

# **Financing Educational Development:**

Proceedings of  
an International Seminar  
held in  
Mont Sainte Marie, Canada

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# ***Financing Educational Development***

***Proceedings of an International Seminar  
held in Mont Sainte Marie, Canada,  
19–21 May 1982***

*Organized by the*  
International Development Research Centre  
*and the*  
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*The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the International Development Research Centre or the Canadian International Development Agency.*

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### ***Résumé***

Du 19 au 21 mai 1982, les représentants de plus d'une douzaine d'organismes qui se consacrent au financement de la recherche et du développement éducationnels dans les pays en développement, se sont réunis au Mont-Sainte-Marie (Canada). Cette réunion, la plus récente d'une série échelonnée sur dix ans, portait sur le financement du développement éducationnel; les investissements en éducation dans le monde, les difficultés que les gouvernements nationaux et les organismes donateurs rencontrent dans l'augmentation des ressources affectées à ce domaine et l'expérimentation d'une gamme d'innovations éducationnelles présumées rentables. Plusieurs communications présentées à cette réunion avaient été commandées à des chercheurs qui étudient les questions intéressant les investissements dans l'éducation. Cette monographie contient tous les exposés présentés à cette réunion; suivent le résumé du compte rendu de la réunion et des débats sur le thème à l'étude des décideurs du Tiers Monde qui y ont participé.

### ***Resumen***

Delegados de más de una docena de organismos donantes involucrados en la financiación de la investigación y el desarrollo educativos en el mundo en desarrollo se reunieron en Mont Sainte Marie, Canada, del 19 al 21 de mayo de 1982. Esta reunión, la más reciente de una serie que se ha prolongado a lo largo de una década, se centró en el tema de la financiación del desarrollo educativo: el estado de la inversión en educación en el mundo, las limitaciones que enfrentan tanto gobiernos como organismos donantes para el otorgamiento de mayores fondos con destino a la educación y la experiencia con una serie de innovaciones educativas supuestamente costo-efectivas. Para esta reunión se comisionaron varios estudios sobre aspectos de la inversión educativa a expertos en el tema. Tales trabajos aparecen en esta monografía, acompañados de una reseña general de las exposiciones y de los comentarios que sobre el tema hicieron los formuladores de política del mundo en desarrollo participantes en la reunión.

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## ***Priorities and Problems in Education for Development***

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*This study was prepared at the request of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as a contribution to the discussions of the meeting of donor agency education staff at Mont Sainte Marie, Canada, 19–21 May 1982. To ascertain the present policies and practices of certain contributing governments and international agencies, it was agreed that I should speak with the appropriate officers of the development cooperation agencies of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Canada, and that I should also meet with representatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Labour Office (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (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 in international policies. The related economic hardships suffered by developing countries almost certainly affected the funds available for education. But equally important were changes in the priorities in educational support on the part of contributing governments, many of them in response to changes in the educational policy of the governments directly responsible for the planning and administration of education in the interest of their people.

The most important changes in educational policy resulted from a major shift in the philosophy and practice of international development. The

belief that dominated the 50s and 60s that the transfer of science and technology of the industrialized countries to the economically backward countries would lead to the eradication of poverty for the mass of the population turned out to be fallacious. While some economic growth was measured, the majority of the population remained in absolute poverty and the gap between rich and poor nations grew wider. By the mid-70s, the concerted voice of the Third World demanded a restructured international order to assure a more equitable distribution of the world's resources, greater equality of distribution within nations, sometimes with genuinely revolutionary overtones, and a substantial increase in the contributions of the rich nations to international assistance.

The 1980s opened with more and more of the Third World nations prepared to chart their own course of development, taking into account the particular needs, resources, and cultural goals of their people. Relying in any case on their own resources for the major share of the funding of development, they were determined to increase their self-reliance and break clear of their dependence on the countries of the developed world. The same attitude and policy applied to their educational approach. Originally it had been a replica of the system in the industrialized countries, closely linked to the technical and professional needs — not to mention the class interests — of the modern, mainly urban sector. Now educational leaders thought in human terms — the human needs of the formerly neglected sectors of their society, the legitimate demands of all their people for the competent means to master their environment, the aspirations of their people for cultural and spiritual fulfillment.

I should like to say a little more about this aspect of the educational approach, which was clearly evident in the course of this investigation and accounts in some measure for the forms this study has assumed. People are in the focus of the educational picture — as beneficiaries, as participants, and as contributors. 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.

Before turning to a consideration of some of the priorities and problems of education for development that I encountered during my European consultations, I should like to say one word about the factual situation in regard to financing education that was made known to me. In the case of the three governments whose officers I consulted, financial constraints were not a prime consideration. The Netherlands and Sweden have maintained two of the highest levels of contribution to development assistance among all industrialized countries, amounting to more than 1% of gross national product (GNP). Canada's percentage is considerably less but it stands up well among 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 I consulted, the picture is not as bright. Although interest in educational support is higher than ever, the funds available either directly from governments or from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) — the major source of funding — have suffered drastic curtailment. The Commonwealth institutions, with great potential for contributing to cooperative educational development, are greatly underfinanced.

Rather than attempt to put into this introduction a summary journal of my visits and encounters as I traveled from The Hague to Paris to Geneva to Stockholm and to London, I have tried rather to identify certain findings that have emerged out of one or out of several consultations. The consultations were more than a device for acquiring some information that I might just as easily have found in a book or a report. I have just remarked that "People are the essential focus of the education picture — as beneficiaries, as participants, and as contributors." In most cases those I talked with were participants in some aspects of the educational process and the interviews were a shared experience for which the actual setting or the historical context might have relevance. Some parts of my study may reflect this shared experience more than others.

To begin with, my visit to The Hague reinforced my strongly held conviction that the most useful support for educational development is the natural cooperation of educator with educator. Dr Heiman Quik, first Director of the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation (NUFFIC) used to say: "Get this straight: NUFFIC is not part of the Dutch aid program. It is an organization of universities and specialized training and research institutes engaged in a cooperative

educational effort with similar institutions in developing countries. We get support from the Dutch government but we are not part of their program of international assistance."

NUFFIC was established in 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 the administration of an empire should be made available to the new nations that came into being in the postcolonial era. Some 18 specialized institutes were established, sometimes on an independent basis, sometimes in association with a university, and under the coordination of NUFFIC their resources and those of the universities were made available for teaching, training, technical assistance, and research to students and professionals from developing countries.

There is always a danger in such an approach that despite an emphasis on cooperation a feeling will persist of superior scholarly endowment that one is prepared to share with others. But in this visit to The Hague I noticed a distinct change in attitude and practice. There was an increased recognition that important decisions were being taken by responsible authorities in developing countries and that the contribution of scientists and scholars from the Netherlands was a supportive one. It was becoming NUFFIC policy to move their scientific and professional expertise out into the countries of the Third World so as to face in a cooperative way problems that had to be solved in their own context.

This interuniversity cooperation is by no means unique in the case of the Netherlands. In Britain, immediately after the war the Inter-University Council (IUC) launched a very efficient scheme of collaboration between British universities and the universities of the newly emerging nations of the Commonwealth. The IUC retained very effective existence until last year when it was absorbed in the British Council. In Canada, the universities have become increasingly effective in international cooperation with the establishment of the International Development Office of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and the setting up within CIDA of the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) has also given its effective support to cooperative research involving Canadian and Third World institutions of higher learning through its new Cooperative Programs.

In the second place, new emphases in the educational support programs of UNESCO, ILO,

and WHO reflect significant shifts in the educational policy in Third World countries. One of the most important is the shift in focus from the urban industrial sector to the rural sector in the interest of greater equity in the provision of educational opportunities. This is closely related to the reorientation of educational objectives so as to integrate them with a series of development programs aimed at meeting basic human needs, improving the human environment, and broadening the opportunities for human fulfillment.

In UNESCO, there was a new emphasis on the importance of primary education and a new stress on literacy and adult education. In ILO, there appeared to be a movement away from the establishment and staffing of vocational training institutes geared to industry and toward training closely linked to actual crafts and employment in rural as well as urban areas. Great importance was attached to the preparation of detailed training modules, suitable for self-instruction and the upgrading of skills. There was also a new emphasis on training for women and the improvement of the status of women, particularly in rural areas. In WHO, there was a new emphasis on the importance of primary health care with formal and nonformal education at the local level integrated with improvements in agricultural production and nutrition, sanitation, fresh water, and basic health education. Moreover, this integrated community development activity was linked with training and professional health administration at higher levels.

The role of nongovernmental organizations in these new educational activities at the community level is of great significance and there are many examples of its effectiveness. Community development is often served best by the actions of local nongovernmental organizations with cooperative support from international and national nongovernmental organizations. Development is directed to human goals and, as we have noted, in the educational process people are both beneficiaries and participants. But this does not mean that development is essentially a grass-roots activity any more than it implies that basic or nonformal education is true education. What it does mean is that enlightened government policy must find expression in the actual community that is being served and there nongovernmental activity has a vital role. From the standpoint of contributing governments, nongovernmental organizations both national and international, provide some of the most effective channels for the provision of cooperative support. All three governments interviewed are making full use of these channels.

A third feature of educational development evident from this study is also closely linked to the growing self-reliance of developing countries. We are witnessing many examples of regional cooperation in the sharing of knowledge, the sponsorship of collaborative research, and the establishment and maintenance of common training facilities. The education network in Asia sponsored by UNESCO links 1000 educational institutions from Japan south to Australia and west to Pakistan. ILO has given support to a training program for seven countries in east and southern Africa with some funding from Sweden. WHO and UNICEF sponsored a conference on health care in Ethiopia that brought together a number of African countries that were engaged in relating central government health policy to establishing basic conditions of health at the village level.

The Commonwealth presents perhaps the most interesting examples of regional cooperation. With some assistance from the Commonwealth Secretariat, which includes an Education Division and administers a Fund for Technical Assistance, it manages to support joint educational efforts, an extensive scholarship program, and a number of specialized training centres in specialized fields. A unique feature of the Commonwealth is that it includes nations from both North and South and normally succeeds in resolving differences and achieving a large measure of unanimity on important issues.

A fourth area of concern that emerged in this study relates to the capability of Third World countries to draw upon the world's resources of science and technology necessary for the social and economic development of their societies. We have already touched on this subject in our reference to university cooperation and the development of networks or educators and other scholars and professionals concerned with development. A central feature in this capability must be the development of centres of research. Here reference must be made to the role of the IDRC, financed by the Canadian government but operating under an international board of governors. The contribution of IDRC during its first decade has earned it the highest respect in the Third World. It has provided a model for other national centres supporting development research, notably the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC).

But there are also other research centres related to international development that serve other and equally important purposes. These are directed to a clearer understanding of the development process itself and, in consequence, the role of education in

the process. Within the last decade a number of institutes have undertaken to sponsor research in this field, drawing on the scientific expertise from developing as well as developed countries. One outstanding example, investigated in this study, is the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden. Its contribution through research, conferences, and publications has been highly important, with a strong emphasis on the dynamic role of education in economic and social development within changing domestic and international parameters. Other development research centres visited in the course of the study included the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London, and the Institute of Environment and Development in London.

Finally, Julius Nyerere once said: "Education is liberation." We have observed how the concept of the role of education has evolved from a functional relationship with economic growth — with a consequent income benefit to the possessor of education — into a much more social concept of a contributor to a society that meets the needs of its members with equity and efficiency. But from the very beginning education has meant much more than that. It has been one of the principal agents by which the individual has been freed from the prison of ignorance and bewilderment into a world in which one may find fulfillment as a human being, a world rich in the resources of literature and art and music and other forms of human creativity.

One of the most impressive educational efforts encountered during this study was being carried out in Sweden through the schools and the "people's movements" — as nongovernmental organizations are called — to internationalize education. While the immediate results of the program are to relate the Swedish people to the development cooperation goals of the government, the more basic purpose is to educate the members of a new society on which peace must rest and within which they can discover for the first time the riches of a global culture.

Within the context of our contemporary world, this essential nature of education links together in a single creative endeavour the members of the developed and developing worlds. In fact, such adjectives within this context are seen to be somewhat old-fashioned and even obsolete. The ultimate emancipatory goals of education differ very little in the countries of Europe and North America and the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In all countries, education means a liberation into the rich experience of one's own

culture to begin with. But it also means a leading out into the emergent culture of a world that, in Brandt's phrase, is becoming a single community.

### *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 on 27 December 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 that 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, 18 of these institutes were established, covering 66 fields.

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 establish a necessary and responsible relationship with the Netherlands government, a national organization was called for. This emerged in 1952 as the Netherlands Universities 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 nongovernmental cooperation with funding from the Netherlands government. As one might expect, the programs under NUFFIC have expanded, diversified, and shifted their emphasis over the past 30 years. There has, however, been no indication of any serious cutback in the educational emphasis or any falling

off in the total development cooperation program, which is one of the three national programs that has reached more than 1% of GNP 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 drawing on the resources of the 18-odd institutes. Then there is the program involving the Netherlands universities that promotes relationships with some 12 universities or groups of universities in developing countries. The impressive Institute of Social Studies, which shares quarters in The Hague with NUFFIC, offers a series of diploma courses designed primarily for public servants from developing countries as well as certain academic courses at the master's level. The Advisory Council for Scientific Research in Development Problems (RAWOO) acts as a coordinating body for research conducted by Netherlands institutes as well as conducting some research of its own. Some Dutch universities out of their own resources initiate projects linked with Third World universities. A sizable number of educational activities are carried out by nongovernmental organizations with some matching financial assistance provided by the Dutch 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.

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 in 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 (as of 1982, 2.58 NLG = U.S.\$1.00). There was some criticism that the freezing of the institutes' budget and staff was short-sighted, because 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 that were outlined by Jan Pronk when he headed the Ministry of Development Cooperation. In the first place, its activities should be directed toward 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 focused on relationships with a small number of countries and a small number of universities or university groups within these countries, no more than 12 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 2 or 3 years that the project or field of cooperation was likely to be successful the project could be extended with support from NUFFIC. There were three main channels for education funding in the Netherlands: (a) funding for immediate university costs, salaries for teaching staff, funding for immediate research, and funding for administra-

tion; (b) funding for special research projects with wider involvement; and (c) 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 Sciences in The Hague. Under the Institute several programs were carried out, most of them directly related to the strengthening of education related to development. The first were 6-month diploma courses for middle-level public servants, 90% of whom were from developing countries. There were four separate programs in the diploma course and some 200 students attended the courses each year, returning to their home countries, presumably with upgraded 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 or she might return. There were also four or five doctoral students. I got the impression that increasingly the postgraduate 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 Institute 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 for consultancies of a joint nature in association with, for example, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of Sussex University or with one of the other members of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI).

A fairly recent development in the Netherlands policy of international cooperation was the establishment in 1977 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 established with a twofold purpose: as an advisory body on research policy and priorities to the Minister of Development Cooperation and as an advisory body to the Minister of 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 policymakers: 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, and what is the role of interdisciplinary research?

An interim report of the Council established a twofold 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, solution, and policy oriented, and it should be multidisciplinary and 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 policymakers 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 that attempts to summarize the first 4 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.

Although 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 toward development problems: there must be long-term links between Dutch research institutes and their counterparts in the Third World, and 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, and medical sciences and agricultural sciences. The ministries represented include Foreign Affairs/Development Cooperation, Education and Science, Science Policy, Agriculture and Fisheries, and Economic Affairs. In addition, there are representatives from the employers' organization and the trade unions. The secretariat of the

Council is provided by NUFFIC, with 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 mentioned previously, has been sustained for several years at an amount equal to 1% of the national GNP. In 1978, it totaled 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%. 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 NGOs, 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%.

It is important to note that NUFFIC activities are carried out under the direction of a Board that is drawn from the Dutch professional and business community. Although 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.

### ***The United Nations Specialized Agencies: UNESCO, ILO, and WHO***

The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations are an outward manifestation of a widely held belief after World War II 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, employ-

ment, communication, and the protection of human rights.

This belief found expression in Article 55 of the U.N. Charter that called for the promotion of: "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development"; "solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation"; and "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Delegates to the San Francisco Conference considered this affirmation of such importance that they raised the status of the Economic and Social Council to that of a principal organ on a par with that of the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council. It is generally admitted that this new regard for international economic and social cooperation that found expression in the Charter came as a result of pressure from nongovernmental organizations present in San Francisco that believed strongly, to quote the preamble to Article 55, that joint and separate action must be taken "with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations."

The statements of objectives — expanded in greater detail in other articles concerning the function of the Economic and Social Council — revealed a marked advance on anything in the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, although it must be admitted that special commissions under the League succeeded in carrying out pioneer work in fields of health, narcotics control, traffic in women and children, and generally humanitarian relief. Moreover, the one Specialized Agency established under the League, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), through its practice of drafting and securing ratification of international covenants, greatly improved the status and conditions of labour throughout the world.

The U.N. Charter provisions calling for international cooperation to achieve more equitable conditions of living for the world's people expressed themselves in two lines of action, both important. Within the United Nations itself, and specifically under the jurisdiction of the Economic and Social Council, commissions were established for various purposes, all having to do with the promotion and protection of human rights. The Commission on Human Rights drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in 1948. The Commis-

sion on the Status of Women carried out effective work in a too long neglected field. An ad hoc commission on minorities awakened the world's conscience on the plight of refugees and displaced persons. Another ad hoc commission on freedom of the press and information began a process of critical appraisal that is still continuing. All of this activity had the effect of providing international codes of conduct by which actions of governments and lesser jurisdictions could be judged. They reinforced the strengthening belief that human rights and the claim to a decent life for all people were proper subjects for international concern. They speeded the process of decolonization. They placed international guarantees behind belated demands for independence. Eventually they were to lead to active international programs of assistance for development of the poorer countries.

The other line of action that expressed an emerging global consciousness took the form of the bringing into being of a large number of Specialized Agencies under the United Nations, each designed to meet a particular area of human need. We have mentioned ILO, the one surviving member of the League of Nations family. Out of a meeting at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, came the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to help meet the inevitable postwar financial problems as a result of war dislocation and damage. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) was to mobilize an international effort to assist in the world food problem. So did WHO in the field of health. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was the successor of the prewar Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. Several Specialized Agencies took into account that there had to be institutional recognition of the fact that we had moved into an interdependent technological order. These were: the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and the International Meteorological Organization (IMO). Others were to come into existence as some new area for international jurisdiction and management became obvious: the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). UNICEF is part of the United Nations itself and enjoys a different status.

In the beginning, it was assumed that the Specialized Agencies would be advisory, research, and regulatory bodies in their special field of

expertise. Under their respective governing conferences, they have discharged these functions. Moreover, they have developed an expertise in their staff that is frequently drawn upon by their governing bodies. But in 1950, the role of many of them was transformed through the launching of a new international effort to give practical implementation to those articles of the U.N. Charter that called for assisting peoples living in desperate poverty achieve a life of decency and dignity. The United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance was launched and the institutions to carry it out were the Specialized Agencies. The program was funded by the members of the United Nations on a voluntary basis. It had been inspired by the announcement to Congress of President Truman that the United States was about to inaugurate programs of assistance to needy countries and that the United States would be willing to join with others in funding a similar international program under the United Nations. Other countries followed suit, setting up their own bilateral programs and giving support to the international program that was eventually to be known as the United Nations Development Programme or UNDP.

The particular concern of my study was the development programs under the direction or sponsorship of UNESCO, ILO, and WHO with a special interest in their support of education. I began with UNESCO in Paris.

### **UNESCO**

With the assistance of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO and Giulio Fossi, Acting Director of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Development Centre, interviews were arranged for me with staff members of UNESCO and the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

In UNESCO's approved programs for 1981-83, 19 out of 44 are in the educational sector. 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 U.S.\$100 million.

A new importance is being attached to the literacy campaign, an old enthusiasm of UNESCO, which is now taking on new life. There is also 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% 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.

Programs in literacy and adult education mark a swing toward the rural areas. There is 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 with me at the IIEP, which, although closely linked with UNESCO, maintains a degree of autonomy as a research and training centre. I had gone to the IIEP headquarters in the rue Eugène Delacroix to meet the Acting Director, Mr Ta Ngoc Chau. But to my surprise and pleasure I 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 nonacademic 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, and the importance of nonformal education.

It seemed to me that the IIEP 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 6 or 7 years in Central America as an educational adviser.

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 nonformal 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. I have heard that UNESCO with UNDP backing is just now completing a U.S.\$2 million program in Indonesia to improve science and mathematics teaching in secondary schools.

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 where 12% of the population were literate and only 17% of primary teachers were trained. The government decided, in consultation with the UNESCO senior education adviser, 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.

There is also a remarkable network of 1000 educational institutions in Asia that includes Japan, 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. He told how at an early meeting

when some proposal was being discussed a Japanese member generously offered to get a gift of U.S.\$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.

The direct forerunner of UNESCO was the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, but the International Bureau of Education in Geneva (IBE), established in 1925, 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 IIEP, 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.

### *ILO*

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) 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 60 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, and 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 ILO with its permanent secretariat, the

International Labour Office, was the only segment of the League of Nations to survive World War II 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 personnel. Moreover, the philosophy of the organization, based on its tripartite constitution and its commitment to equitable labour relations, has 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 toward 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 focused 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 that 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.

Although 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. Kanaway and other ILO officials in Geneva, I discovered several new emphases in their training programs.

The training programs at ILO still stress the traditional approach through vocational training and the training of trainers, but there is also

increasing concern for the immediate relevance of the skills that are 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 (MES). 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, according to ILO, is applicable to in-plant, institutional, apprenticeship, and upgrading 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 that 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. As mentioned earlier, 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 U.S.\$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 officers and 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: "People'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.

## **WHO 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 that 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.

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. It also 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.

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. 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. 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. 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 that 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 that 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 because 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 that 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 3 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. 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 francophone 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 nonformal 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.

### ***The Swedish Programs of International Development***

#### ***SIDA***

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." Because my mission with the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) concerned education, I felt that I had come to the right place.

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 that 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. 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 that 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 3 out of 5 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. This kind of education goes far beyond the school curriculum. It means audio-visual presentation with full cooperation of the media, seminars and open discussions for teachers and students, and vacation trips to Third World countries and direct contact with people and institutions in developing countries. 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 U.S.\$4 million annually. Only part of the activity is carried out through the schools. Some U.S.\$2.5 million goes to Sweden's non-governmental organizations. There is no country in the world in which nongovernmental organizations, "folkroreiser" 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 toward a large measure of constitutional reform, the Prime Minister, Olof 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 ILO, focused 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 staffed largely by representatives of trade unions, employers, and 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% 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 focused in the bombing of a Swedish ambulance unit. Sweden after the war lost no time in providing technical assistance to Ethiopia in the build-up of its military and civilian aviation, its judiciary, its telecommunications, and its schools.

Sweden became a member of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1951 and was active in the plans that 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 coordinated 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 10 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 was consulted and on its 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. That is also 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 Ingemar Gustafsson, 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.

In regard to SIDA's present and future education policy, 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 toward 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. SIDA provided financial support for paper and books in several instances 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. The Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC), has also expressed an 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.

Many of the educational activities receiving SIDA support that were not covered in the listed projects and programs 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 that 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 that comprised many components of training and integrated nonformal 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. Fifty percent of their activity was devoted to education, 30% 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, and training for women in home industries in Nairobi. SIDA's support for NGO activity has increased from some U.S.\$22 million in the year 1979-80 to U.S.\$38 million in 1982-83. The total expenditure including the NGO contribution will put the amount this year up to some U.S.\$120 million.

### **SAREC**

A comparatively new contribution of Sweden to the educational capabilities of developing countries is to be found in the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC). Modeled on the 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: (a) direct research cooperation with developing countries; (b) research cooperation between developing countries and special research programs; (c) international research programs, usually with an institutional base; and (d) 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. The dependency of the nomads of Somalia on the lowly but omnipresent camel has at least 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 the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (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 on International Agriculture Research (CGIAR) commands the most support in this category with core support for a

number of specialized international research institutes such as the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Maíz y Trigo (CIMMYT), International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), and Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical (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 nongovernmental organization based on scientific research councils in 53 countries. It is located in Stockholm and also receives support from 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, and 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.

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? 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 1% 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 4419 million Swedish kroner. The budget this year, 1981-82, is

5720 million kroner. The 1982–83 estimated budget is 6228 million kroner or about \$1245 million (Canadian).

The listed education budget in the bilateral program appears to be remaining fairly constant at about 8%. 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 the multilateral programs, such as those of WHO, ILO, and UNESCO, to which SIDA is giving support. Finally, there is SAREC, the budget of which was CA\$25 million in 1980–81 and will be CA\$30 million in 1982–83. From the purely quantitative point of view, things look good for continuing if not increasing support for education in the Swedish development cooperation programs. However, we would not be doing the Swedish program justice if we did not take into account some qualitative considerations. We must 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 that 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, and (d) strengthening of democracy.

In support of these goals, the appropriations for development aid should remain above 1% 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% 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%; and contributions to multilateral programs, mostly through United Nations agencies and regional development banks, stays somewhere in the neighbourhood of 33%.

With the emphasis on support for increasing self-reliance, increasing economic and social jus-

tice, 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. 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.

### *The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation*

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 km 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 Hammarskjold Foundation office in an old mansion on the grounds of the 500-year old Uppsala University. The Foundation was established to honour Dag Hammarskjold 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 Dag Hammarskjöld 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 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 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (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 toward 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 probably one of the most stimulating and provocative journals in the field. It has carried many articles on education in relation to development, the second issue of 1978 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," the second issue of 1974, which also carries the interesting conclusions that were arrived at.

Although it may seem relevant to this study that the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation has made particular contributions to educational research and discussion, what 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 that finds expression as well in SIDA and SAREC but that also embodies the thought and concern of the Swedish people.

There is something else that is particularly Swedish about the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation; in terms of staff it is very small. There are only four or five people to direct their extensive activities of seminars and publications. Of course, there is an impressive Board of Trustees that 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, 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 Hammarskjold. 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. Hammarskjold 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 toward a large stone that marked the grave of Hammarskjold's father. Dag Hammarskjold'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.

### *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 by 40%.

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%. 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 (IUC). 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 postwar Commonwealth. In some measure the IUC resembled NUFFIC of the Netherlands in its historical origins; in each case there was 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 administration 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 IUC. As in the case of NUFFIC, the pattern of support and cooperation appeared to be determined by the priorities of universities in the Third World, which in turn reflected a perception of development needs.

In a sense, the priorities on which the IUC 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." There was another important factor, the activities of the IUC were focused 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 4000. 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 IUC and transfer its responsibilities and its functions to the British Council. In this way, economies would be effected and interuniversity 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 the Overseas Development Administration: 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 IUC, and advisory and operational support in technical education, industrial training, public administration, and agricultural education and training, formerly under an organization known as the Technical Education and Training Organisation for Overseas Countries (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 nonformal education.

The British Council, in fact, has a wide range of responsibility as shown in a recent paper on British Aid 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. The declaratory guidelines bore a close resemblance to those of the IUC. At the same time, it appeared that present arrangements amounted to the completion of commitments and programs already in progress. 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. There was not much discussion about the central goal of educational cooperation being to strengthen the capabilities and promote the self-reliance of the Third World participants.

Among many who had been closely associated with the work of the IUC during its distinguished history this last point caused deep concern. 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. 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 IUC. That is the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU). 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 Anastasios 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 the University of British Columbia 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 15 countries offer scholarships. The number of scholarships has remained at about 1000 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. In London an evaluation committee drawn from a broad and representative group of educators conducted a decennial review of the program, and there was 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 ACU 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 interconnected group of institutions and activities that 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 member countries of the Commonwealth. An official statement of its aims reads: "To facilitate joint consultation and cooperation 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 U.N. 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 that, 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 Education Division. 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 centres and ministries of educa-

tion and health and agriculture in 40 member countries. At best, and it is a very important best, the Education Division 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 the Bahamas (1976), Tanzania (1977), and Papua New Guinea (1979) on the production of low-cost equipment. Following a lengthy discussion at the eighth 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 (CFTC) 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 nonprofessional 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 that 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 that 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, nonformal and adult education, education for women, teacher education, and educational administration.

I have already referred to the CFTC. Alongside of a General Technical Assistance Division, which provides specialists to work in a country requiring assistance, there is an Education and Training Division that 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 10 regional training centres located in various parts of the Commonwealth. For example, it has supported in the past 2 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 and 394 teachers of French from The Gambia, Ghana, and Sierra Leone have received training at 6-week summer schools held in the Village du Bénin 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 that 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 CFTC 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 (as of 1982, £1 = U.S.\$1.72) and the pledged contributions in 1980/81 to the CFTC 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 Education 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 nonformal 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 (CSC) is composed of 29 countries and is devoted to the promotion of scientific and technological cooperation 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 CSC are contributors to the development of human resources through education but they share in the process of participation.

Other centres of research, learning, and scientific expertise also share in the process of participation. 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 focused 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 (IDS) 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 that 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. A key to the excellence of the Institute is a development sciences library that is probably unmatched in the world.

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) 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 (ODC), 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 IDS 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.

There is also a new and important centre, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). 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 U.N. 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 René 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," because 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. Education represents an integrated approach such as we have encoun-

tered 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. 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 entitled "Energy Policy for the Rural Third World," written by Arjun Makhijani and published by IIED says little or nothing about oil or hydroelectricity 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. All of these are related to an increase of knowledge, changed practice, the strengthening of local institutions.

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

### *CIDA and IDRC*

#### *The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)*

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 the policy and practice is likely to be during the remainder of this decade. 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 postwar phenomenon. It was 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 that 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 favourably to President Truman's challenge to a world-wide international assistance program that 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 Southeast Asia after the end of British rule over India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma. The plan was extended to include other nations in Southeast 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: 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 postwar internationalism that 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 Southeast Asia could be given the advantages of our advanced industrial civilization by a sufficient infusion of Western capital, 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 1960s. 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 workforce by which the modern world could be created and maintained. 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, because 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 (EAO) had four divisions responsible for capital assistance, technical assistance through the provision of Canadian experts, a training division that 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 1950s and into the 1960s. 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 de Gaulle 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. 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 of Development 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 in Canada's development aid organization. In the late 60s, CIDA 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, and 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%. 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 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 37% of CIDA's budget.

The Special Programs Branch made a modest beginning in 1968 as a division concerned in giving support to Canadian NGOs committed to programs or projects in cooperation for development. In the decade of the 1970s, the division expanded rapidly with 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 an NGO and waving some of the matching requirement to fund university linkages for some time; now the establishment of the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services 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%, was directed toward some form of education and usually in the neglected rural and village level.

There are two other branches that, 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, and 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. This 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. Beyond them, and in cooperation with them, the full participation of the local authorities in those same areas of social development is needed because, after all, it is their project. 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-1970s. 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 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (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. This demand became articulate and specific in two Special Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly in 1974 and 1975. The immediate result was increased polarization between the rich and poor countries. But 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 U.N. Special Session in 1975. 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.

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 1980s reflected in considerable measure the guidelines set forth in the "Strategy." The Bilateral Branch 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. The IDRC 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; and 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 Programs 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 (AUCC) 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 for Higher Education Overseas 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 10 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 interuniversity and interinstitutional 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. Then a proposal originating in a committee on which CIDA, IDRC, and AUCC were represented was put forward 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. As a counterpart, to work in close association with the International Development Office, CIDA set up the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division with identical criteria and priorities. At a conference held at York University in Toronto, Marcel 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. 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 that 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 percent 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, because it was quite incompatible with the affirmation that development policy was made in and by developing countries. Moreover, because 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. 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% GNP, tied aid in the fiscal year, 1981/82 remains at 14.8% of the total aid budget, 22% 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. 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 also stated in the speech made at York University in Toronto: "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 because 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. 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. 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 IDRC 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 although it was fully funded by the Government of Canada, its operations were directed by an international Board of Governors of 21, 10 of whom were Canadians, 10 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. To bring 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, Bogota, and Cairo.

At first glance it might appear that a Centre devoted to the funding of development research would have little significance as a sponsor of educational development. But from the beginning the IDRC has focused 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 Colombia, the project team learns from the farmers about the biophysical environment within which they have carried out their agricultural production for centuries. 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 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 Développement." 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, and rural development and obstacles to development such as the Third World arms race. It is particularly directed at 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 IDRC contributed some CA\$900 000 during its first 5 years. In June 1978 "Famille et Développement" was taken over by the Association africaine d'éducation pour le développement (ASAFED) and receives support from a number of international agencies including UNFPA, the Ford Foundation, Actions de Carême (Switzerland), Coopération 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 preschool 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 CA\$1.75 million or 20% of the divisional total for 1981–82. By 1984–85 it should amount to CA\$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 to render them more effective in their contribution to development cooperation. 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 1 or 2 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. 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 among 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% of the Centre budget. If the IDRC budget increases as expected, the Fellowship Program in the next 5 years will increase from about CA\$2.5 million to CA\$6 million.

The Communications Division of IDRC also 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. For the people of Canada — the children in the schools, the members of NGOs, churches, and trade unions — the 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 Programs. It was created 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 communication and to influence the direction of Canadian research toward Third World concerns.

In a sense, the Cooperative Programs Unit is IDRC's counterpart to CIDA's Institutional Cooperation and Development Services 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 (UNCSTD), 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 CA\$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 Programs Unit 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 will be administered under the Cooperative Programs.

Funds available for the current year amount to CA\$2 million, divided equally between the divisions and the Cooperative Programs. If IDRC's budget increases in proportion to the projected increase in Canada's development cooperation budget the grants for the Cooperation Programs will rise to CA\$2.5 million, CA\$5 million, and CA\$10 million by 1984-85. That fiscal target will still be less than 0.5% of Canada's GNP, far short of the 1% promised at Vienna. But linked with CIDA's parallel contribution through its Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division, and in close coordination with Canadian universities through the International Development Office, IDRC's Cooperative Programs can make a substantial contribution to higher education in the Third World. Moreover, there is good reason to hope that this kind of cooperation would be extended even more to similar programs in the Commonwealth, in international agencies, and in the like-minded countries that we have examined in this study, to the growing advantage of the emerging international community.