be of particular interest to CIDA, if CIDA were considering to assist the Yearbook program.



Pacem in Maribus

Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

- 2 -

Professor J. King Gordon

June 19, 1977.

As I had occasion to report to the Council meeting, we have thus far received three grants: from the General Service Foundation in the U.S.A. (\$30,000), from the Government of the Netherlands (\$10,000, renewable), from the Gulbenkian Foundation in Portugal (\$10,000, renewable). The University of Chicago has assumed all costs of production (including paper) promotion and circulation; the Press is also paying us a royalty of 17 1/2 percent on a \$20 sales price. We have also made arrangements for continued cooperation with the Encyclopaedia Britannica Yearbook, which may yield another \$5,000 yearly (plus a great deal of invaluable publicity). I am expecting further grants from Japan and, hopefully, from France.

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If you need any further information or budget breakdown, I am entirely at your disposal.

Thanks for your help, as always.

Yours cordially,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese



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January 11 1977

Received SF  
Mar 9 1977

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I'm afraid that the loss will be particularly  
hard for your mother.

Joan told me when I joined the  
Centre that you were planning a series of  
visits around the Mediterranean including  
Algiers and Malta. I am in your stomach.

I've had good and exciting material  
from you on future study and seminar plans.  
Today the minute of the Algiers meeting  
arrived from Edwin. I'll be writing soon about  
them.

All my love and good wishes for the New Year

Joan  
King

### ITEM III

#### THE ENTERPRISE

##### Summary

by

J. King Gordon

Ambassador Pinto examined alternative ways through which the Seabed Authority could conduct its business. Plans to exploit the riches of the seabed on the basis of Arvid Pardo's concept of the seabed as the Common Heritage of Mankind had encountered difficulties from the start because of the sharp conflict of economic philosophies among member States participating in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. One group of industrial nations thought that the responsibility should be discharged by the technological skill of private enterprise. Another group stressed the right of States' access to the area, even though some access must be limited. Both groups agreed that proceeds of deep-sea mining would be shared among all nations with a particular concern for developing nations. The third, and largest group, held that under the Seabed Authority, the Enterprise should have the sole responsibility for mining.

Between these positions, there was little possibility of a compromise. Consideration has, therefore, been given to parallel operations, part under the Enterprise and part under private exploitation.

Whether mining would be carried out through the exclusive operations of the Enterprise or through parallel operations, crucial problems have to be faced in the acquisition of necessary technological expertise, management and financing. And probably the most important is financing.

Ambassador Pinto reviewed several schemes through which financing could be achieved. The amounts called for were substantial. Estimates for a single project were placed at between \$500 and \$800 millions.

This needed investment capital could be raised by the following methods:

1. Compulsory contributions from all member states based on ability to pay;
2. Voluntary contributions along the lines of certain current U.N. programs, e.g., UNDP. This scheme might finance the general program of seabed exploitation or it might be divided into particular projects in which certain States would have more interest than others;
3. Once in operation, the program of seabed exploitation could draw on the proceeds of past operations: there were certain difficulties, however, in defining "proceeds."

Certain more exotic means of financing that might be examined are:

1. Contributions from each State which was engaged in mining its own continental shelf. This type of sharing had already been mentioned in the UNCLOS debates;
2. As previously proposed by the representative of Senegal, there might be national taxation of income derived from seabed exploitation beyond the continental shelf which had been carried out by private enterprise or by the government concerned;

There were also more conventional ways to acquire capital:

1. Sale of stock. Here provisions would have to be introduced to offset the voting power of dominant stockholders;
2. Borrowing, with collateral provided by the governments of all member States or by those with a particular regional interest in a specific project;
3. In time, the Authority itself might develop credit-worthiness.

Other possibilities involving the nature of the operation itself were discussed:

1. Mining might be carried out by contract with the contractor assuming the chief costs;
2. Operations might be carried out as joint ventures involving both the Authority and national bodies, whether governments or

private enterprises or consortia. Instead of concentrating on efforts to bring into being and finance an autonomous operational arm like the Enterprise, one might contemplate mining under a uniform system of equity joint ventures. Where an applicant was accepted by the Authority for participation with it in seabed mining, the Authority and the other entity would bring into being through procedures to be provided for under the Treaty, a new Enterprise, a new international personality which would itself then be authorized to borrow or by other agreed means obtain the necessary financing. Thus neither the Authority nor any of its organs, nor, indeed, the joint-venture partner would be directly involved in the question of financing. Under this system, there would be no need for a single organ called the Enterprise. On the other hand, the system would spawn several "Enterprises" -- as many enterprises in fact as there were seabed mining ventures. This system offers many advantages and should be considered in greater depth.

In the discussion that followed, attention was focussed on the proposal for joint ventures as a substitute for either the exclusive responsibility of the Enterprise or the parallel operations. It was suggested that this might provide the means for breaking the present stalemate in UNCLOS and, perhaps more importantly, moving into operational activity in such a way as not to foreclose options and allow possibility of later revision. Some made the point that the joint-venture proposal did not inhibit the possibility of the Authority itself undertaking certain projects. And while objection to this implication had been raised by developed countries, it was recalled that when the Nigerian representative raised the possibility of joint venture, the U.S. Secretary of State gave it enthusiastic endorsement. One participant warned that the financing of the Enterprise would be closely related to the effective management of the project, and the provision for this in the S.N.T. was not reassuring.

Another participant suggested that in order to get on with seabed exploitation, licensing might be considered an option. Several discussants returned to the point that the joint-venture approach held most promise for the transitional period during which institutional structures and procedures could be creatively improved.



Pacem in Maribus

Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

February 1, 1977

Professor J. King Gordon  
International Development Research Center  
Box 8500  
Ottawa, Canada, K1G 3H9

Dear King:

The enclosed material is self-explanatory. Can you do anything to help?

More soon. The Ocean Yearbook is doing fine. Things are moving, but the law of the sea is in a sad state....

Yours affectionately,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Chairman, Planning Council

Encls.

- Fond love to you  
Keep in touch Half Normal Size  
Pine Huxer

both - I'll keep in touch  
True love





Dear Rupert & Ruth Dec 23<sup>rd</sup> '83  
→ **CORDON** Thank you for your  
Xmas Card & note, in the mail  
today. I am writing back immediately  
in the hope that my note will reach  
you while Elizabeth Soper is with  
you early in the New Year. I have  
enclosed a nice letter which I received  
last month from an elderly woman  
who worked for many years at Melbourne  
University in charge of language teaching  
for all Science Students - She came  
to Australia in 1939 with a PhD  
in Philosophy. I think it was (is?)  
a marvellous person - (she now  
lives in W.A.) - please give it  
to Elizabeth & tell her we are all  
tremendously 'excited' at the prospect  
of her stay at St Hilda's. D. James  
is in charge of her

programme - the best possible use of  
the all too short time but you  
might tell her that D. James has  
agreed that the Institute of International  
Affairs, of which I am an executive  
Council member here in Melbourne,  
should have a chance to invite  
her to speak to members.

I would dearly love to plan another  
visit to Canada but as I am going  
to Europe in early April for 7 weeks  
& returning at the end of May, I will  
have to take a rapid check on your  
invitation.

I have not had time to send out  
Xmas Cards this year as we are  
very busy getting the rebuilt holiday  
house at home ready for this weekend.  
My 2nd son did his part in so far as  
the house was by plate 2 weeks ago. Had  
the repainting & so? Ash Wednesday is  
not so long ago - only 10 months in  
p70

984 Fairlawn Avenue  
Ottawa K2A 3S5  
January 12 1984

Dear Elisabeth,

How clever of you to discover you have to go to Hawaii at this time of year when we are freezing at -25 and your poor dogs are having to wear ice coats! And I suppose the next thing we'll hear is that you have to go to Jamaica for the Preparatory Commission.

I thought I had better send some cheering words to welcome you home and enclose two letters that have just arrived - an enthusiastic note from my friend Prue Myer, who has been the moving spirit behind the memorial fellowship, and the enclosure from an old friend of hers you undoubtedly will be meeting. I think it's all very nice.

Here we are deep in the peace business. Next Monday the Ottawa group of the Group of 78 is having a luncheon meeting to try to launch the Foundation originally inspired by the wish to honour Andrew Brewin who was responsible for the bringing together of the group and its letter to the PM. You will, I hope, have received the latest letter describing the positive reactions to forming some kind of foundation that will incorporate the integrated approach involving disarmament and reasonable consultation, constructive work for north-south plus east-west cooperation for a new international economic order, and strengthening the United Nations and relevant international institutions.

Incidentally, Trudeau's peace initiative is getting increasing support from a pretty impressive group of Canadians. Members of our group have been strong in their backing. But this makes it all the more important that we generate a stronger international movement for the foundations of a stable and cooperative peace. Incidentally, I had a very good note the other day from Sonny Ramphal putting a fairly hopeful interpretation on the New Delhi Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

I bumped into Jim Pfeifer the other day who reported in some excitement on the progress of ICOD. What goes?

We'll try to warm things up a bit to encourage you to pay us a visit soon. Ruth joins me in sending our love.

*Jim and  
Ruth*

Dr. Anita Rodgers

63 The Grove  
Armadale  
Western Australia, 6112.

09/ 399 2394

3rd Nov.1983

The Chairman  
Marjorie Smart Memorial Appeal

St. Hilda's College  
PARKVILLE 3052

Dear Mrs Myer and friends of the Appeal,

I was delighted to receive your letter of 21/10/83 telling me of the wonderful success of the appeal as well of the first Marjorie Smart Fellow .

As the daughter of the famous author Thomas Mann one can expect her as an outstanding woman of international repute and like her father - a humanist with an enormous concern for the working of democratic institutions. While living in Germany and as a law-student in Munich I have attended conferences by Thomas Mann and remember having seen his children riding a bicycle to music-lessons with the violin strapped on the back. And the Manns had a cottage at the Sylt sea-side resort of Kampen which we all enjoyed before it was "discovered" by the fashionable crowd .

With kind regards and best wishes

sincerely



Anita Rodgers

1984 ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

August 30 - September 2, 1984

Hilton Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

January 11, 1984

PANEL TITLE: Training Programs in International Development: An Assessment

CHAIRMAN: Gilbert R. Winham  
Dalhousie University

PAPERS: "The GATT Commercial Policy Courses"  
Desmond Peart  
Director, Training Division, GATT, Geneva

"Training for Trainers in International Development"  
Pierre Casse  
Chief, Training for Social and Economic Development,  
UNITAR, N.Y.

"Training in Marine Resource Management"  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Chairman, Planning Council, International Ocean  
Institute, Malta

"Training for Managing Economic Development"  
Christopher Willoughby  
Director, Economic Development Institute, World Bank,  
Washington

DISCUSSANTS: Ambassador Layachi Yaker  
Embassy of Algeria to the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

TBA