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L'Étude du développement international au Canada

Publié sous la direction de José Havet



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L'ÉTUDE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL AU CANADA

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JOSÉ HAVET

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NOTES BIOGRAPHIQUES SUR LES AUTEURS

F.H. CUMMINGS

M. Cummings détient un Ph.D. en géographie de l'université Clark, Worcester, Mass. Il a occupé plusieurs positions dans les secteurs public et privé et dans diverses universités. Ainsi, il a travaillé pour le CRDI, et pour l'université de la Colombie Britannique en Indonésie; il a aussi été fréquemment consultant pour l'ACDI. Il est présentement professeur agrégé à l'université de Guelph et est associé à son Département d'économie et des affaires agricoles et à son Ecole de planification et de développement rural; il dirige en outre le Projet de développement régional de Sulawesi, Projet qui est exécuté par l'université de Guelph et financé conjointement par l'ACDI et le gouvernement de l'Indonésie. Il a beaucoup publié, surtout sur des problèmes de colonisation, de développement rural et de migration.

PETER M. FOGGIN

Le professeur Foggin est canadien, mais né en Chine, pays où il passa une grande partie de sa jeunesse; il a également vécu deux ans en Haïti. Il détient un Ph.D. en géographie urbaine de l'université McGill. Il a enseigné à l'université du Québec à Montréal ainsi qu'à l'université de Montréal; il a été directeur du Département de géographie de cette dernière université. Il s'est spécialisé dans l'étude des problèmes de santé, particulièrement dans le Tiers monde et dans les sociétés Inuit et Cri du nord du Québec; parallèlement à ses domaines majeurs de spécialisation, il continue à s'intéresser à la Chine. Il a publié de nombreux articles et écrit d'importants rapports dans ses domaines de spécialisation.

JOSE HAVET

M. Havet détient une licence en sciences sociales de l'université libre de Bruxelles, ainsi qu'une maîtrise et un Ph.D. en sociologie de l'université de Pittsburgh. Il est professeur agrégé à l'Institut de développement international et de coopération de l'université d'Ottawa. Il est l'actuel Président (1986-87) de l'Association canadienne d'études du développement international. Il s'est spécialisé dans l'étude du développement rural et s'est particulièrement intéressé à des problèmes de fixation des populations rurales et de structures locales de pouvoir. Il a publié de nombreux articles, ainsi que trois livres, *The Diffusion of Power. Rural Elites in a Bolivian Province* en 1985, *Le village et le bidonville. Rétention et migration des populations rurales d'Afrique* en 1986 et *Staying On. Retention and Migration in Peasant Societies* à paraître en 1987.

RONALD C. KEITH

M. Keith détient une maîtrise en histoire de l'université de Toronto et un Ph.D. en science politique de l'Ecole d'études orientales et africaines de l'université de Londres, Grande Bretagne. Il a enseigné dans cette Ecole pendant deux ans et est maintenant professeur agrégé en science politique de l'université de Calgary. Il s'est spécialisé dans l'étude des problèmes de la Chine, pays qu'il a très fréquemment visité. Il a abondamment publié surtout concernant les réformes légales chinoises, la politique interne du pays et ses relations internationales. Son livre *Energy, Security and Economic Development in East Asia* fut publié en 1986 et *The Diplomacy of Zhou Enlai* paraîtra en 1988.

LORNE M. KENNY

M. Kenny est professeur émerite du Département du Moyen-Orient et d'études islamiques de l'université de Toronto. Il détient une maîtrise de l'Institut d'études islamiques de l'université McGill. Le professeur Kenny a été pasteur de l'Eglise Unie et, avant d'entreprendre ses

études, de 1938 à 1957, il fut missionnaire en Egypte. Il s'est spécialisé dans l'étude de la pensée et de l'histoire modernes arabes et s'est également consacré à des études sur la langue arabe. Il a beaucoup publié et a aussi traduit de nombreux ouvrages, en particulier divers livres de l'auteur égyptien Abd Al-Hamamsy. Son texte «Modern Arab World», p. 147-159 in Roger M. Savory (ed), *Introduction to Islamic Civilization* (1976) constitue une excellente introduction au domaine d'études.

HERMAN W. KONRAD

M. Konrad est anthropologue de formation et professeur au Département d'anthropologie et d'histoire de l'université de Calgary; il est l'actuel Président (1985-87) de l'Association canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes. Il s'est intensément impliqué dans l'organisation de conférences, d'études et de projets divers réunissant des chercheurs latino-américains et canadiens. Il a beaucoup publié sur des problèmes latino-américains et s'est particulièrement intéressé au Mexique. Il est membre du Comité de rédaction de *Nord-Sud. Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, revue dans laquelle il a publié «The Development and Impact of Caribbean and Latin American Graduate Studies in Canadian Academic Institutions», vol. VII, 1982, p. 35-56; cet article très fouillé constitue un excellent complément à l'article inclus dans le présent volume.

JEAN MOISSET

Né en Haïti, M. Moisset y effectua ses études primaires et secondaires. Il y obtint aussi le diplôme d'études supérieures en sciences sociales de l'Ecole normale supérieure d'Haïti. Lauréat de sa promotion, il obtint une bourse de la Suisse, où au terme de ses études à l'université de Fribourg, il obtint un doctorat en science économique. Sa carrière s'est déroulée au Canada, comme professeur - chercheur dans diverses universités et comme conseiller technique à la Direction de la planification, à Bamako au Mali, dans le cadre d'un projet entre ce pays et

le Canada. Le docteur Moisset est actuellement professeur en économie et planification de l'éducation et vice-doyen à la recherche de la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'université Laval. Citons, parmi ses nombreuses publications, son récent article, «Education et développement: à la recherche d'un nouveau paradigme», *Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, Vol. VII, no. 1, 1986.

DAVID MORRISON

M. Morrison détient un Ph.D. en science politique de l'université du Sussex, Brighton, Grande-Bretagne. Il est professeur de science politique à l'université Trent, Peterborough, Ontario, université dont il est présentement le doyen des arts et sciences. Il a réalisé de nombreuses missions dans divers pays du Tiers monde, particulièrement en Amérique latine. Il s'est fort intéressé à l'étude des politiques d'aide canadiennes, domaine dans lequel il a beaucoup publié. Il a ainsi collaboré au numéro spécial de la *Revue d'études canadiennes* portant sur «Le Canada et le Tiers monde» (Vol. 19, no. 4, hiver 1984-85); l'article qu'il a contribué s'intitule «The Mulroney Government and the Third World».

EDWARD C. MOULTON

M. Moulton est professeur et directeur du Département d'histoire de l'université du Manitoba à Winnipeg. Il détient un Ph.D. en histoire moderne de l'Inde, titre qu'il a obtenu à l'Ecole d'études orientales et africaines de l'université de Londres, Grande Bretagne. Il s'est surtout intéressé aux origines du nationalisme indien et aux relations indo-britanniques à la fin du 19e siècle. Il fut, en Inde, le premier directeur-résident de l'Institut indo-canadien Shastri, Institut dont il devint ultérieurement le président. Il a abondamment publié, entre autres un livre consacré aux études de l'Inde au Canada: *Indian Studies in Canada* (1984). Il a joué un rôle important dans le développement de l'Association canadienne des études asiatiques et dans la promotion des Etudes de l'Asie à l'université du Manitoba.

JORGE NEF

M. Nef est professeur de science politique à l'université de Guelph et fut, de 1981 à 1983, président de l'Association canadienne d'études latino-américaines et caraïbes. Il détient un Ph.D. en science politique de l'université de Californie (Santa Barbara) et a publié abondamment, tant des articles que des livres. Ses écrits portent principalement sur le contrôle politique, la bureaucratie et les militiares en Amérique latine, particulièrement au Chili, pays d'où le docteur Nef est originaire. Il a été très actif dans la promotion et l'enseignement des études du Tiers monde dans son université et a, à ce titre, contribué à la mise sur pied du Programme d'études en développement international, de niveau baccalauréat, qui existe à l'université de Guelph.

DONALD I. RAY

M. Ray est professeur agrégé au Département de science politique de l'université de Calgary et directeur du Programme d'études africaines de cette université. Il détient une maîtrise de l'Ecole des études orientales et africaines de l'université de Londres, Grande Bretagne et un Ph.D. en science politique de l'université de Toronto. Le docteur Ray a réalisé diverses recherches portant sur le développement rural de la Zambie et sur le Ghana. Il a publié de très nombreux articles sur ces problèmes; il a publié deux livres *The State-of-the-Art of African Research Into the 1980's* (1981), ouvrage dont il est le «coéditeur» et *Ghana* (1986), livre dont il est l'auteur.

J.C.M. SHUTE

M. Shute est professeur au Département d'études d'extension rurale de l'université de Guelph. Il complèta les premier, deuxième et troisième cycles de ses études supérieures aux universités Queen's et de l'Etat du Michigan. Il fut, de 1970 à 1979, le directeur du Projet Ghana-Guelph, projet de coopération entre l'université de Guelph, le Ministère ghanéen de l'agriculture et l'univer-

sité du Ghana. Il a été conseiller ou consultant pour l'ACDI, le CIMMYT, la Banque mondiale et diverses ONG, et cela pour de nombreux projets, tant au Ghana, qu'au Nigéria, en Sierra Leone, au Kenya, au Sri Lanka, en Malaisie, en Indonésie et en Chine. Il enseigne et a publié surtout dans les domaines de l'extension rurale, des communications et du développement des ressources humaines.

SINH VINH

M. Sinh Vinh est né à Hué, au Vietnam. Boursier du gouvernement Japonais, il fit dans ce pays un baccalauréat et des études graduées à l'Institut des sciences sociales de l'université de Tokyo. Il obtint son Ph.D. de l'université de Toronto et est présentement professeur assistant à l'université de l'Alberta à Edmonton. Il s'est spécialisé dans l'histoire du Japon, particulièrement dans l'histoire intellectuelle de ce pays. Il a publié de nombreux articles à ce sujet ainsi que le livre *Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957): The Later Career*, 1986. Il a également traduit en anglais et commenté un ouvrage de T. Soho, *Shorai no Nihon* (Le futur du Japon, 1886), à paraître.

PRÉFACE

Comme bien des livres, le présent ouvrage est issu à la fois d'un contexte général et de circonstances bien particulières. Le contexte général est celui de l'intérêt canadien de plus en plus évident pour les problèmes du développement international; ces problèmes deviennent non seulement plus visibles et présents, mais leurs implications sont aussi progressivement mieux comprises, tant par le grand public que par les spécialistes. Le monde académique a suivi cette évolution et l'on observe dans les universités du pays, en particulier depuis le début des années 1960, une augmentation relativement continue du nombre de programmes et de cours consacrés au Tiers monde. Il faut souligner ici que les institutions académiques n'ont fait que suivre cette évolution; elles ne l'ont ni initiée, ni même accélérée. Cela peut paraître paradoxal, surtout si l'on sait que la curiosité des scientifiques canadiens envers le Tiers monde est plus ancienne que ce que d'aucuns prétendent; plusieurs des articles contenus dans ce volume en témoignent. C'est aussi paradoxal si l'on considère le traditionnel cosmopolitisme du corps académique du pays, et singulièrement le nombre important de professeurs originaires du Tiers monde. Cependant, le paradoxe n'est qu'apparent puisque tant au Canada que dans les autres pays de l'OCDE, ce sont surtout des facteurs politiques qui ont joué un rôle critique dans la création et le développement de programmes d'études et de recherches portant sur les PVD, qu'il s'agisse de régions, de domaines spécifiques ou de la coopération internationale proprement dite. En d'autres mots, la visibilité, la présence et la meilleure compréhension des problèmes du Tiers monde sont à la base du développement des programmes d'études et de recherches portant sur les PVD, mais le processus fut médiatisé par des facteurs d'ordre surtout politique.

Le contexte général dont ce livre est issu est complexe et divers et il ne serait ni possible, ni de mise d'en traiter de manière plus détaillée dans cette courte Préface. Pour ce qui a trait aux circonstances particulières, elles se

sont agencées très heureusement; il s'agit presque d'une «synergie», mais d'une «synergie» qui n'aurait pas été concevable en dehors du contexte général qui vient d'être évoqué. Le 55e Colloque général de l'Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences (ACFAS) se déroule à l'université d'Ottawa du 19 au 22 mai 1987; ce Colloque porte sur le rôle et l'intervention du scientifique dans le développement international. Or, en tant qu'«éditeur» de l'une des sections de la *Revue canadienne d'études du développement (RCED)*, j'avais - depuis 1981 - demandé à des spécialistes d'écrire des états de la question des contributions canadiennes aux études du Tiers monde; il s'agissait, dans chaque article, d'analyser ces contributions soit par discipline, soit par région, soit par domaine particulier d'études et de recherche. Il était demandé à chaque auteur d'expliquer la genèse du domaine - ou sous-domaine - d'études, de décrire les programmes d'études et les activités des principaux centres de recherches et/ou chercheurs, de commenter au sujet des cadres de référence et paradigme(s) dominants, et finalement d'évaluer les forces, les faiblesses et le potentiel du domaine d'études.

A la lecture de la Table des matières de l'ouvrage, on constatera que six chapitres traitent de diverses régions; ces textes furent les plus faciles à obtenir, ce qui est certainement révélateur d'un niveau d'institutionnalisation, relatif, assez élevé. Par contre, les textes étudiant les contributions de certaines disciplines ou de certains domaines particuliers de recherche furent lents à venir; ce livre n'en contient d'ailleurs que deux, à savoir les chapitres de Peter M. Foggin et de J.C.M. Shute - F.H. Cummings. Cela montre que le poids institutionnel des disciplines traditionnelles pèse encore fort sur les velléités d'institutionnalisation et de multidisciplinarité des études du développement international. Est-il légitime de parler de «velléités»? D'une part, les études du développement international ont atteint au Canada un niveau relativement enviable d'institutionnalisation, mais d'autre part il y a des résistances tenaces et il se livre encore des combats d'arrière-garde qui ne manquent pas d'envergure. Quoi qu'il en soit, lors d'une rencontre - assez fortuite - entre le Dr. Guy Arbour, directeur général de l'ACFAS, et moi-même, naissait l'idée de publier le présent volume,

et ce pour le 55e Colloque de l'ACFAS et plus généralement comme une contribution à l'institutionnalisation du domaine d'études. Cette rencontre «fortuite» ne l'était peut-être pas autant qu'il n'y paraissait; elle eut lieu lors d'une réunion du Conseil d'administration de la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales en juin 1986: le Dr. Arbour y représentait l'ACFAS et moi-même l'Association canadienne d'études du développement international. On le constate, contexte général et circonstances particulières se mêlent et se confondent parfois dans la genèse du présent livre.

Plusieurs des chapitres de l'ouvrage ont été publiés dans leur présente version dans la *RCED*; il s'agit - par ordre chronologique de publication - des articles suivants: Lorne M. Kenny, «Middle East and Islamic Studies in Canada», Vol. V, no. 2, 1984, p. 275-285; Edward C. Moulton, «South Asian Studies in Canada: A State of the Discipline Review», Vol. VI, no. 1, 1985, p. 129-145; Peter M. Foggin, «Canadian Geographers and International Development Studies», Vol. VI, no. 2, 1985, p. 313-322; Jean Moisset, «Etude du développement et mise en oeuvre de projets: les contributions de l'université Laval», Vol. VI, no. 2, 1985, p. 323-331; Sinh Vinh, «Research and Teaching of Japanese History in Canadian Universities», Vol. VII, no. 1, 1986, p. 85-93. Je remercie les Editions de l'université d'Ottawa, et en particulier leur directeur M. Toivo Roht, pour avoir permis la reproduction de ces articles dans le présent volume. Deux autres articles, parus eux-aussi dans la *RCED*, ont été très considérablement remaniés en vue de leur publication dans le présent volume; il s'agit de Ronald C. Keith, «The Canadian Study of Asia», Vol. VIII, no. 2, 1982, p. 369-385, et de Donald I. Ray, «African Studies in Canada», Vol. IV, no. 1, 1983, p. 141-157. Le chapitre écrit par Herman W. Konrad et Jorge Nef résume, reprend des parties et constitue une mise à jour de deux articles publiés antérieurement, à savoir Herman W. Konrad, «The Development and Impact of Caribbean and Latin American Graduate Studies in Canadian Academic Institutions», *Nord Sud. Revue Canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraibes*, Vol. VII, no. 13, 1982, p. 35-56, et Jorge Nef, «Latin American and Caribbean Studies in Canada: A developmental Perspective», *RCED*, Vol. III, no. 1, 1982,

p. 177-197. Les révisions et modifications mentionnées antérieurement ont été faites par les divers auteurs. Le chapitre de J.C.M. Shute et F.H. Cummings est inédit. Quant au chapitre de David Morrison, il a été rédigé à partir d'un mémoire de l'Association des universités et collèges du Canada (AUCC), mémoire présenté à Ottawa au Comité permanent des affaires extérieures et du commerce extérieur, en décembre 1986. La version originale anglaise du mémoire avait pour titre «Issues in Canada's Official Development Assistance Policies and Program»; sa traduction française s'intitulait «Les questions qui se posent à propos des politiques et programmes canadiens d'assistance au développement». David Morrison est l'auteur de ce mémoire. J'ai sélectionné les parties du mémoire qui sont inclues dans le chapitre, j'ai rédigé les nombreuses modifications apportées à la version française du mémoire et j'ai écrit les passages servant de transition ou résumant des parties du mémoire ayant été omies. Je tiens à remercier l'AUCC pour m'avoir permis de faire usage de la version française du mémoire. Afin de faciliter la tâche du lecteur, chaque chapitre est précédé par un long résumé; j'ai rédigé chacun de ces résumés et toutes omissions et erreurs qu'ils pourraient contenir sont donc de mon entière responsabilité et non de celle du (ou des) auteur(s) du chapitre.

Il était mentionné au début de cette Préface que le présent ouvrage résulte et d'un contexte général et de circonstances particulières. J'ai présenté quelques commentaires au sujet de chacun, mais certainement sans leur faire justice. Ceci est certainement le cas en ce qui concerne les circonstances particulières, puisque je n'ai pas abordé le problème du financement du livre! L'impression de l'ouvrage a été financée par l'ACFAS et je tiens à remercier le Dr. Arbour pour avoir non seulement accepté, mais spontanément proposé qu'il en soit ainsi. Quant à la préparation du prêt-à-photographier, elle a été financée par l'Institut de développement international et de coopération (IDIC) de l'université d'Ottawa, unité académique à laquelle j'appartiens. Je remercie le Dr. Georges Hénault, Directeur de l'IDIC, pour m'avoir encouragé dans cette entreprise et pour avoir obtenu le financement de la préparation du prêt-à-photographier. Je veux aussi remercier Mme Françoise Braun de l'ACFAS pour son aide, Mmes Louise et Lorraine Dignard pour leur excellent travail

de révision des épreuves, Mme Agathe Rhéaume pour la préparation des titres et Mme Edith Smith, de Edital Business Services Inc., pour la dactylographie de l'ouvrage; à toutes, ma gratitude pour leur efficacité et leur patience.

Presque par définition même, un état de la question est toujours incomplet, et cela quelque soit le soin et les précautions prises par l'auteur. De ce fait, la lecture de ce type d'article est à la fois enthousiasmante, frustrante, vaguement angoissante, et indispensable; et cela est à fortiori le cas lorsqu'il s'agit d'un livre tel que celui-ci. La lecture est enthousiasmante parce que l'on découvre immanquablement que beaucoup est fait dans le domaine, beaucoup plus que ce que l'on pensait; et de surcroît, les omissions font prendre conscience que bien plus encore est réalisé que ce que l'article mentionne. Cela est encourageant et aide à l'identité et au dynamisme tant du chercheur individuel que du domaine de recherche. Mais la lecture d'états de la question peut aussi être frustrante: l'on peut considérer que tel centre, chercheur et/ou contribution ou auraient dû être inclus, ou ont été insuffisamment valorisés ou qu'il en a été fait cas exagérément. Puis il y a l'aspect vaguement angoissant, voire menaçant, des états de la question: il s'écrit tant et souvent tant de choses de qualité que l'on ne prend que trop clairement conscience que «se tenir au courant» est devenu une tâche herculéenne. Mais par delà cet enthousiasme, cette frustration et cette angoisse diffuse, lire - et écrire - des états de la question constituent des tâches intellectuelles indispensables. Et être indispensable est certainement ce que l'on ne peut que souhaiter à un livre. J'espère donc que cet ouvrage le soit.

José Havet

JOSÉ HAVET

1. LES ÉTUDES DU DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL AU CANADA

Le but du présent livre est de présenter un tableau général des études du développement international et du Tiers monde au Canada. Pour ce faire, l'ouvrage regroupe des états de la question traitant de divers sous-domaines du champ d'études. Les états de la question constituent un type de contribution intellectuelle dont la nature et l'utilité ne sont pas toujours bien comprises, ni acceptées. Etant donné cette réticence face à ce genre d'article, la première section de ce chapitre d'introduction s'attachera à montrer pourquoi ces contributions sont très importantes - voire indispensables - pour toute discipline ou champ d'études; cette section fera aussi un bref rappel des rares efforts ayant été entrepris en ce sens, au Canada, dans le champ d'études; elle expliquera enfin quelle fut la genèse du présent ouvrage. La deuxième partie essayera essentiellement de répondre à une seule question: pourquoi l'ouvrage est-il structuré tel qu'il l'est?; La réponse à cette question sera l'occasion d'une série de commentaires au sujet du contenu général de l'ouvrage. Une courte conclusion discutera des conséquences possibles d'une institutionnalisation accrue du champ d'études, entre autres en terme d'identité académique.

A. L'IMPORTANCE ET LES FONCTIONS DES ETATS DE LA QUESTION

Bien des universitaires ont un préjugé défavorable à l'égard des états de la question. Ce préjugé n'est peut-être qu'un aspect de leur préférence pour des considérations et contributions d'ordre théorique. Arthur Stinchcombe, dans un article pertinent et quelque peu ironique[1], a décrit une science sociale, la sociologie améri-

caine, en utilisant divers concepts élaborés par Claude Lévi-Strauss, le chef de file des structuralistes français. Stinchcombe parle de lignages (les spécialisations et les départements), de rituels de base pour établir les frontières et limites de la discipline (les conférences annuelles), de rituels de renforcement de la solidarité au sein de la discipline (les discours des présidents des sociétés savantes et les réunions des divers comités de ces sociétés). Les sous-unités exogames à l'intérieur de la discipline échangent leurs meilleurs étudiants, des offres d'emplois et des possibilités d'évaluation d'articles pour des revues monitorisées. Une conséquence particulièrement importante de ces échanges à l'intérieur de la discipline est que les individus et les départements doivent reconnaître qu'ils ne sont pas compétents dans un certain nombre de domaines de recherche; de cette manière, le département en tant que collectivité a des «besoins».[2] En fait, si un individu se considérait compétent dans tous les domaines et approches, il commettrait une trahison par rapport aux normes du système d'échanges. Voilà quel est, à grands traits, le système en vigueur aux Etats-Unis; ce système structuré autour d'«approches» et de «spécialistes» est, par exemple, fort différent du système anglais, qui lui est basé sur une hiérarchie unidimensionnelle de prestige dominée par Oxford et Cambridge. Le Canada semble constituer un cas intermédiaire: l'Université de Toronto et deux ou trois autres font preuve d'évidentes velléités hégémoniques, mais le système d'échanges est quand même fort actif, surtout dans le Canada anglophone. Dans les états de la question inclus dans ce livre, ce mélange de hiérarchie de prestige et de système d'échanges se retrouve clairement, en particulier dans la genèse et l'institutionnalisation des divers sous-domaines d'études.

Etant donné la relative vigueur du système d'échanges dans le pays, on y trouve - ainsi qu'aux Etats-Unis - «une multiplication de controverses assez artificielles au sujet 'd'approches' théoriques. Ces approches sont formulées en termes de lignage et font explicitement référence aux fondateurs des lignages.... Des différences philosophiques mineures...sont exagérées et l'on en arrive ainsi à 'contraster' et 'opposer' des approches».[3] En affirmant cela, Stinchcombe ne prétend pas nier que des progrès ne soient réalisés en théorie[4], mais ce qu'il affirme est qu'il existe une hâte excessive à proposer de

«nouvelles approches», approches qui n'ont souvent de «nouvelles» que leur nom. Il semble bien qu'au Canada, tant les études régionales que les autres sous-domaines des études du développement international n'ont pas échappé à ce syndrome.

Cette impatience des universitaires dans le domaine théorique a deux conséquences. D'abord, elle fait que publier des états de la question est trop souvent perçu comme un travail sans envergure, comme une tâche modeste de compilation. Or, il s'agit de contributions intellectuelles indispensables et difficiles, difficiles surtout parce qu'elles impliquent une excellente connaissance du sujet et des recherches préparatoires longues et ardues. C'est le cas pour les divers chapitres de ce volume et nous devons nous féliciter de ce que les auteurs de ces chapitres aient pu mener à terme ces contributions à notre connaissance du champ d'études. La deuxième conséquence de l'impatience des universitaires dans le domaine théorique est qu'il est souvent difficile de découvrir et de caractériser le (ou les) paradigme(s) dominant(s) dans le champ d'études. En ce sens, les auteurs des chapitres de ce volume ont abordé leur état de la question de façon parfois fort différente et ils sont arrivés à des conclusions parfois fort différentes elles aussi, et ce dans des sous-domaines d'études connexes. Ainsi, les auteurs qui traitent des contributions de disciplines (telles que la géographie) ou de domaines particuliers de spécialisation (tels que le développement rural) ne semblent pas discerner de paradigme(s) dominant(s), ou alors ils ne sont que peu préoccupés par le problème. L'inverse est vrai pour les auteurs traitant des études régionales. Ces derniers arrivent à des conclusions fort dissemblables. Ainsi, il y aurait un paradigme dominant dans les études latino-américaines: ce paradigme serait radical et proprement canadien, c'est-à-dire différent surtout de quelqu'approche américaine que ce soit. Mais dans les études de l'Asie de l'est, le même paradigme radical - bien que présent - serait nettement moins hégémonique que dans les études latino-américaines, et surtout il ne serait certainement pas propre au Canada, les Etats-Unis ayant à ce point de vue une tradition au moins aussi forte et dynamique. Le fait que les perspectives soient si divergentes montre à quel point un débat entre spécialistes des différents sous-domaines[5] de recherche serait intéressant; et partant, cela montre à

quel point le présent livre est nécessaire, puisqu'en réunissant et contrastant ces divers états de la question, l'ouvrage amorce effectivement ce débat.

Un certain parallèle peut être tracé entre le préjugé défavorable des universitaires envers les états de la question et le fait que l'histoire des sciences sociales est avant tout perçue comme l'histoire de ses approches théoriques. L'idée que la recherche empirique possède un «pedigree intellectuel de grande valeur»[6] n'est pas encore bien accepté. Or les états de la question sont perçus comme des travaux très empiriques et ils souffrent donc de ce même préjugé anti-empirique. Les états de la question informent en effet le lecteur au sujet de programmes académiques, de publications, de sociétés savantes et de conférences. Mais, comme pour tout travail scientifique, les données empiriques et les considérations théoriques ne peuvent être dissociées. Ce qui m'amène à la discussion des deux fonctions essentielles des états de la question, à savoir la fonction descriptive et empirique et la fonction de nature plus théorique.

La première fonction des états de la question de ce livre est de fournir des informations concrètes sur quelques-un - certainement pas la totalité! - des sous-domaines d'études du développement international au Canada. L'ouvrage *décrit* donc ces sous-domaines. La seconde fonction du livre est plus théorique: les divers chapitres s'attachent à expliquer comment le sous-domaine considéré s'est formé et éventuellement institutionnalisé, quels thèmes de recherche sont préférés et quels thèmes sont négligés, quelles sont les orientations théoriques dominantes, quels statuts sont considérés comme caractéristiques du sous-domaine, quelles sont les normes et valeurs communes des chercheurs se réclamant du sous-domaine[7], quelles directions futures devrait prendre la recherche. Cet aspect plus théorique des états de la question contribue à la pertinence et à la qualité des contributions intellectuelles faites dans les divers sous-domaines et, plus généralement, contribue à l'institutionnalisation des études du développement international au Canada. Les lignes qui suivent offrent quelques commentaires plus détaillés au sujet de chacune des deux fonctions du présent ouvrage.

La fonction empirique et descriptive est la plus visible et la plus évidente. Même si certains scientifiques n'attribuent qu'une modeste valeur à cette fonction, elle

n'en reste pas moins importante et utile. Cependant, quelles que soient cette importance et cette utilité, le lecteur n'est pas nécessairement intéressé par le détail de tous les sous-domaines des études du développement international, d'où l'intérêt des résumés détaillés placés à la tête de chaque chapitre. Idéalement, cet ouvrage devrait devenir un livre de référence, très nécessaire si l'on considère le dynamisme et la diversité du champ d'études, pour ne pas dire sa confusion. De fait, tant les chercheurs universitaires que les praticiens gagneraient beaucoup à ce qu'à intervalles réguliers, disons de cinq en cinq ans, un livre de ce type soit publié au Canada. Ces livres, comme celui-ci d'ailleurs, incluraient des articles portant sur certains des sous-domaines de recherche les mieux établis dans le champ d'études, mais aussi des états de la question de sous-domaines en émergence ou en transformation rapide ou potentiellement intéressants. Il ne manque pas de tels sous-domaines; leur liste est non seulement longue, mais de surcroît sans cesse allongée et changeante. L'on peut citer, à titre d'exemples, l'histoire, la psychologie, la psychologie sociale, l'étude des religions[8], le management et le marketing, la planification régionale et urbaine, l'administration publique, les études des femmes, l'éducation, l'éducation physique[9], l'écologie, l'étude des communications de masse, la récréologie.

Fournir des informations concrètes sur les divers sous-domaines des études en développement international contribue à stimuler les chercheurs scientifiquement, psychologiquement et professionnellement. Sur le plan scientifique, les informations sur les sous-domaines de recherche donnent des idées, très particulièrement des hypothèses de travail, ainsi que des contacts utiles et nécessaires entre chercheurs. Sur le plan psychologique et professionnel, les chercheurs prennent conscience qu'ils font partie d'une entreprise intellectuelle plus vaste, ce qui renforce leur identité de spécialiste et l'institutionnalisation du champ d'études. En fait, un ouvrage de ce type n'est pas seulement nécessaire, il est indispensable et il est étonnant qu'il n'ait pas été publié au moins dix ans plus tôt.

La seconde fonction de l'ouvrage est, nous l'avons dit, de nature plus théorique; elle concerne les sujets de recherche et les cadres théoriques dominants, mais aussi plus marginalement le processus d'institutionnalisation du

champ d'études. Quels sont les facteurs influençant le choix des sujets de recherche? Ces facteurs sont extrêmement nombreux et il serait impossible d'être exhaustif. Le profil personnel, voire psychologique, des chercheurs est un facteur déterminant; ainsi E.H. Norman, l'un des plus grands historiens du Japon et certainement le meilleur que le Canada ait produit, a passé les quinze premières années de sa vie au Japon; et de nombreux latino-américanistes sont soit originaires du continent ou y ont passé de longues années. Des facteurs organisationnels peuvent être importants; ainsi des départements ont des priorités et des universitaires doivent s'adapter à celles-ci, surtout en cas d'octroi d'un poste. En ce sens, il est probable que le rapide «décollage» des études régionales tout au cours des années 1960 a dû influencer la spécialisation de nombreux chercheurs. Commenter à propos de chacun des facteurs pouvant influencer le choix des sujets de recherche serait trop long et ci-après, je ne ferai qu'énumérer quelques uns de ces facteurs: l'intérêt scientifique; les intérêts politiques, géopolitiques, stratégiques et commerciaux du pays; l'immigration de spécialistes du Tiers monde; les patterns de l'immigration canadienne et la composition des minorités ethniques du pays; les intérêts partisans[10] des chercheurs, des organismes subventionnant les recherches, des éditeurs et de tous autres acteurs influençant le processus de la production scientifique. Ces divers facteurs ne sont pas mutuellement exclusifs.

Analyser l'influence de chacun de ces facteurs dépasserait mon propos. Mais je souhaiterais quand même souligner un point qui semble important: la lecture des articles du livre parait montrer que l'intérêt scientifique ne détermine pas nécessairement de manière déterminante les thèmes de recherche. Virtuellement chaque état de la question révèle qu'il y a des déséquilibres énormes dans le choix des thèmes étudiés, ou pire qu'il y a des modes; l'on observe des émergences, des stagnations et des décadences dans le choix des thèmes qui - scientifiquement parlant - ne sont pas justifiables. Des thèmes d'importance scientifique incontestable restent ignorés et des thèmes au potentiel limité sont sur-étudiés pendant plusieurs années, pour disparaître tout à coup. Je citerai deux de ces déséquilibres, un très spécifique, l'autre de nature plus générale. En 1983, le Canada avait 128 chercheurs s'identifiant comme spécialistes de l'Inde, mais seulement 5 comme

spécialistes du Bangladesh et 5 du Pakistan.[11] Pour ce qui à trait au déséquilibre de nature plus générale, il semble bien que les sociologues, politologues et économistes du champ d'études font montre d'un préjugé certain à l'égard de l'étude de la stabilité sociale; ils préfèrent étudier le changement social et leur intérêt s'accroît encore davantage lorsque le changement social peut être considéré comme un développement social. Cela s'observe dans toutes les études régionales. Ainsi, aujourd'hui, dans les études latino-américaines, les sujets en vogue sont le Nicaragua et plus généralement l'Amérique centrale. Ces sujets ne sont étudiés *que pendant les années* au cours desquelles il est considéré qu'un changement social d'envergure a lieu. Ensuite, ces thèmes sont abruptement abandonnés.[12] Cela est une faiblesse et peut-être un paradoxe. En effet, l'étude de la stabilité sociale peut - et de fait devrait-être abordée dans une perspective dynamique, et d'ailleurs cette étude est difficilement concevable indépendamment du changement, et même du développement social.[13] En outre, l'étude de la stabilité sociale après une intense période de changement est des plus instructive; cependant, la lecture des états de la question de ce livre montre que la recherche canadienne a tendance à négliger ce type d'études.

Après avoir montré pourquoi les états de la question constituent des contributions scientifiques importantes et avoir expliqué les fonctions de ce type d'article, cette section décrira maintenant quelle fut la genèse de ce livre et aussi quels efforts préalables ont été faits en ce sens. Les états de la question traitant de la recherche et des études du développement international et du Tiers monde sont rares au Canada: deux études ont été faites en 1964[14]; il s'agit de rapports, l'un en français, l'autre en anglais, décrivant ce qui se faisait à l'époque. Le rapport suivant date de 1970[15] et fut entrepris à la demande de l'Association des universités et collèges du Canada (AUCC). Ensuite, à notre connaissance tout au moins, aucun effort d'ensemble n'est entrepris. Cela paraît quelque peu paradoxal parce que la décade de 1970 fut la décade de l'institutionnalisation des études régionales, et plus généralement des études du Tiers monde. Seul, en 1980, un rapport de portée limitée étudia les contributions des universités canadiennes au problème de l'alimentation mondiale.[16] Mais les années 1980-1985 voient un regain

d'intérêt pour des états de la question généraux, intérêt qui semble correspondre à celui des années 1964-1970. Ce regain d'intérêt provient de deux sources. D'une part, de l'ACDI et de l'AUCC qui ont financé un rapport portant sur l'état des études du développement dans les sciences sociales; ce rapport - très complet - a été écrit par Kari Polanyi-Levitt et Ayse Bugra-Trak.[17] Ce regain d'intérêt provient d'autre part de la *Revue canadienne d'études du développement (RCED)*. En tant qu'éditeur de l'une des sections de cette Revue, j'ai depuis 1981 demandé à divers spécialistes d'écrire des états de la question des contributions canadiennes dans leur domaine d'expertise. Une dizaine de ces états de la question ont déjà été publiés.[18] La publication de ces articles montra l'étendue de ce qui se réalisait dans le champ d'études dans le pays. De là naquit l'idée et vint l'initiative de créer une association qui regrouperait tous les spécialistes dans le domaine. J'ai commencé ainsi, au cours de l'été 1984, l'Association canadienne d'études du développement international (ACEDI)[19], association qui compte maintenant environ 200 membres. L'ACEDI bénéficia de l'appui institutionnel de l'Institut de développement international et de coopération de l'Université d'Ottawa; cet appui eut une importance critique. L'Association a déjà tenu deux conférences annuelles, les deux dans le cadre de la Conférence des sociétés savantes. La première, que j'avais organisée, s'est tenue à l'Université de Montréal les 27 et 28 mai, 1985; elle visait, précisément, à dresser un tableau de ce qui se faisait au Canada en termes d'études et de recherches sur le développement international et le Tiers monde. De la sorte, si les articles parus dans la *RCED* constituèrent le premier pas préparant le présent livre, cette conférence fut le second. Tous les éléments mentionnés antérieurement, revues, rapports, association, conférence, *Bulletin, Constitution* montrent qu'un processus d'institutionnalisation est en cours. Ce qui surprend est que ce processus ait lieu pendant des années de récession académique, alors que les études régionales - qui constituent aujourd'hui dans le champ d'études les sous-domaines les plus développés - se sont institutionnalisées pendant des années d'expansion des universités. Cela semble contradictoire; cependant il est un fait que, de manière générale, le développement international résiste bien à la récession universitaire. Peut-être est-ce parce que le profil politique de «la probléma-

tique du Tiers monde» est devenu fort visible, ou peut-être est-ce - plus simplement - parce que l'hégémonie de l'économie dans le domaine d'études est tellement forte. Or, l'économie constitue l'exemple par excellence d'une discipline ayant pleinement réussi à s'institutionnaliser.

B. LA STRUCTURE ET LE CONTENU DU LIVRE

Ainsi qu'on le constatera a la lecture de la Table des matières du livre, cet ouvrage se divise assez clairement en trois parties de longueurs fort différentes. La première partie comprend, après le présent chapitre d'introduction, six états de la question portant sur des études régionales. Les deux dernières parties sont nettement plus courtes: la deuxième partie du livre traite des contributions de disciplines particulières aux études du développement international tandis que la troisième considère ce que les universités peuvent apporter à la coopération au développement.

Les six articles portant sur les études régionales accordent beaucoup d'attention aux sciences sociales traditionnelles, surtout à la science politique et à l'économie; trois des auteurs de ces articles sont d'ailleurs des politologues, à savoir Ronald Keith, Donald I. Ray et Jorge Nef. Il peut être relativement facile d'expliquer pourquoi il était logique de placer les états de la question portant sur des études régionales au début de cet ouvrage. Une première raison est que ces articles ont une base empirique plus solide, sont plus exhaustifs et sont plus longs et détaillés que les derniers chapitres du livre. De ce fait, ils offrent un tableau plus complet et convaincant du champ d'études dont ils traitent. Autrement dit, le lecteur qui lirait systématiquement le présent ouvrage irait de champs d'études bien circonscrits et décrits de manière assez complète vers des champs d'études moins bien définis et décrits et manière plus sommaire. Précisons immédiatement que, même si cela semble bien être le cas, cette «évolution» dans le livre ne résulte aucunement d'un manque de sérieux de la part des auteurs des deuxième et troisième parties de l'ouvrage. Nous reviendrons plus tard sur ce problème. Une seconde raison pouvant expliquer pourquoi les états de la question portant sur des études de régions ont été placées au début du présent livre est

que ces études illustrent particulièrement bien ce qui caractérise peut-être le mieux le champ du développement international et du Tiers monde, à savoir la multidisciplinarité. Ce n'est pas ici notre propos de resoulever le débat de la multidisciplinarité dans le champ d'études; il a fait couler assez d'encre déjà. Bornons-nous à souligner que le débat est bien présent, qu'il est vigoureux, qu'il ne semble pas possible de l'éviter et que - très probablement - il est heureux qu'il en soit ainsi. Malgré toutes les difficultés qu'entraîne la multidisciplinarité, il n'en reste pas moins que les faiblesses résultant d'approches unidisciplinaires sont indiscutables et qu'elles ont été abondamment illustrées. En ce sens, d'aucuns affirment que la forte prééminence qu'exerce aujourd'hui les économistes tant dans le domaine d'études que dans les organisations d'aide au développement a entrainé, pas toujours consciemment ou volontairement d'ailleurs, une quasi unidisciplinarité de fait. Cela n'implique évidemment pas que les contributions de disciplines particulières aux études du développement international ne puissent pas être significatives, les plus significatives se hâteraient d'ajouter les défenseurs d'approches et de programmes d'études unidisciplinaires.

Le livre ne contient aucun chapitre traitant des contributions de disciplines des sciences sociales. De fait, de nombreux scientifiques sociaux ont été invités, entre 1981 et 1987, à écrire de tels travaux, mais ils montrèrent une réticence évidente. Il semble qu'étant donné l'identité académique relativement forte des diverses sciences sociales, la réticence de ces académiques était prévisible. Elle était prévisible parce qu'ils auraient éprouvé plus de difficultés à connaître ce qui se fait en tant qu'études du développement international dans leurs disciplines respectives, la base empirique de leurs articles auraient été plus faibles, les limites de ce qu'ils auraient décrit et étudié auraient été plus floues. En d'autres mots, l'identité académique plus forte des sciences sociales traditionnelles a tendance à se superposer, et donc à affaiblir, la perception que les chercheurs ont de leur spécialisation en «études du développement international». Cela explique pourquoi les deux chapitres du livre traitant de disciplines, à savoir les articles de Peter M. Foggin et J.C.M. Shute - F.H. Cummings, ne concernent pas à proprement parler les sciences sociales. Un article traite de la géographie, c'est à dire d'une discipline particulièrement

«éclatée» et dont, de surcroît, la préoccupation pour le Tiers monde est ancienne et clairement définie. L'autre article concerne le développement rural, qui, dans les universités canadiennes, est plutôt considéré comme un domaine professionnel ou de spécialisation qu'une discipline académique proprement-dite.

Les deux articles de la troisième et dernière partie du livre traite des contributions actuelles et potentielles des universités en matière de coopération internationale. L'inclusion de ces deux articles est pertinente parce que l'étude et la pratique - tout au moins une certaine pratique - du développement international sont indissociables. Nous rejoignons ici le concept marxiste de la praxis. Il semble clair que s'il est un domaine où les universités doivent sortir de leur tour d'ivoire, c'est certainement celui du développement international.

Il a été dit plus haut qu'il était relativement facile d'expliquer pourquoi placer les états de la question portant sur des études régionales au début de cet ouvrage était logique. Le long paragraphe qui précède a tenté de fournir cette explication, mais il a de fait dépassé ce propos et a essayé de justifier la manière dont tout l'ouvrage a été structuré. Qualifier de «facile» cette explication est trompeur, parce que, comme souvent dans les sciences sociales, les explications qui semblent les plus faciles cachent des pièges épistémologiques dont il n'est pas facile de se dépêtrer. En outre, l'explication n'est certainement pas complète et elle ne peut pas l'être, précisément parce que ce type d'exercice vire facilement à l'épistémologie. Mais de telles considérations dépassent notre présent propos, et cela même si l'un des principaux buts d'états de la question est de jeter un regard cru et extérieur sur des domaines de recherches ou des disciplines.

De fait, l'explication «facile» et incomplète qui précède cache surtout des problèmes très concrets de convenence et de commodité. Si l'ouvrage est structuré tel qu'il l'est, c'est surtout parce que les états de la question concernant les études régionales ont été les plus faciles à obtenir, les contributions des diverses disciplines l'ayant été beaucoup moins; quant aux deux derniers chapitres du livre, ils ont été les plus difficiles à obtenir au point que l'article de David Morrison est extrait d'un dossier soumis par l'auteur à un Comité de la Chambre des communes. En

d'autres mots, la succession des trois parties du présent livre ne fait en définitive que refléter les niveaux décroissants d'institutionnalisation de certains sous-domaines des études canadiennes du développement international.

C. EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

L'une des conséquences les plus visibles et évidentes d'un processus d'institutionnalisation est un renforcement de l'identité académique. Cependant, ce concept d'«identité académique» peut prêter à confusion. Ainsi, par exemple, aux Etats-Unis, le professeur d'université ne jouit pas d'un statut social comparable au statut traditionnel du professeur d'université français. Mais malgré ce statut social inférieur, l'identité académique du professeur américain est plus forte. Cela s'observe bien dans le concept même de *scholar*, inconnu en France, ou moins vigoureux. La carrière du *scholar* repose beaucoup plus exclusivement sur des réalisations et des critères universitaires et académiques que celle du professeur français, qui lui sera plus tenté par - et aura aussi plus facilement accès à - des débats publics, des éditoriaux dans les journaux influents, des ouvrages polémiques, etc.

L'environnement universitaire canadien semble constituer un cas intermédiaire entre la situation traditionnelle française et les Etats-Unis. Le Canada francophone est peut-être un peu plus proche de la France à ce point de vue que ne l'est le Canada anglophone, et l'inverse est peut-être vrai pour le Canada anglophone. Mais les différences semblent moins grandes que ce que d'aucuns pourraient croire. Cependant, que les stratégies des carrières académiques soit basée sur des critères internes ou externes, il est un fait qu'aujourd'hui les universitaires canadiens subissent des pressions de plus en plus fortes: des «rendements» académiques sans cesse accrus sont exigés. Mais des fonds de recherche sont coupés, le ratio entre les articles publiés et soumis diminue progressivement dans les revues monitorisées, l'explosion du savoir rend l'enseignement et la recherche de plus en plus difficiles. Les problèmes d'identité mentionnés antérieurement, combinés à ces pressions, font que les universitaires doivent «s'adapter» de plus en plus, d'où cette multi-

plication assez artificielle de «nouvelles» approches théoriques, discutées antérieurement; d'où cette prolifération de rituels académiques n'ayant que peu de substance, des conférences trop vite préparées, par exemple; d'où ces stratégies de marketing, ces «positionnements», qui envahissent de plus en plus le monde de la recherche. Certainement, des innovations théoriques *sont* faites, la recherche *doit* être diffusée et il est important que des relations s'établissent entre d'une part les chercheurs universitaires et d'autre part les décideurs politiques et les praticiens du développement. Mais il semble bien qu'à cause des pression subies par les universitaires et à cause aussi de la nature même des études du développement international, les stratégies des carrières et les bases des identités «académiques» ont tendance à devenir progressivement externes aux universités et aussi à la recherche fondamentale *stricto sensu*. La publication de ce livre veut être une contribution et à l'institutionnalisation des études du développement international au Canada et à une identité plus interne des universitaires, facteurs qui devraient aider à redonner aux universités la primauté incontestable dans le domaine d'études.

NOTES ET REFERENCES

1. Arthur Stinchcombe, «A Structural Analysis of Sociology», The American Sociologist, Vol.10, Mai 1975, p.57-64.
2. Arthur Stinchcombe, op. cit., p.60.
3. Arthur Stinchcombe, op. cit., p.61.
4. Des commentaires fort parallèles pourraient être faits au sujet de la méthodologie.
5. Il faut souligner ici que la caractérisation de «sous-domaine» doit se comprendre par rapport aux études du développement international ou du Tiers monde. Il est évident que plusieurs des disciplines ou champs de spécialisation de ces «sous-domaines» sont, en tant que disciplines et champs de spécialisation, académiquement plus importants et plus visibles que le développement international, et souvent mieux institutionnalisés.
6. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, «Foreword», p.VIII, in Anthony Oberschall (ed.), The Establishment of Empirical Sociology. Studies in Continuity, Discontinuity and Institutionnalization, New York, Harper and Row, 1972.
7. Voir à ce sujet Anthony Oberschall (ed.), en particulier les premières pages de l'article de Stephen Cole, «Continuity and Institutionnalization in Science: A Case Study of Failure», p.73-129 ainsi que le «Foreword», p.VI-XVI de Paul Lazarsfeld.
8. Voir à ce sujet, par exemple, Harold Coward, «The Canadian Contribution to Studies of South Asian Religions», Revue canadienne d'études du développement, Vol.VII, no.2, 1986, p.281-291.

9. Voir à ce sujet les deux articles de Saül Ross publiés dans la Revue Canadienne d'Etudes du Développement, à savoir «Physical Education and Sport Development Assistance: Perspectives, Potential and Cautions», Vol.VII, no.1, 1985, pp.161-172, et «Canadian Research Into Physical Education and Sport Development Assistance: A Fledgling Entreprise», Vol.VII, no.1, 1986, pp.95-103. Le premier de ces articles constitue plutôt une espèce d'éditorial académique s'attachant à montrer l'intérêt pour le développement international des recherches faites en éducation physique; le second article traite plus spécifiquement des contributions canadiennes dans le sous-domaine.

10. Ces intérêts peuvent être de nature très diverses; ils peuvent être politiques, religieux, culturels, etc.

11. Voir la section «D. South Asianists: Regional and Discipline Composition» dans le chapitre d'Edward C. Moulton inclus dans ce livre.

12. Il est caractéristique de constater à cet égard que depuis la mise en oeuvre du processus d'«institutionnalisation», surtout pendant la seconde moitié de la décade de 1970, Cuba est devenu un sujet de recherche d'importance fort secondaire. Or, pendant toute la décade de 1960, Cuba avait été le pays latino-américain le plus intensivement étudié.

13. Robert Nisbet soutient que changement social et développement social sont, dans une certaine mesure, des concepts opposés. Ce qui les oppose est l'idée de direction. Voir Robert Nisbet, Social Change and History: Aspects of the Western Theory of Development, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969, surtout la p.208.

14. D.L.B. Hamlin, International Studies in Canadian Universities, Ottawa, Canadian Universities Foundation, 1964 et Gilles Lalande, L'étude des relations internationales et de certaines civilisations étrangères au Canada, Ottawa, Fondation des universités canadiennes, 1964.

15. Norma Walmsley, Canadian Universities and International Development, Ottawa, Association des universités et collèges du Canada, 1970.

16. William E. Tossel, Partnership in Development: Canadian Universities and World Food, Ottawa, Science Council of Canada, 1980, p.72.

17. Kari Polanyi-Levitt et Ayse Bugra-Trak, State of Development Studies in the Social Sciences: A Canadian Survey, 1986, inédit, pp.382 et plusieurs appendices. La Table des matières du rapport comprend les parties suivantes: Introduction; Chapter I: Current Trends in Development Studies; Chapter II: The Evolution of Development Economics in the Context of North-South Relations: 1945-1985; Chapter III: The State of Development Studies in Canada: Views and Approaches; Chapter IV: Analysis of the Mail Questionnaire to Instructors of Development-Related Courses; Chapter V: Centres, Institutes and Programs; Conclusion; Bibliography; Appendices.

18. La «Préface» du présent volume donne plus de détails à ce sujet.

19. Son nom initial anglais était Canadian Association for International Development Studies; en juin 1986, ce nom fut changé en Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID). De mai 1985 à juin 1986 fonctionna un Comité organisateur formé de quatre membres, les professeurs Ozay Mehmet de l'Université Carleton, Kari Levitt de l'Université McGill, Jean Moisset de l'Université Laval et Henry Veltmeyer de l'Université St-Mary; j'assumais la présidence de ce comité. L'Association a élu son premier Président (moi-même) au cours de sa deuxième Conférence annuelle, tenue à Winnipeg les 5 et 6 juin 1986; la Professeur Kari Levitt deviendra présidente lors de la 3e conférence annuelle qui se tiendra à Hamilton les 4, 5 et 6 juin, 1987. L'Association a une Constitution dûment approuvée et un Comité Exécutif de neuf membres; elle publie un Bulletin deux fois l'an. J'ai assuré le Secrétariat de l'ACEDI depuis sa fondation jusqu'en juin 1986; depuis lors, celui-ci est assuré par le Dr. Ozay Mehmet de l'Université Carleton.

RONALD C. KEITH

2. LES ÉTUDES DE L'ASIE DE L'EST AU CANADA OU LA POURSUITE DE LA PERLE DU DRAGON

La mythologie chinoise parle d'un dragon qui tenta longtemps, mais en vain, de s'emparer d'une perle fabuleuse qui brillait même dans la nuit. Les efforts des spécialistes canadiens de l'Asie de l'est ne sont pas sans parallèle avec la quête de ce dragon: ils tentent de saisir ce qui constitue l'essence des civilisations de cette région du monde, essence qui leur échappe souvent autant que la perle échappait au dragon. Malgré ces difficultés, ou peut-être à cause d'elles, ces spécialistes ne devraient pas être perçus comme impliqués dans des recherches à but exclusivement intellectuel, parce qu'en effet celles-ci ont toujours été liées à des réalités politiques et économiques très concrètes.

C'est essentiellement après la seconde guerre mondiale que les études de l'Asie de l'est se développèrent au Canada. Avant cela, il n'existait que des «études orientales» qui se limitaient, de fait, à un intérêt purement philologique - et parfois historique - pour la Chine. Après 1945, la décolonisation, la modernisation et l'impact du communisme dans la région transformèrent radicalement l'Asie de l'est, transformations qui eurent des implications sérieuses pour le Canada, surtout en matières commerciale, stratégique et d'immigration. L'importance de ces implications ainsi que la prise de conscience dans le monde académique du caractère distinct des problèmes du Tiers Monde sont à la base du développement des études de l'Asie de l'est au Canada, études qui connaîtront au début des années 1960 une période d'expansion assez rapide. Après celle-ci, c'est la Guerre du Vietnam et, à partir de la fin des années 1970, les ouvertures de la Chine vers les pays occidentaux qui contribuèrent le plus à souligner, dans le pays, la pertinence des études de la région. Malgré cela,

tout au cours des années 1970, ces études ont dû faire face à des attaques fort dures: les tenants d'approches unidisciplinaires leur ont reproché non seulement un manque de rigueur, mais aussi d'être en dernière analyse issues de motivations commerciales et géopolitiques; d'autre part, les tenants d'approches multidisciplinaires leur ont reproché de mal réaliser le plein potentiel de telles approches. Ces attaques, conjuguées à un climat général de récession académique, ont entraîné pendant la dernière décennie un relatif déclin, déclin dont les effets se font encore sentir aujourd'hui.

La Guerre du Vietnam divisa profondément l'importante communauté académique américaine qui se consacre à l'étude de l'Asie de l'est. Les chercheurs et les centres de recherche les mieux établis se virent attaqués par une Nouvelle gauche qui les accusa et de «complicité du silence» force au drame vietnamien, et d'entreprendre des recherches compatibles avec le climat de guerre froide, ou pis encore de faire des recherches directement utiles aux militaires et aux agences d'intelligence. Cette critique radicale plaidait en faveur d'une conception humaniste de la recherche, conception qui en définitive était assez proche de celle des philologues et historiens qui dominaient le domaine d'études avant 1940-45. Cette querelle trouva des échos au Canada, mais elle n'y eut pas la vigueur qu'elle connaissait aux Etats-Unis; après tout, la guerre était américaine et non canadienne, et la communauté académique concernée y était nettement plus petite, ce qui semble avoir atténué les tensions. Cependant, l'orientation générale des recherches canadiennes a été influencée par la critique radicale américaine, surtout par son insistence à ce que les dimensions sociales de la modernisation et des révolutions constituent la priorité absolue de la recherche. Du fait de cette influence, il est permis de douter de la légitimité de la revendication de certains centres d'études, surtout de l'est du pays, quant à la spécificité d'une approche canadienne, à savoir l'approche de l'économie politique. En effet cette approche est au moins aussi présente et influente aux Etats-Unis qu'au Canada. Même si ce qui précède semble certain, il n'en reste pas moins que le grand pluralisme politique et idéologique existant au Canada ainsi que l'expérience canadienne de dépendance internationale forment une excellente base pour qu'une empathie vis-à-vis du Tiers Monde puisse se développer

dans le pays; cette base est nettement moins forte aux Etats-Unis.

Le début effectif des programmes universitaires d'études de l'Asie de l'est date du début des années 1950. L'université de la Colombie Britannique démarra officiellement un Programme d'études asiatiques en 1956 et, vers la même époque, cette université profita aussi énormément de ce qu'aux Etats-Unis la Commission McCarthy s'était livrée contre l'Institute of Pacific Relations à une campagne harcèlement systématique. Cette campagne eut pour résultat que ce prestigieuse Institut - et sa non moins prestigieuse revue Pacific Affairs - vinrent finalement s'installer dans le campus de l'Université. Simultanément, l'université de Toronto développait beaucoup son Département d'études de l'Asie de l'est. La fin de la décennie de 1960 et le début de celle de 1970 furent les années pendant lesquelles les études de l'Asie de l'est connurent, au Canada, leur expansion la plus rapide: l'université McGill, l'université de Victoria, celles de Brock, de Guelph et de McMaster créèrent des programmes interdisciplinaires d'études; en outre, c'est alors que fut créée l'Association canadienne d'études asiatiques. Le nombre de thèses de deuxième et troisième cycles est un bon indicateur de cette expansion: au cours des années 1960, cinquante huit thèses traitant de la Chine, du Japon et de la Corée furent défendues; de 1970 à 1975 cent et huit thèses furent défendues. Dans chacune de ces deux périodes, trois universités produisirent à elles seules plus de 50 pour cent des totaux de ces thèses, à savoir les universités de la Colombie Britannique, de Toronto et McGill. Les disciplines les plus représentées furent, en ordre décroissant, la science politique, l'économie, la sociologie et la littérature. Un autre indicateur de cette expansion est le fait que de plus en plus de départements s'impliquent dans les études de la région; c'est ainsi que depuis le début des années 1970 des départements de géographie, d'anthropologie, d'éducation, d'histoire et d'études religieuses ont ajouté leurs efforts à ceux des quatre disciplines mentionnées antérieurement. Le grand nombre d'immigrants chinois, coréens et japonais vivant au Canada et, plus généralement, l'exceptionnelle hétérogénéité ethnique de la «mosaïque» canadienne ont aussi joué un rôle dans l'expansion du domaine d'études; en effet, en étudiant l'Asie de l'est un chercheur contribue à expliquer

l'identité canadienne, et cela est vrai qu'il incorpore ou non l'étude des immigrants originaires de la région à l'objet de sa recherche. Ce fait contribue à légitimiser le domaine d'études et - en particulier - facilite son financement.

Il peut être considéré qu'au Canada, en termes généraux, les études de l'Asie de l'est ont réussi leur processus d'institutionnalisation. Cette institutionnalisation fait, par exemple, qu'environ depuis 1970 des critiques de plus en plus nombreuses et acerbes ont été adressées à la conception qu'ont les universités des humanités, conception considérée comme trop étroite parce qu'uniquement préoccupée par l'«homme occidental». En dehors de cette croissante visibilité académique, l'importance quantitative du domaine d'études témoigne aussi de son institutionnalisation: des centres interdisciplinaires d'études asiatiques existent maintenant un peu partout dans le pays, centres qui collaborent étroitement avec des professeurs de différents départements de sciences sociales et des humanités; ces centres coordonnent des programmes de cours et parfois gèrent des fonds de recherche. Depuis le début des années 1970, le Canada a plus de quarante universités offrant au moins plusieurs cours portant sur l'Asie de l'est et a plus de 300 professeurs se spécialisant, ou ayant un intérêt secondaire, dans l'étude de la région.

L'expansion des études «asiatiques» a entraîné une certaine confusion institutionnelle. S'agit-il d'études «orientales»? De l'Asie de l'est, de l'Asie du sud ou des deux? Les études islamiques en font-elles partie ou doivent-elles être considérées comme un aspect des recherches portant sur le Moyen-Orient? En outre, plusieurs disciplines, particulièrement la science politique et l'économie, ont revendiqué l'hégémonie académique dans le domaine d'études. Ces problèmes, et d'autres encore de même nature, ont provoqué depuis les années 1950 bien des expansions, des fusions et parfois aussi des suppressions de départements, ce qui n'a pas toujours renforcé l'identité académique des spécialistes. Typique en ce sens est le fait qu'en 1971 s'est constituée une société savante «dissidente» regroupant les spécialistes canadiens de l'Asie du sud; ces derniers faisaient jusqu'alors partie de l'Association canadienne d'études asiatiques. L'existence de ces deux associations entraîna des difficultés diverses, principalement des difficultés de financement, à tel point qu'en 1978 les deux associations se reconstituèrent en une seule!

Ces problèmes d'identité du domaine d'études sont exacerbés par la quantité et la qualité des spécialistes américains; ainsi la American Association of Asian Studies est plus de vingt fois plus grande que l'association canadienne. De ce fait, même si les spécialistes canadiens publient - en termes relatifs - beaucoup, la dominance des Etats-Unis est très évidente, ce qui s'observe même dans Pacific Affairs. Cependant, malgré la confusion institutionnelle existant au Canada, malgré la dominance des Etats-Unis et malgré aussi la stagnation qui s'observe depuis 1970 environ, l'identité du domaine d'études est suffisamment forte que pour pouvoir affirmer que les études de l'Asie de l'est sont, aujourd'hui, effectivement institutionnalisées dans le pays.

A. INTRODUCTION

The following discussion will focus on the historical growth and institutionalization of East Asian area studies at Canadian universities highlighting the formal purposes and practical research methods and organizational strategies which have characterized the field.*

Just as the fabled dragon featured on the Qing imperial coat of arms, pursues but rarely catches the fiery "night-shining pearl" (*yemingzhu*), East Asian area studies have sought to capture the essence of East Asian civilization. This latter pursuit, has not, however, been an altogether innocent excursion conducted without reference to the mundane political realities of public perception and university funding.

Subsequent to World War II, East Asian area studies were gradually built up on an earlier discrete philological tradition of sinology. While practical concerns relating to commerce, immigration and war had always some relevance to the classical study of the "Orient", these concerns became critical in the postwar search for explanations of

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* I would like to thank Professor Paul Evans of York University for his very helpful critique of this article.

the strategic and economic dimensions of decolonization and modernization in "Asia". The struggle for advantage against the appeal of socialism and communism had an impact on the world of scholarship which perhaps was abetted in the maturation of Western social sciences, the latter promised through transcultural comparison and systematic paradigm formation more practical applications of scholarship to world politics. The relation between East Asian studies and the social sciences is complex in so far as it constitutes at one and the same time a dynamic and a dilemma.

In the compelling circumstances of the Cold War need-to-know, Harold Lasswell once remarked: "Asian material has come into the picture with a great rush."[1] In the 1960s, referred to by Professor John Lindbeck as the "developmental decade",[2] the institutional base of area studies in the US and the United Kingdom as well as in Canada expanded in response to a growing awareness of the distinctiveness of Third World political culture and its implications for Western commerce and security.

In the mid-1960s the Vietnam War confirmed the necessity of "area studies". The anti-War protest, however, stimulated major historiographical and methodological arguments and raised the level of research interest in the social dimensions of revolutionary change in "traditional" societies. With the more recent geopolitical changes in the international structure of power and in particular the culmination of Sino-American normalization in the late 1970s, "Asia" as a critical component of the "Pacific Rim" or "Pacific Basin"[3] has been featured prominently in Canadian perceptions of the international economy. In the words of John Bruk, who has since become Chairman of the Asia and Pacific Foundation of Canada: "...economic power and activities have been shifting geographically away from the North Atlantic Centre to the Pacific Centre requiring the development of a new institutional framework."[4] It is perhaps too early to tell whether the new foundation is truly "new" or whether it represents rediscovery of the purposes of Institute of Pacific Relations. However, the humanist search for truth which has characterized the historical direction of area studies now wishes to claim practical contemporary relevance. The Canadian Asian Studies Association (CASA) has, for example, in a brief concerning the establishment of the Asia and Pacific

Foundation represented itself as a "cultural broker" which would undertake to mediate "Asian-Canadian relations in a complex world" where business and commercial ventures are "at the mercy of cultural differences".[5]

A number of familiar questions arise in this conjuncture of the normative and the commercial. How will university administrators attempt to order curriculum and academic organization in such a way as to reflect the search for truth and commerce? How has area studies in the past reconciled the discipline-oriented scholarship of social science and the scruples of "Asian" specialists? While the former may have actively sought from within and without its own departmental confines its own "pearl" in paradigm formation, the literate tradition of Chinese and Japanese studies still tends to approach issues such as "development" in a circuitous fashion after the manner of Shakespeare's Polonius who cunningly advised "by indirection find direction out."

Standing at the threshold of the "developmental decade", the Harvard doyen of American China specialists, John K. Fairbank, had pleaded that the China field should go slow and resist the temptations of modern social science to answer the "big problems" such as "social mobility, class and power structure and ideology" until such time as historians could produce an adequate factual base.[6] Even so, Fairbank, himself, did a great deal to introduce modern social science to "Asia". The social scientists waxed enthusiastic. In the middle of the decade, G. William Skinner claimed that social science must embrace sinology in order more properly to carry out its own mandate of scientific inquiry. Professor Skinner admonished his colleagues: "Social scientists ... have been parochial while claiming universality. They studied Western man and spoke of mankind."[7] Skinner looked forward to a constructive dynamic which would foster mutually beneficial dialogue between area studies and social sciences.

Several years later Richard Wilson, however, proclaimed a dilemma, or a "crisis" in the China field which allegedly originated with a negative pressure exerted on social scientists by "...the mandarinate of non-social science Asian specialists who claim the right to verify the intellectual validity of works in the China field and who do so by criteria that are essentially ancilliary to the social

sciences, i.e., language competence and historical experience."[8] Wilson concluded that area programmes had had only limited success in promoting "interdisciplinary foci".

In Canada the formal rationalization of East Asian area studies entwined an humanitarian ethic, which upheld the normative goals of a liberal arts education, with a secular ethic, which sought advice in dealing with the strategic and commercial problems of the day.

However the mid-1970s witnessed a growing utilitarianism which cold-shouldered the notion of a liberal arts education, as area studies came under budgetary attack. The latter were attacked as having no definite direction and shape. Speaking at the Toronto meetings of the Association for Asian Studies, Benjamin Schwartz counter-attacked arguing that such hostility originated with a trend towards "scientistic self-conception" in the human sciences. Professor Schwartz warned:

> The systematic tendency to downgrade the area approach within the human disciplines is not so much a function of the present division of labour among the disciplines, as it is a function of the scientistic pretensions within these disciplines. ... Among the characteristics of this scientific self-conception is the tendency to treat the disciplines, not as roughly demarcated areas of human experience, but as sharply discrete self-contained domains, each characterized by its own pure theories, models, hermetic vocabularies, and research methodologies.[9]

In defence of area studies, Professor Schwartz claimed that area studies had avoided the pitfalls of particularistic theory and that they had not asserted "particular views of relations of society and culture to history". Schwartz proceeded to define "area" as "...a cross-disciplinary unit of collective experience within which one can discern complex interactions among economic, social, political and the religious and other spheres of life."[10] In this cross-disciplinary purpose such studies could presumably help the social sciences escape from the self-inflicted wounds of scientism.

Essentially Professor Schwartz gave a benign interpretation of the concept of "area" -- one which was consistent with the humanist interests of traditional sinology. Some scholars in contrast have argued that "area" was a policy-generated unit of strategic analysis which was quite

alien to pre-war "oriental studies" rooted in the distinctions which flowed from philology and ancient history. Milton Singer, for example, reached the following conclusion:

> The area divisions of the language and area programmes ... do not reflect systematic classifications derived from prolonged scholarly and scientific investigations in any discipline. They represent very rough and ready delimitations serving chiefly the practical needs of military and political operations.[11]

Furthermore, Professor Schwartz did not directly testify to whether area studies had in fact achieved a systematic pattern of curriculum development which effectively facilitated ordered cross-disciplinary conversations in such a way as to promote the practical mediation of East-West commercial and strategic relationships. The problem of scientism may have originated in the morass of departmental politics and bureaucratic vested interests as disciplines attempted to prove their contemporary relevance, but the question still remains as to whether area studies have proven their relevance in answering the problems of revolution and modernization in a cross-disciplinary way.

Professor Schwartz's esteemed colleague, John F. Fairbank has more recently noted that the profound desire within area studies of the 1950s for conceptual unity in the explanation of Asian "modernization" has yet to be realized. Fairbank, who personally would not have included history among the social sciences, opined that it was not feasible to crowd a political scientist, an economist and a sociologist into one classroom. The "big problems" to which he referred in 1960 are still with us as he claimed in 1982: "There is no single overall unified and integrated social science from which modernization theory emerges as a logical end product".[12]

An assessment of the formal purposes and curriculum of area studies relates to how the original humanist base of pre-war "oriental studies" was developed into post-war East Asian area studies. We might, therefore, begin with a short excursion into the sociology of knowledge, as the formal rationalization of university programmes and research is in part explained with reference to the historiography of Canadian perception of East Asia. Hopefully,

the informative perspective gained will facilitate greater generalization as to the institutionalization of new programmes and the sources of conflict within the concerned academic community which has witnessed both the heady expansion in area studies of the late 1960s and their progressive decline of the mid-1970s and thereafter. As might be expected, one cannot really consider the Canadian development of area studies in isolation from dominant educational trends in the United States.

B. CANADA AND EAST ASIA

The current fascination with the "Pacific Rim" may invoke a sense of *déjà vu*, for successive generations of Canadians have indeed experienced periodic bouts of "oriental fever". A 1858 handbook on Vancouver, for example, anticipated the future rivalry between San Francisco and the Straits of Fuca for the great commercial prize of ancient, as well as modern times: "...the Pacific Coast will soon command the trade of vast regions of China, Japan and the Asiatic archipelago...."[13] The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in part with the help of indebtured Chinese labour in the 1890s led to yet another bout of the fever as Canadian businessmen and politicians succumbed to what Professor John Holmes described as the "Asia mystique".[14] The thought of so many millions of customers in East Asia titillated businessmen in both western and eastern Canada. Robert Gowan has, for example, chronicled the history of the myth of the Japan market in Canada in 1896-1911.[15] Sir Wilfrid Laurier, himself, urged young men not only "to go West", he also urged Toronto businessmen to seek their fortune in the "Orient".

Not only trade, but also souls were at stake. In fact Ross McLean in one of the very few early reports on Asian content in postwar Canadian education has argued that whatever interest Canadians exhibited with respect to Asian cultures prior to World War II was largely due to Canadian missionary activity and a "very considerable level of Canadian religious scholarship".[16]

Roman Catholic missionaries with *La Société des Missions Etrangères* worked in Manchurai, Zhejiang and Suzhou. Sisters from the Ursulines, *Religieuses de Notre*

Dame de Charité du Bon Pasteur d'Angers (Canada), the *Congrégation de Notre Dame*, the *Soeurs de la Charité* (de Québec), etc. were especially active in Japan. The Canadian Methodists reached Japan in 1873. The first call by the Presbyterian Church of Canada went out in 1888, and Hudson Taylor, who sailed from Vancouver, founded the multi-national China Inland Mission in the same year.[17]

Bishop William White, who later brought together the magnificent collection of antiquities, which formed the basis of the orientalia collection at the Royal Ontario Museum, founded the first Chinese mission of the Church of England in Honan in 1910. In fact it was to a hospital in North Honan that Bob McClure, the future moderator of the United Church of Canada, was sent by the Bloor St. Presbyterian Church in Toronto.[18]

In China's southwest, Jim Endicott helped to establish a long-standing missionary presence. The image of China was refracted many times in the light of differing missionary experiences. The foreword by K.H. Ting, Vice-President of Nanking University to *James G. Endicott: Rebel out of China* speaks of the "modern Western missionary spirit" as the "manifestation" of a "broader socio-economic and politico-military movement looking beyond the limits of national boundaries".[19]

Such a manifestation of fervent "internationalist" perspective was not confined to the religious scene. The language of commonwealth from within the British Empire and the universalist aspirations of the League of Nations, which originated with the Wilsonian rhetoric of democracy between nations became relevant to Canadian imagery of China. Canadians were concerned over the difficulties of missions engulfed in the revolutionary turmoil of the warlord years in China. They were also concerned over the rise of Japan and the stability of the Pacific region. In 1921 the Canadian government anxiously hoped for an accommodation between British and American views of Japan.

In the realm of scholarship, Canadians quite readily participated in the research activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).[20] The Institute was established in 1925 as a self-avowed non-sectarian, non-political trans-national agency which linked privately funded national councils in the international exercise of mutual understanding between nations. It was dedicated to the cause of

peace in the Pacific through the study of the conditions of the Pacific peoples. As John K. Fairbank noted in his tribute to the IPR, the Institute "...stood almost alone as the protagonist of international integration in the Pacific area."[21]

The Institute was originally established by a group of businessmen and professionals in Hawaii who were quite worried about the prospects for peace in the Pacific.[22] Sir Robert Borden, a former Canadian prime minister and author of *Canada in the Commonwealth from Conflict to Cooperation* became the first Canadian representative on the Institute's executive body, the Pacific Council. The Canadian delegations to the early annual meetings were usually organized by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. In fact John Holmes has suggested that the Canadian Institute of International Affairs might not have been established in the late 1920s if it were not for the initiatives taken to form an organization to help further the Canadian activities of the IPR. Professor Holmes in his remarks during a testimonial dinner for Bill Holland noted:

> Asian affairs were anything but a priority in the universities of Canada in those days and it was because of our association with the IPR that Canadian scholars of the quality of Herbert Norman were encouraged to write and books were in fact published on Canada's relations with the Pacific countries.[23]

The Canadian Institute of International Affairs helped to organize the fifth international conference of the IPR at the Banff Springs Hotel in Banff, Alberta, in 1933. During that August occasion the Canadians revealed the same set of idealistic assumptions which informed Canadian representations at the League of Nations.

Sir Arthur Currie perhaps provided an even better example of the internationalist perspective of Canadians. The former commander of the Canadian Corps at Vimy Ridge addressed the second conference of the IPR in 1927.[24] His remarks regarding the fact that Canadians, unlike Europeans, do not entertain "ancient grudges and prejudices" were in keeping with Canadian diplomatic representations at Geneva. Sir Arthur believed that the Canadian temper was well suited to the task of international cooperation. Such an even temper had been politically

manifest both in Canada's benign role within the British Empire and in the one hundred years of peace along the American-Canadian border. Sir Arthur went so far as to suggest that the Canadian propensity for cooperation was evident in the harmonious relationship between the French and Anglo-Saxon communities of Quebec.

Sir Arthur was of a mind that Canada could act as an "international highway between the Occident and Orient". Japan had become Canada's third largest customer, and China, despite her unsettled conditions, offered the prospect of becoming one of Canada's greatest export markets. The "international highway", was, however, a High Street for trade only. Sir Arthur of course understood the "natural fears" of British Columbians who were anxious less they become inundated with Asian immigrants travelling the "international highway" to Canada's Pacific coast.

The Institute provided the most important center for research on East Asia before World War II and its experience suggests a definite linkage of humanist inquiries in "oriental studies" with the public policy purpose of promoting peace. According to the research of John Thomas, in response to the concatenation of events, which inexorably led to war in East and Southeast Asia, more and more members of the Institute abandoned the initial cautious impulse to focus on culture and economic relations as opposed to political issues.[25] The unobtrusive quiet emphasis on private cross-council interaction became less acceptable in lieu of the urgency of the situation in Asia. The IPR could not avoid controversies over the relative merits of the Guomindang and Chinese Community Party and the role of the Japanese in China. Apparently the Canadian Council of the IPR, which included influential figures such as Edgar Tarr and Norman Mackenzie, was uncomfortable with American IPR members' involvement in the partisan journal, *Amerasia*.[26]

C. HUMANISM AND THE STRATEGIC RELEVANCE OF AREA STUDIES

Before the war the development of Canadian academic interest in East Asia was haphazard and narrowly based in "oriental studies", economics, political science, and history.[27] In economics and political science scholars had in fact evinced a very early interest in subjects relating to international politics, trade and especially immigration. When W.A.C.H. Dobson arrived in 1952 to consolidate the University of Toronto's Asian programme, he had the prewar legacy of Bishop White with which to work, and Toronto assumed an early lead in Canadian research on East Asia. In the early to mid-1950s the Université d'Ottawa exhibited a comparatively strong social science interest in research relating to development, international politics and communism. UBC's early interest in Asia was demonstrated in the appointment of Professor Ho Ping-ti to the History Department in 1948.

East Asian studies did not really get off the ground in the early 1950s. The American diplomatic isolation of the Chinese and the Korean War of the early 1950s reduced the level of direct Canadian contact with the new People's Republic of China. Trading and proselytizing were reduced to negligible levels, and the Korean War foreclosed early Canadian discussion of diplomatic recognition of "Red China". At the Korean sessions of the 1954 Geneva Conference, the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, backed Lester Pearson into a corner requiring him to choose between the legitimacy of UN collective action in Korea and recognition of Community China.

In comparison with the prewar years, there also seemed to be in the 1950s a relative regression of interest in Japan, which was only modestly arrested in the mid-1960s expansion of Japanese studies at the Universities of Toronto and British Columbia.

In 1956 UBC had launched an Asian studies programme under the stewardship of Professor F.H. Soward, Head of the History Department.[28] Ho Ping-ti acted as the nucleus of the new programme. He was joined the following year by Professor Ronald Dore in Japanese studies and a second historian, Y.T. Wang. Japanese and Chinese language programmes were initiated in the same year. The Asian Studies Division of the UBC Library was

not actually established until 1960.[29] The collection was based upon the P'u-pan collection of 45,000 stitched Chinese volumes. The University of Toronto throughout the 1960s rapidly expanded its collection which originated with the 40,000 volume collection of the scholar Mu Hsueh-hsun.[30] McGill's Chinese collection suffered a devastating blow as a result of the sale of the Gest collection to an American university. This very same collection had been singled out as early as 1927 by Sir Arthur Currie as rivalling those of the British Museum and Library of Congress.

In the 1950s there was generally more widespread interest in Soviet studies; however, East Asian studies came out from under the shadow of the latter in the 1960s when Lasswell's "great rush of Asian materials" became evident in the universities of Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

In the United States the inception of East Asian area studies owed a great deal to prewar trail-blazing by IPR researchers. In fact during the war the US government had leaned heavily on the Institute for information about the Pacific. Prominent associates of the IPR such as John K. Fairbank, George Taylor, Edwin Reischauer, C. Martin Wilbur, Hugh Borton and John Lindbeck became involved in the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information. These former IPR associates pioneered post-war area studies.[31]

Soviet area studies were established first as in the early Cold War years foundation funding focused on Slavic Studies in response to the primary strategic concern with the USSR; however, the School for International Affairs at Columbia and its Russian Institute became prototypes for the development of centers for East Asian research centres. In 1959 the Joint Contemporary China Committee was established at the Gould House Conference, and in its association with the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), it was patterned after the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies.[32]

While former members of the IPR were deeply involved in the new area studies programmes, the IPR itself, did not institutionally recover from the harrowing trauma of the McCarran hearings of 1951-52. The Committee's pathological Red-baiting led to the sudden suspension of IPR

funding by the Rockefeller Foundation. What was an American loss became an important Canadian gain. As the result of a longstanding personal relationship between Bill Holland of the IPR and UBC President Norman Mackenzie, which went as far back as their first meeting at an IPR conference in Shanghai, 1931, the IPR New York headquarters was moved along with its internationally prestigious journal, *Pacific Affairs* and its small specialized library of 5200 volumes to the UBC campus. President Mackenzie had earlier decided to give priority to the development of a Slavonics Department to house Soviet studies and to expand the study of East Asia in the Asian Studies Department.

Professor Holland took up his new post as head of the Department of Asian studies in January, 1961. At the time of his arrival the Asian studies programme included 103 students in twelve undergraduate courses. In addition to Holland, Y.T. Wang and Shuichi Kato held full time appointments in the department while Ho Ping-ti held a joint appointment with History. Ross MacKay in Geography, Wayne Suttles in Anthropology and Frank Langdon in Political Science were attached to the Department of Asian Studies as Lecturers. At the time of Professor Holland's resignation in 1968 the Department had a staff of sixteen including five full professors not including eight professors from other departments who lectured in Asian studies. Undergraduate enrolment had climbed to 573 and the graduate programme could boast of fourteen students in eleven courses.[33]

In the Canadian, British and American cases there were similar attempts to coopt and expand established language and literature programmes as well as attempts to broaden the disciplinary base of "area studies" and to involve the social sciences more directly in such programmes in order to achieve a more practical problem-solving approach. In Great Britain Sir William Hayter was charged in 1959 to carry out a review of "oriental studies" under the conditions set forth by the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies of 1947. Sir William supported developments at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and at St. Anthony's College, Oxford, but he singled out the grevious lack of practical orientation in British university programmes, which he criticized for a strong classical

bias. Existing programmes rested too narrowly on a base of language and literature studies. The Hayter Report was successful in its appeal to the University Grants Committee in earmarking funds for new positions in non-language departments, and in Great Britain through the 1960s and 1970s there were a series of "Hayter" appointments and a progressive adaptation in British social science to Asian materials.[34]

The US National Defence Education Act of 1958 similarly assigned the highest priority to foreign language training in order to fillip area studies which would facilitate a more sophisticated understanding of contemporary international politics. The expansion of "oriental studies" was seen as complementary to the development of a new disciplinary interest in the social sciences. In fact one of the main arguments which George Taylor and John K. Fairbank used in associating the new Joint Committee on Contemporary China with the SSRC, as opposed to the Association of Asian Studies, was that this particular organization would promote "a much readier access to the social scientists across the country".[35]

In Canada the growing trade with Japan sparked renewed interest in Japanese studies, for example, the University of Toronto Library launched its Japanese collection in 1961, and the University's Department of East Asian Studies underwent in 1965 a major expansion with the appointment of several full time staff. Moreover, continuing large-scale Chinese wheat purchases stimulated interest in the problems of Chinese economic and political development, and the emerging Sino-Soviet split probably not only vindicated liberal opinion on the necessity of the diplomatic recognition of the PRC but also helped more clearly to distinguish Chinese from Soviet studies.

The development of area studies did not necessarily involve what Lasswell referred to as "the revolt against empty normative admonition".[36] Historical emphasis on "internationalist" perspective reinforced a revival of humanism which was expected to have a great explanatory role with respect to contemporary problems. During his tenure as department head from 1953-64, Professor W.A. C.H. Dobson built up the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Toronto on the basis of a British model which was readily available in the University's Department of Classics. An eminent classicist,

himself, Dobson informed a conference of educators, which had convened at Columbia University to consider how best to incorporate Asian material into university programmes that Toronto intended to have the best of the area approach and the disciplinary approach.[37]

In the US the National Defense Education Act of 1958 essentially marked the strategic shift from massive retaliation of the early 1950s to counter-insurgency of the 1960s. The developing social science interest in East and Southeast Asia which complemented the growth in area studies, however, helped to spawn historiographical and methodological controversies as the US became more deeply involved in Vietnam.

If the Vietnam War helped establish the significance of area studies, the anti-war protest movement generated a vociferous "radical critique" which broadly attacked the existing organizational and intellectual foundations of American scholarship on East Asia. Ironically some of the veterans who were attacked by the "Old Right" in the early 1950s came under attack once again, but this time from the "New Left".[38] The younger scholars of the Committee of Concerned Asian Studies (CCAS) became embroiled in a bitter generational struggle with the established scholars of the Joint Committee on Contemporary China (JCCC).

In reaction to the alleged "intelligence scholarship" and "enemy-watching" of the JCCC, the CCAS indicted the profession for 'complicity of silence' with regard to US policy in Vietnam" and called for an alternative "moral scholarship" based upon a genuinely "humane and knowledgeable understanding of Asian societies."[39] This "radical critique" claimed that "...humanistic studies had been forced to sell themselves to the Ford Foundation in terms of contemporary relevance",[40] and it proclaimed a scholarly activism dedicated to the maintenance of the cultural integrity of Asian countries against the inroads of "imperialism". The alleged mission-orientation of research funding was a key issue. The historian, Joseph Esherick in a bristling letter to Professors Feuerwerker and Mote charged that "...the JCCC's access to substantial funding has allowed it to shape the development of the field away from its humanistic sinological origins and in the direction of 'Cold War' scholarship."[41]

The "radicals" identified themselves with the true humanism of traditional sinology. One may wish to query whether theirs was exactly the same humanism which had inspired pre-war classicists. Few of the new humanists were radicalized philologists; whereas, many were intensely interested in the "big problems" of modernization and revolution. Influential scholars within CCAS such as Edward Friedman, Steve Andors, Mark Selden, Joseph Esherick, Carl Riskin and Jon Livingston actually had a great deal in common with the older IPR generation which they accused of "mission-oriented research". The attack on the "enemy-watching" *China Quarterly* and *Asian Survey* appears as peculiarly illogical given the social science content and the focus on the "big problems" which is so explicit in these journals.

Robert Boardman, in an exchange with Edward Friedman, welcomed the "radical critique" of American foreign policy in East Asia as a refreshing challenge to "Cold War scholarship", but he was disappointed that the "radicals" had failed to adopt the research methodologies of modern social science.[42] According to the "radicals" traditional faculties which had scrupulously carried out humanistic research had been invaded by political power and even the professional role of the Association of Asian Studies, itself, had been denigrated in favour of the JCCC, which under SSRC auspices allegedly manipulated foundation funds. The embittered generation of the Anti-Vietnam War protest may not have immediately recognized its own intellectual antecedents. Certainly, the language of the attack on the "establishment" was that of social science; it ran the gamut from interest group theory and pluralism to C. Wright Mill's modified elite theory and in some cases appeared to pick up on the Gramcean notion of intellectual and organizational "hegemony" and Marx's notion of "class". The JCCC in its progressive introduction of social science into area studies had done its work well only perhaps to be "hoist with its own petard" in the bitter polemics which traumatized American Asian studies.

The criticism of evolution of area studies at leading centers such as Harvard, Michigan, Columbia, Berkeley and Seattle, was also contemporareous with a growing revolt within social science against the 1960s system-function approach in comparative politics. The apparent dominance of the Committee on Comparative Government of

the Social Science Research Council was also challenged by a generational "revisionism" which would not easily forgive the lack of attention paid to problems of agrarian revolution and the alleged external causative factors of domestic political and social instability of Third World countries. The system-function approach was progressively attacked for a biased liberal democratic focus on the political system's ability to overcome systemic dysfunction as opposed to explicating the necessity of revolutionary change. "Established" comparative politics was accused of imposing "developmentalism" as the prevailing "ideology" of American development studies.[43] Similarly, the antagonists of the CCAS tended to believe that the Ford Foundation had imposed an "intellectual and organization hegemony" on Asian area studies.

A few academics actively participated in Canadian chapters of the CCAS, however, the issue does not appear to have been joined with the same generational bitterness within the smaller Canadian academic community. The latter was certainly affected by American involvement in the Vietnam War, but it did not have to go through the same degree of axiological despair and self-questioning which consumed its American counterpart. Issues relating to the control of research centers by "established" scholars and the control of research funding through politically motivated foundations was hardly appropriate to the Canadian context. What funding there was often directly administered through the Canada Council; Canadian scholars did not have an equivalent to the JCCC. It is only comparatively recently that modest research centers have been established at major Canadian universities.

Although the structure of Canadian research appears to be undergoing a significant transition, the historical pattern of research development was decentralized, ad hoc and perhaps more organic. Research was carried out by individuals within university departments rather than within the formal collaborative framework of nationally significant research centers. However, the great American emphasis on the social dimensions of revolution and modernization did influence the focus of Canadian as well as British research.

The foregoing discussion of the American "radical critique" may also stand as a useful corrective to interpretation which in highlighting the distinctiveness of

"Canadian" research relies too heavily on the persistence of a tradition of "political economy" in some of the established universities of eastern Canada. The latter is not in fact peculiar to Canada as it is a borrowed tradition which has also had influence on American scholarship. Assumptions as to the greater development of political and ideological pluralism in Canada, which is associated with the CCF, NDP and radical Church views should not discount the fact that Americans, as the formation of the "New Left" and the Vietnamese experience so graphically illustrate, also have a "radical" tradition of democratic dissent.

While the Canadian experience of dependence may provide a basis for empathy with Third World developing countries, there is hopefully no scholarly assumption of superior theory in the Canadian study of different cultures. Certainly Canadian scholarship shared in the American critique of American "Cold War" historiography and in debate over the relative merits of the system-function approach in comparative politics. There are to be sure Canadian nuances in Canadian research on East Asia, but there is no specifically Canadian research methodology or interpretive framework.

In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s the value of internationalism was again stressed in the Canadian expansion of East Asian studies. The expanding pattern of disciplinary spread became evident as the efforts of traditionally strong departments such as political science, economics and history were seconded by greater efforts from within departments of geography, anthropology, sociology and education. Canadian educators and administrators responded to a need, which in the context of the Canadian centennial celebrations and its aftermath was popularly endorsed and that was the need to explicate the "Canadian" identity with greater reference to the rich ethnic composition of the Canadian mosaic. Departments of political science and economics which focused on public policy and immigration had traditionally dominated research in this area; however, with the proliferation of professional studies of Chinese, Japanese and Korean Canadians in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, departments of history, anthropology, sociology and education increasingly assimilated materials on Asians living in Canada.[44]

Furthermore in response to renewed emphasis on internationalism which formed part of Canadian nationalism of the late 1960s, Departments of religious studies which in the 1950s had not sustained earlier missionary interest in "Eastern" or "oriental" religions, demonstrated a rekindled enthusiasm for comparative religion. The earlier experience of Canadian missionization in both China and Japan became part of "Canadiana" and spurred a continuing interest in biographical and autobiographical accounts of Canadian missionaries and missions abroad.[45]

With the late sixties, early seventies spotlight on Asia, there was a certain assertiveness which complained of the overwhelming Atlantic-European concentration in university courses dealing with the humanities. The CSAS, for example, recalled W.A.C.H. Dobson's admonition: "...the literae humaniores of the twentieth century must be concerned with the whole of man ... and not preoccupied with that half-object of nineteenth-century humanism, Western man."[46]

The university notes in the early seventies *Newsletters* of the newly created Canadian Society for Asian Studies give an extensive indication of the dynamic environment of the late 1960s, early 1970s.[47] Over 40 Canadian universities were listed as having courses with Asian content. The notes also briefly outline interdisciplinary programmes in Asian studies at McGill, Victoria, Brock, Guelph, McMaster. In February, 1969, the Senate of the University of Victoria approved the new Pacific Studies Program. In the same year the Institute of Asian and Slavonic Research was authorized at UBC to further inter-disciplinary research. The Center for East Asian Studies had been established the year before at McGIll under the directorship of P.K. Lin. In mid-April at Guelph the Canadian Society for Asian Studies (CSAS) was founded.

The story of institutional expansion is also explicit in the records of Canadian postgraduate research. In the 1960s fifty-eight theses were produced on subjects relating to China, Japan and Korea. Departments of political science maintained their lead in this area of research, followed in terms of numbers of theses produced by departments of economics, sociology and literature. The historically well established centers at Toronto, McGill and Vancouver accounted for 58.6 per cent of the total number

of theses produced in the 1960s.[48] Some idea of the significance of the Canadian programme can be gleaned from a comparison with the US where in the 1960s the leading centers produced 412 doctorates in the China field alone.[49]

The expansion of programmes bore fruit in the first five years of the 1970s when the number of theses on China, Korea and Japan climbed to 108. UBC, McGill and University of Toronto accounted for 52 per cent of all theses written on China, Korea and Japan in the humanities and social sciences.[50] While there was an expansion of Asian in the new generation of universities, built in the 1960s, the three centers in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal tended to dominate the development of postgraduate research.

In the years of expansion there was a greater pattern of cooperation between social scientists and specialists in departments of Asian studies. The penetration of Asian materials into the social sciences resulted in increased appointments in faculties of social sciences. The pattern of cooperation took the form of cross-listing of courses and in some instances team teaching.

Historians often took the initiative in establishing new programmes in Asian studies. Professor Fred Soward, for example, as Head of UBC's History Department directed the new Asian Studies programme which was established in 1956.[51] In confronting the organizational problem as to how to include social science specialties within UBC's Department of Asian Studies, an eminent historian, Professor Edwin Pulleyblank noted:

> The decision at UBC was to make the department responsible for language, literature and pre-modern history at the teaching level and to set up an Institute of Asian Research to bring together the specialists on Asia from all discliplines.[52]

A similar pattern emerged at the University of Toronto, where the Department of East Asian Studies concentrated in language and literature and to a lesser extent history while urging its students to take complementary courses in departments of history, political economy, fine art, etc. Toronto joined with York University in the creation of the Joint Centre on Modern East Asia.

To take yet another example, at the University of Alberta Professors Brian Evans, Hazel Jones of the History Department joined forces with Professor Stan Munro, a Chinese language specialist to help create the Committee on East Asian Studies in 1969. The Committee shepherded a new East Asian languages and literature concentration which was started up from within the History Department. Under a special government grant, the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature assumed an independent status in 1981.[53]

The level of organizational coordination and interdisciplinary content in university curriculum varied with the historical circumstances of the different universities. One of the more ambitious interdisciplinary programmes was launched at Guelph in the mid-1970s. The programme was supervised by an interdisciplinary Asian Studies Program Committee, which included representatives from the Departments of Economics, Geography, History, Languages, Philosophy, Political Studies, Psychology and Sociology-Anthropology. Students were required to take courses in at least three departments and to choose from four programmes including B.A. General (Asian Studies major), B.A. Honors (Asian Studies Specialization), B.A. Honors (Asian Studies Major) and B.A. Honors (Asian Studies Combination).[54] McMaster with its interest in religious studies offered a slightly different mix in its undergraduate interdisciplinary certificate programme in Asian studies. The core of the programme was thirteen courses offered in the departments of anthropology, history, political science and religion.[55]

The conjugal relationship of humanist "oriental" studies and policy-oriented social science was sanctioned in the familiar Canadian celebration of internationalism and the rediscovery of the Pacific Rim; however, there was marital squabbling over our programme organization and curriculum development.

D. PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY AND CONFLICT WITHIN AREA STUDIES

The Canadian academic community did not plunge into the same intense generational politics as was manifest in the late sixties, early seventies contest between the American CCAS and JCCC, but major organizational difficulties emerged with the definition of "Asia". "Asia", which embraces half of humanity, is not a uniform cultural unit and it presents problems in terms of the departmental organization of university curriculum.

In terms of the institutionalization of university studies in Canada and elsewhere, "Asia", like the equally ambiguous geographical designation, the "Orient" has been subject to the vicissitudes of Canadian historical perception. Conceivably, "Asia" could take in a large chunk of the Middle East as one's finger traces on the world map an easternly rout to the "Orient", or as the Oxford Dictionary explains, "...that part of the Heavens wherein the sun rises." Eastern Europe was at one time thought of as "Oriental".

"Asia" has promoted institutional confusion. Ross McLean in his 1959 report on "Asian studies" in Canada described the development of Asian studies at McGill in terms of the Institute of Islamic Studies. A separate Department of East Asian Languages and Literature was established at McGill.

The Department of Asian Studies at UBC has traditionally but not exclusively focused on Japan and China. The University of Toronto's Department of East Asiatic and Oriental Studies in the 1950s covered China, India, Japan, Southeast and Central Asia; however in the late 1960s, early 1970s that university's Department of East Asian Studies experienced significant turmoil due to controversies between "East Asian" scholars interested in China and Japan and scholars interested in South Asian culture and history. In July, 1978 the University of Toronto's Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies was disbanded, and several of its full time faculty moved back into the Department of East Asian Studies.

In the early 1970s the University of Windsor's Department of Asian Studies built up a language and area programme which focused mainly on South Asia. The

Department offered training in Hindi, Sanskrit and Chinese. Whereas at Guelph it was strongly recommended that students take courses in Chinese language, and "Asia" there was really "East Asia".

In his 1969 report on the status of "Asian studies" in Canada, Professor Peter Harnetty of UBC's Asian Studies Department claimed that some 300 faculty members in Canadian universities had either a major or secondary specialist interest in "Asia".[56] He estimated that in the various "Asian programmes" about 60 per cent of the emphasis was on the "Far East" and inferred that the South Asian concentration amounted to approximately 30 per cent. In a more recent breakdown, based upon area specialists' data contained in the 1983 CASA publication, *Directory of Asia Scholars in Canada*, Professor Edward Moulton cites the figures of 253, 177 and 64 in comparing the numerical strength of specialists in East Asian, South Asian and Southeast Asian studies at Canadian institutions of higher learning and other agencies.[57]

The "Asia" problem also became explicit in the life of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies (CSAS) which was established at Guelph in 1969. Canadian recognition of the People's Republic of China came in 1970 along with a significant increase in Chinese purchase of Canadian wheat. The implications of recognition for Canada-China scholarly exchange have, in fact, been analyzed and quantified in a major study sponsored by the International Development Research Centre.[58]

In the context of what was yet another bout of "oriental fever" China seemed to subsume "Asia" and some South Asianists within CSAS believed that the Society was ignoring India and the importance of Canada's Commonwealth connections. This disaffection was reinforced by gnawing doubts as to objectivity of Canadian scholars who were thought to be too close to American scholarship.[59] An indeterminable part of the "night-shining pearl" is undoubtedly Buddhist but apparently Indian and Chinese civilizations could not live together within the same professional society. In 1971 disaffected South Asian specialists broke off from CSAS to form the Canadian Association for South Asian Studies (CASAS). In 1974 specialists in Southeast Asian studies expanded the Ontario Council for Southeast Asian Studies, which, while it maintained an

affiliation with its original parent, the CSAS, held its annual meetings separately.

In the evolution of society membership "Asia" appeared to fragment into more discrete cultural entities of South, Southeast, and East Asia. Continuous negotiation between CSAS and CASAS in the mid-1970s floundered on basic principle.[60] The former argued the necessity of speaking with one voice at a time when it was becoming more difficult to fund Society administration and programmes while the latter argued for a new federation which would reflect the equal status of CSAS and CASAS. The major external actor in this scenario was the International Development Research Centre, which since the early 1970s had as part of its mandate the responsibility to not only facilitate cultural and scientific exchanges with Asian countries but also to strengthen Canadian Asian and Pacific programmes of study. When the IDRC indicated that it would only help to fund one national society, CASAS and CSAS both listened. The great Canadian propensity for compromise resulted in the September, 1978 establishment of the Canadian Association of Asian Studies which incorporated both CSAS and CASAS. The final report of the Joint Committee of CSAS-CASAS Relations had reflected the changing circumstances of "area studies" which had come to feel the bite of retrenchment in tertiary education. The exciting "developmental decade" of the 1960s gave way to attrition in the 1970s and the report indicated: "...the very raison d'être of having one organization is precisely to reduce the attrition in human effort and funds that separate structures bring about."[61] The new CASA was to have a "unitary administration", but academically it was to allow the incoming members of CASAS "full autonomy in programme" to be achieved through the establishment of a "small coordinating body and a supplementary fee structure". This compromise led to the formation of regional councils for South, Southeast and East Asia. Within the new structure succeeding presidents have stressed the theme of "unity in diversity", and federalism has become the key to society programming.[62]

In the late 1970s Asian area studies vis-à-vis more hard core programmes dealing with mainline Canadian-Atlantic content were relatively vulnerable to budgetary attack. There was lobbying to axe Asian Studies courses

and programmes because they were often non-degree programmes or because of declining enrolment and flagging student interest which increasingly related course selection to job skills and the prospects for employment.

Part of the early to mid-1980's response to recession and economic and trading difficulties has been to re-focus on the "Pacific" as opposed to the "North Atlantic Centre". This latest bout of "oriental fever" raises some old issues as to the institutionalization of area studies, in particular how will they retain the goals of liberal education while accommodating the requirements of contemporary relevance.

The tension is explicit in the recent reaction of the CASA to the establishing of the Asia and Pacific Foundation of Canada. While CASA was enthusiastic about the creation of the Foundation which would presumably facilitate greater academic-business and government interaction and which would hopefully highlight the necessity of area studies, the Society was not happy with the lack of mention of itself in John Bruk's report to the Canadian government.[63] President Naidu in his annual report of 1983, for example, pointedly referred to the lack of specific mention to the contribution made by Canadian scholars and suggested:

> Academics will have to wait and see if their role will be limited to being translators, scribes and messengers in the employ of business or in the service of the state. Or if they will be able to play a role of seekers of objective knowledge, of interpreters of history and builders of bilateral bridges, or of the harbinger of human understanding and global good will.[64]

One might see in such references to "human understanding" and "good will" a contemporary expression of "internationalist" perspective which has historically been a feature of Canadian nationalism.

Indeed, the dilemma of "Canadian" scholarship vis-à-vis American scholarship appears to approximate the dilemma of the Canadian state. There is a continuing anxiety as to the relation of the very small Canadian community of scholars in East Asian studies with the truly gigantic teaching and research community in the US. The American Association for Asian Studies (AAS) is, for

example, more than twenty times the size of its counterpart. The attraction of American scholarly debate and massive resources generates the fear of intellectual colonization and creates a problem of identity.

With the 1969 founding of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies, for example, many thought that Canadian scholars could avoid the "politically biased scholarship south of the border", and yet CSAS conference scheduling had to work around AAS scheduling as numerous Canadian CSAS members were attracted by the high academic calibre of the latter's sessions.[65] Nevertheless, the dominance of American scholarship may have caused concern within the CSAS and its successor, the CASA as to the advancement of Canadian scholarship.

In 1978 the CSAS, which lacked an equivalent to the ASA's *Journal of Asian Studies* attempted to remedy the situation in a new arrangement with *Pacific Affairs* whereby CSAS would help sponsor the journal in return for a special discount. Bill Holland, who served as editor from 1953 to 1978 noted in his valedictory remarks that *Pacific Affairs* would be placed under the "general supervision" of the Institute of Asian Research, Faculty of Graduate Studies, UBC.[66] While it was hoped that the Journal would maintain its high standards and international character, it was also emphasized that reorganization would "informally" provide "a useful channel for the advancement of Asian Studies in Canada". These principles were reaffirmed by the incoming editor, Professor Heath Chamberlain in a letter concerning editorial policy to the Canadian Asian Studies Association. Professor Chamberlain noted that Canada-based scholars accounted for 40 per cent of all journal contributions in 1977-78;[67] however, presumably this coverage was inclusive of book reviews. While the total contribution in the more substantive categories of articles and review articles has gone up slightly especially in the category of review articles, the reorganization does not seem to have produced a fundamental change. The figures in themselves do not tell us whether the significance of the "Canadian" contributions can be attributed to editorial preference, which seeks to protect the international character and readership of the Journal, or the number and lack of good quality Canadian submissions.

The chart below, which attempts to set out the Canada-based contribution over time, indicates that 91 out

of 405 articles appearing in issues stretching from V.XXX IV, No. 4, Winter, 1961-62 to V.57, n. 4, Winter, 1984-85, were authored by Canada-based scholars. If review articles are included with articles the percentage of such "Canadian" contributions rises from 22.5 per cent to 25.3 per cent. Of the 405 articles, 8.9 per cent were written by "Canadians" on East Asian topics inclusive of items on China, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Overseas Chinese and Canada-China and Canada-Japan relations.

Sections B and C of the chart help to differentiate between the first two decades of the Vancouver operation of *Pacific Affairs*. Despite the tremendous expansion of "Asian" scholarship in Canadian university programmes in the late sixties and early seventies, there is little difference in the percentages for total article contributions over the first two "Canadian" decades of the Journal. There is, however, a significant difference in the review-article category.

Table 2.1 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CANADA-BASED SCHOLARSHIP TO PACIFIC AFFAIRS FROM VOL. XXXIV, No. 4, Winter, 1961-62 TO VOL. 57, No. 4, Winter, 1984-85

Types of Articles	Total	No. of 'Canadian' Items	Percentage by 'Canadians'
Articles (a)	405	91	22.5
Review Articles (b)	104	57	55.8
Articles & Review Articles (c)	509	129	25.4

(a) On East Asian topics by Canada-based scholars: 36 (8.9% of 405)
(b) On East Asian topics by Canada-based scholars: 14 (13.5% of 104)
(c) a + b = 50 (9.8% of 509)

Table 2.2 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CANADA-BASED SCHOLARSHIP TO PACIFIC AFFAIRS. DECADE I: From Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, Winter, 1961-62 to Vol.XLIV, no. 3, Fall, 1971

Types of Articles	Total	No. of 'Canadian' Items	Percentage by 'Canadians'
Articles (a)	161	45	28.0
Review Articles (b)	39	13	33.3
Articles & Review Articles (c)	200	58	29.0

(a) On East Asian topics by Canada-based scholars: 9 (5.6% of 161)
(b) On East Asian topics by Canada-based scholars: 3 (7.5% of 39)
(c) a + b = 12 (6.0% of 200)

Table 2.3 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CANADA-BASED SCHOLARSHIP TO PACIFIC AFFAIRS. DECADE II: From Vol. XLIV, No. 4, Winter, 1971-72 to Vol. 54, no. 3, Fall, 1981

Types of Articles	Total	No. of 'Canadian' Items	Percentage by 'Canadians'
Articles (a)	188	52	27.7
Review Articles (b)	54	23	42.6
Articles & Review Articles (c)	242	75	31.0

(a) On East Asian topics by Canada-based scholars: 27 (14.4% of 188)
(b) On East Asian topics by Canada-based scholars: 11 (20.4% of 54)
(c) a + b = 38 (15.7% of 242)

Relative to total contributions, there was in the second decade a significant increase from 6.0 to 15.7 per cent in the contributions of articles and review articles written by Canada-based scholars on East Asian topics. Obviously, the numbers are not high, but they represent a considerable improvement in Canada-based participation, and they do stand out as significant in comparison with the "Canadian" contributions to the *China Quarterly*, published by the Contemporary China Institute, School of Oriental and African Studies, London. This journal's self-acclaimed status as "the leading Western languages journal of modern Chinese studies in the Humanities and

Social Science disciplines" is not really in doubt, but its current Editorial Board does not include one Canada-based scholar, whereas 21 of the 35 board members are US-based scholars. In the first 100 issues, stretching from January, 1960 through December, 1984, there are only 14 articles by Canada-based scholars.

The foregoing observations suggests some improvement in publishing opportunities for Canada-based scholars in East Asian studies, but there are still signs of underlying discontents. Frustration was, for example, publically vented in the case of CASA criticism of the CBC for "going out of their way to solicit comments on Asian affairs from so-called American experts, when we have our own recognized and easily accessible authorities who can contribute a Canadian point of view..."[68]

Regardless of this alleged lack of opportunity for "Canadian" scholars, social science does not require any orchestrated intervention to create a "Canadian point of view". While the norms of Western social science do require the generation and continuous consideration of alternative hypotheses in order to maintain healthy standards of critical inquiry, questions are hardly to be put in distinctively "national" terms of reference otherwise Canadian critics of "American" intellectual hegemony are doomed to repeating the mistakes of those whom they criticize. Also, while the content of developing Asian Canadian studies very definitely relates to Canadian history, such content need not be presented on the basis of a distinctively "Canadian" methodological approach.

Perhaps it is a "Canadian" paradox that area studies, while they have been formally rationalized with reference to humanism and the rational search for more universal understanding, they have not entirely transcended the requirements of Canadian nationalism even if the latter is cloaked in an "internationalist" perspective.

E. CONCLUSIONS

The history of organizational expansion and contraction in post-war East Asian studies suggests that such studies have not been able to ignore the real linkages of public and political perception with university funding. In the burst of activity of the late 1960s there was the

promise that area studies would achieve liberal-arts objectives of education while adapting to a more interdisciplinary programming in order to take advantage of the new developing interest in the social sciences. Departments of East Asian and "Asian" studies pooled resources with relevant social science departments as "Asian materials" entered the university scene with a "great rush".

The developing focus on Canadiana and the greater public awareness of Asian communities in Canada saw the generation of new and more expansive lines of research, and as a recent CASA President has suggested, Canadian Asian studies, has provided experts on "Asia" with the "rare opportunity" to become "relevant".[69] Indeed, a new Asian Canadian Forum functions as one of the study groups within CASA's federal structure of society programming.

However, in the current era of recession and retrenchment, which set in during the early 1970s, there are fears that the "literae humaniores" of the Twentieth Century might even again become exclusively identified with Western man and that East Asian area studies will be shoved to the periphery of academic relevance. Such a scenario would see university administrators retreating to a last line of defence requiring an exclusive emphasis on curriculum relating to "domestic policy".

In the glare of the public spotlight on the "Pacific Rim" and the recent interest in the wartime treatment of Japanese Canadians, the association of East Asian studies with Canadiana may appear as good tactics, but such an emphasis does not in itself constitute a comprehensive strategy for the survival of university curriculum and programming.

Greater cooperation with the social sciences is also tactically important, particularly as the latter area is in a good institutional position to exploit the rising tide of public policy studies at Canadian universities, but here again tactical initiative should not be confused with strategy. The extent of cooperation still poses the dilemma of adaptability as "area studies" have for the most part become organizationally and conceptually rooted in a liberal-arts matrix which is perhaps more comfortable with the philological discussion of civilization in the vernacular than with the social scientific modular analysis of the immediately relevant problems of domestic or world politics.

The nature of area studies cooperation with social science must be voluntary as in the past. Previous organizational experience appears to suggest that in the study of the East Asian area cooperative alliance is perhaps preferable to interdisciplinary integration of curriculum. To repeat the words of a concerned anthropologist, who when asked what social science might do for sinology, answered: "Cooperation which amounts to ingestion is cannibalism and not fraternity."[70]

In the uncertain realm of harsh and sometimes vulgar public opinion a reading of a Tang poem may not be sufficient to the task of "building bridges" and the creation of "global goodwill". The necessity of "humanism" is perhaps more obvious in the context of hostile strategic interaction, but as Bill Holland once advised:

> The systematic study of Asian languages, history, and cultures in Canadian universities and schools has its own intrinsic academic justification as an important field of intellectual endeavour whatever course Canadian diplomacy in Asia takes....[71]

Area studies, which are premised in the humanist search for truth have become particularly vulnerable in the context of the general crisis within liberal arts education. Modern education appears to have become "a catalogue of delights and a warehouse of instruments",[72] and it lacks a framework within which the moral integrity of different cultures might be seriously studied.

University administrators in the prevailing context of budgetary retrenchment have had to cope not only with the political pressures of government but also with student demand for programming with immediate job relevance. The universities do not appear to have made an effective public case for humanism and the "intrinsic value" of liberal arts education, let alone for area studies. The fate of the latter, however, is intricately bound to the former and may be summed up in the connotations of the Chinese characters for "crisis" which have so piqued the interest of international relations experts. "*Weiji*" in fact combines notions of "danger" and "opportunity". There is of course great opportunity in the surging interest in the "Pacific Rim", but then there is "danger" in a rising ride of neo-conservatism, which, despite its extreme dislike of

socialist state planning, argues without fear of contradiction for a planned utilitarian relationship between education and employment. While "area studies" may have generally originated with the practical concern to comprehend changing strategic and commercial relationships in world politics, the post-war study of the "East Asian area", as an "area" definable in scholarship, has progressively built upon the pre-war legacy of "oriental studies" and even now the final strategic condition of these studies and their claim to "relevance" must ultimately lie in the humanistic pursuit of the dragon's "night-shining pearl".

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SINH VINH

3. LA RECHERCHE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE DU JAPON DANS LES UNIVERSITÉS CANADIENNES

Il y a actuellement au Canada huit universités offrant des cours d'histoire du Japon. Cela peut paraître peu, mais au début des années 1960 il n'y en avait que trois; il y a donc eu progrès considérable. En outre, il se donne dans de nombreuses universités d'autres types de cours ayant trait au Japon, surtout des cours de langue, d'art, d'économie et de religion. Finalement, le Japon occupe une place non-négligeable dans les études de l'Asie de l'est. L'on peut donc affirmer que les études du Japon ont acquis une présence certaine dans le pays.

La première chaire d'histoire japonaise fut créée à l'université de la Colombie Britannique au début des années 1960, ce qui est relativement tard. Cependant, le Canada avait toujours eu des missionnaires, des universitaires et des diplomates intéressés par le Japon. Parmi ceux-ci, le nom de E.H. Norman revêt une importance cruciale. E.H. Norman n'a jamais enseigné dans une université et pourtant, au moment de sa mort prématurée en 1957, il était considéré dans le monde entier comme l'un des plus grands historiens du Japon. Sa renommée est restée intacte jusqu'à ce jour, particulièrement au Japon même. Mais au Canada, paradoxalement, son oeuvre est peu valorisée, ce qui n'est pas facile d'expliquer. Est-ce dû au fait que Norman fut diplomate de carrière plutôt qu'universitaire stricto sensu? Est-ce le résultat d'un certain syndrome de l'anti-héroïsme, syndrome qui semble bien présent dans l'éthos canadien? Le problème reste ouvert, et il s'agit d'un problème d'envergure, tout au moins en ce qui concerne les études Japonaises au Canada.

Quels sont maintenant les principaux intérêts et orientations des spécialistes canadiens de l'histoire du Japon? Leurs intérêts peuvent être regroupés en trois catégories : (1) l'histoire du christianisme japonais,

(2) l'histoire intellectuelle du pays et (3) l'ensemble des autres thèmes de recherche. Tout comme en Grande Bretagne et aux Etats Unis, les missionnaires chrétiens jouèrent au Canada un rôle prépondérant dans le développement des études de l'Asie de l'est, et il en va d'ailleurs de même pour les autres études régionales. Les contributions canadiennes à l'histoire du christianisme Japonais portent principalement sur des aspects des interactions culturelles ayant existé entre le Japon et les pays occidentaux, en particulier sur l'apparition et de l'individualisme et des courants socialistes. Des thèmes secondaires de recherche sont les relations Eglise-Etat et les relations internationales.

Parmi les spécialistes canadiens de l'histoire intellectuelle du Japon, le nom le plus important est celui de John Brownlee de l'université de Toronto. L'intérêt de Brownlee et de plusieurs de ses étudiants se centre sur la formation de l'Etat japonais; la contribution majeure de Brownlee a été de dépasser un point de vue traditionnel parmi les historiens du Japon, point de vue qui veut que la dimension politique de l'Etat ne peut être conçue en dehors du cadre de référence impérial, et donc que la variable la plus significative pour comprendre la politique japonaise est la succession des empereurs. Brownlee a montré qu'il existait en fait une diversité de courants de pensée à l'intérieur du système impérial et que cette diversité a rendu le Japon capable d'incorporer bien des aspects de la pensée occidentale.

Pour les autres historiens canadiens du Japon, l'on peut citer, pêle-mêle et à titre d'exemples, les thèmes de recherche suivants : aspects de la pensée et de l'action politiques pendant le règne de l'empereur Meiji; l'éducation dans les colonies Japonaises, en particulier à Taïwan; les relations canado-japonaises; l'histoire économique du Japon.

Chez les historiens japonais, «Canada» connote commerce, tourisme et E.H. Norman; chez les historiens canadiens du Japon, «Japon» connote commerce et relations internationales. Cela n'est qu'un exemple, mais il illustre bien les énormes différences de perceptions mutuelles existant entre les deux pays. Il existe bien d'autres différences : elles sont de tous types et d'importance. Ainsi dans le domaine des études de l'histoire du Japon, il y a - nous l'avons signalé - la valeur très

différente attribuée à l'oeuvre de E.H. Norman. Dans le domaine plus large des relations commerciales et politiques, il y a la perception japonaise qu'Ottawa constitue la source ultime du pouvoir dans le pays et que, par exemple, les premiers ministres provinciaux n'ont qu'une importance fort relative. Il y a l'idéal japonais d'unité dans la conformité qui contraste avec l'idéal canadien d'unité dans la diversité. Il y a le fait que les Japonais ont une conscience aiguë de leur territoire national et de leur culture, alors que les Canadiens perçoivent leur pays comme virtuellement sans fin et s'adaptent facilement à une culture étrangère. L'ensemble de ces différences dans les perceptions mutuelles montre que l'oeuvre des historiens canadiens du Japon pourrait contribuer à une meilleure compréhension entre les deux pays.

At present, there are eight universities in Canada offering courses in Japanese history. In alphabetical order, they are: University of Alberta, University of British Columbia, McGill University, Royal Military College of Canada, University of Toronto, University of Victoria, University of Windsor and York University. This is not a great number in view of the fact that it represents only approximately one-eighth of the sixty-five universities in Canada. However, if one considers that by the early 1960s there were merely three universities (University of Alberta, University of British Columbia, and University of Toronto) where courses in Japanese history could be taken, it in fact implies a steady and meaningful progress.

It should be noted that apart from the above programmes offering courses in Japanese history, there are also a number of other universities giving courses related to Japanese studies in a variety of fields such as language, arts, economics, and religion,[1] or as a component of East Asian Studies. As Ronald Keith has provided a comprehensive survey of East Asian Studies in Canada, in this paper I would like to limit the scope of my inquiry to the study of Japanese history in Canada. I will discuss 1) its development, 2) the contents and direction of research and teaching of Japanese history, 3) the funding of

research and prospects for employment of graduate students,[2] and finally, 4) I will make some personal observations.

A. E.H. NORMAN AND HIS LEGACY

The fact that the establishment of the first chair of Japanese history in a Canadian university took place some twenty-five years ago (at the University of British Columbia)[3] does not imply that interest in Japanese history among Canadians did not start until then. Prior to that, Canadian missionaries, scholars, diplomats had displayed serious interest in, and acquired knowledge about, Japanese history and culture during their stay in Japan or at institutions elsewhere than Canada. A notable case among these is E.H. Norman, whose academic career should be seen as the actual take-off point in the study of Japanese history in Canada. This was the case in spite of the fact that Norman never taught Japanese history at a Canadian university, for his plan of leaving his post-war career as a diplomat to return to academic life was never fulfilled, due to his premature death in 1957.

Because of Norman's knowledge of Japanese history and his profound love for the Japanese people, his name is still remembered and respected by Japanese historians. Not only is Norman so far the sole Canadian historian who can be said to have a truly significant impact on worldwide Japanese studies, but perhaps he is also "one of the few bright stars of mankind."[4] For this reason, when I was asked some three years ago by a Japanese colleague in Tokyo to write on current research of Japanese history in Canada for a historical journal, he kindly suggested to me that what a Japanese reader is most interested in would be Norman's impact upon the current research of Japanese history in Canada.

Disappointing as it may appear, there are no recognizable traces of such an impact in the literature. This can be explained by the fact that whereas Norman's intellectual formation was varied and unique (born and raised in Japan until his mid-teens and received higher education in Canada, Britain, and the U.S.), the current Canadian specialists of Japanese history are equally varied in background, though not necessarily similar to that of Norman.

Some of them are Canadian-born and received their educations in Canada, others have immigrated to Canada at different stages of their lives from other countries. The formative influences on them have therefore been diverse. In many respects, this has left the character of formal Japanese studies in Canada much like the Canadian national identity itself: "in the making," without a firm tradition of intellectual model.

In addition, as Charles Taylor has remarked in his perceptive work *Six Journeys: A Canadian Pattern*, which includes a moving biographical essay on Norman, one of the attitudes typically Canadian is the anti-heroic. Canadians "suspect the sheer irrationalism of the heroic," and by doing so, they like to consider themselves as "reasonable people."[5] The fact that most of the current Canadian specialists of Japanese history are not inclined to identify themselves with Norman, a figure of such great stature, may also have something to do with this "debunking" mentality.

B. CONTENTS OF RESEARCHING TEACHING

What kind of historical research is being carried out by the Canadian Japanologists? Before answering this question, a brief summary of the approach I have taken to gather information in writing this paper might be helpful.

Questionnaires were sent to eighteen specialists of Japanese history at 8 different institutions. "Specialists of Japanese history," as used in this article, are not only those whose major field is Japanese history, but also those who have shown serious interest in certain aspects of Japanese history through the publication of academic writing. The list was based upon a rough list which I made up through various sources and supplemented with the name of any person which the respondents found missing from the preliminary list.

In the questionnaire, there are two questions, asking the respondent to describe with some detail 1) the research that has been completed and 2) the projects that are being carried out. An effort has been made to keep the description as faithful as possible to the information provided by the respondent. Thus the details about the research of each specialist have largely depended upon the

information given by that person, and in some cases, when such information was not provided, no more than a minimal description was possible if other sources were not available to the writer.

As far as their research content is concerned, the Canadian specialists of Japanese history can roughly be divided into three groups: specialists of the history of Christianity in Japan, Japanese intellectual historians, and others.

1. Specialists of the History of Christianity in Japan

As in Britain and the United States, Christian missionaries played an important role in providing the impetus for the beginning of East Asian Studies in Canada. As an extension of this tradition, to date the Christian movements still attract a great interest from Canadian Japanologists. Historians who have been engaged in this area of research include John Howes of the University of British Columbia, Cyril Powles of the University of Toronto, Ota Yuzo of McGill University, Peter Mitchell of York University, and Hamish Ion of the Royal Military College of Canada.

Howes and Ota have contributed to the study of Uchimura Kanzo. Howes, who initiated a course in Japanese history at the University of British Columbia in 1961, is the co-editor (with Bamba Nobuya) of *Pacifism: The Christian and Socialist Tradition* (University of British Columbia Press, 1978). Howes is presently working on a grant from the Ohira programme of the University of British Columbia entitled "Biography and Ethics in Modern Japan." The project is based upon the thesis that biography is a good source for understanding the functional ethics of the Japanese people. He has also begun a research on the forebears of Nitobe Inazo, who lived in Nambu-han and supervised the construction of a 2.5 mile tunnel to deliver irrigation water to an upland plateau. Howes considers this study as 1) an example of late Tokugawa's economic development, and 2) a source for background material on the biography of Nitobe. The courses taught by Howes are "History of Japan" and "Individualism in Modern Japan." There are four graduate students working under Howes' supervision.

Ota is the author of *World and Nation in Modern Japan: The Case of Ichimura Kanzo* (Kenkyusha Shuppan, 1977), *The Japanese Experience of William S. Clark, The First President of Sapporo Agricultural College* (Kyoto, Showado, 1979), and numerous studies of Christianity and pacifism. Ota's major interest is the intellectual and religious history of modern Japan, with emphasis on cultural and intellectual interactions between Japan and the West. At McGill University, Ota teaches three courses: A History of Japan, Japan and the West, and The Development of East Asian Civilization since 1800.

Powles' preliminary research includes his study of Victorian missionaries in Meiji Japan and the development of Japanese-Canadian relations at the age of missionary activity, 1873-1930. His keen interest in relations between religion and politics is reflected in his work on Abe Isoo and the role of Christians in the founding of the Japanese socialist movement, and "*Yasukuni Jinja hoan:* Religion and Politics in Contemporary Japan." In light of the current controversy on the history textbook revision and the expansion of the military budget, Powles believes that it is important for people outside Japan to understand the Emperor system (*tennosei*). For this reason, he is currently writing a book on the Meiji critics of the emperor system. At Trinity College of the University of Toronto, Powles teaches Social and Intellectual Movements in Modern Japan and is part of a team teaching Introduction to East Asian Civilization. There are two graduate students working under Powles' supervision.

Peter Mitchell's area of interests is Japanese modernization with emphasis on intellectual history. Presently, Mitchell is directing a team studying the history of Canadian missionary experience in East Asia. Concurrently, he is conducting a project on the history of Oriental students in Canadian universities. Mitchell teaches two courses related to Japanese history: Foundations of Modern Japan and War and Peace in East Asia. Since a separate course on Modern Japanese History was established in 1973, York University has had three M.A. and two Ph.D. students who have completed minor fields in modern Japanese history via reading courses under Mitchell's direction.

Hamish Ion has written a number of studies on the British and Canadian missionaries in Japan. Over the past four years, Ion's major interest has focused on the

"Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945: A Study of Church-State Relations." He sees the Japanese Christian movement as a small but readily identifiable group in society, whose ambiguous response to state and military demands during the fifteen-year war goes a long way in explain the failure of an effective "liberal" opposition to ultra-nationalism in Japan.

Ion's minor research project is a continuation of his interest in Japanese international relations, especially Japanese-Canadian contact. He is a member of Peter Mitchell's group which is looking at Canadian missionaries in East Asia. Ion is working toward writing a general history of Japanese-Canadian relations, 1873-1952. At the Royal Military College, Japanese history is taught in the context of East Asia. The two courses related to Japanese history taught by Ion are: The Modern Transformation of East Asia and Modern Japanese Strategic Thought.

2. Japanese Intellectual Historians

The pivot of this group is John Brownlee. Members of this group are his former colleagues and students. The courses taught by Brownlee are: History of Modern Japan (undergraduate) and Historiography of Japan (graduate seminar). Under Brownlee's direction, the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Toronto has produced three Ph.D. graduates and presently has one doctoral candidate and one M.A. student in Japanese history. It should be noted that most of Brownlee's students have also taken courses given by Cyril Powles, who teaches at Trinity College of the University of Toronto.

Brownlee's approach to Japanese history is quite unique. He begins with the period when the Japanese state was created. According to Bronwlee, there were two aspects which should be considered in the writing of the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and *Nihon shoki* (Chronicle of Japan). First, *Kojiki* collected and arranged the mythological and cultural foundations of Japan such as the birth of deities, the genealogies of emperors, the destiny of human beings, etc. *Kojiki* collected these in a superb format. *Kojiki*, however, was long neglected as a historical source. It was revised in the Tokugawa period and considered as a source for basic Japanese values. Secondly, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* devised the imperial

framework as the source for understanding Japan. This framework became unassailable until 1945. The political view of the state was expressed explicitly in this imperial framework. In other words, by and large politics operated under the succession of emperors and political discussions were undertaken solely by historians. Brownlee sees that there is a diversity of thought within the above system and the continuous development of historical thought. Historical thought advanced by stages through such works as *Gukansho* (Jottings of a Fool), *Jinno shotoki* (Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns), and *Dokushi yoron* (Essays on Political History) to become a complex and sophisticated system of historical explanation which is capable of incorporating the advance of historical ideas in the West. Twentieth-century Japanese historical thought is distinguished through works measured by world-standards which nonetheless do not depart from the Japanese tradition.

The first research project of Brownlee and his former colleagues and students is published in John Brownlee ed., *History in the Service of the Japanese Nation* (University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre on Modern East Asia, 1983). As a continuation of his work on the Jokyu War, which he sees as "crisis as reinforcement of the imperial institution," and the advancement of Japanese historical writing in *Jinno shotoki*, presently Brownlee is working on a two-volume study of the historiography of imperial Japan, the first comprehensive work in English of the development of Japanese historical thought. The first volume deals with the period from *Kojiki* to Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725).

Uyenaka Shuzo teaches medieval history and Japan's military tradition. His doctoral dissertation was "A Study of *Baishoron:* A Source for the Ideology of Imperial Loyalism in Japan." Uyenaka's work includes a translation of Yamaga Soko's *Haisho zampitsu*.

Sinh Vinh (Department of History at the University of Alberta) teaches Japanese history survey and Modern Japanese Intellectual History. His major area of interest is the ideas of Meiji intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and the Meirokusha. Nakae Chomin, and Tokutomi Soho, with special emphasis on their views on Japan's position *vis-à-vis* the outside world. In his *Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957): The Later Career* (forthcoming) he looks into Soho's

later career as a major ideologue of imperial Japan, which has been long neglected. As a part of his work on Soho, he is working on an English translation of *Shorai no Nihon* (Future Japan), Soho's representative work of his early liberal years.

3. Other Historians

At the University of Windsor David Wurfel teaches the History of Modern Japan, apart from his courses in political sciences. Wurfel is the editor of *Meiji Japan's Centennial: Aspects of Political Thought and Action* (University Press of Kansas, 1971). His current project is on "Mutual Images of Japanese and Southeast Asians Since 1950's."

Patrician Tsurumi teaches several courses on Japanese history at the University of Victoria. She is the author of *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Harvard University Press, 1977), and her latest works include "Historians and Japan's Early Female Emperors."

Besides the above, there are also other specialists working on projects related to Japanese history on a broader discipline. At the University of British Columbia, William Wray is working on Japanese economic history; at the OISE (Ontario Institute for the Study of Education) John Mallea has conducted research on Japanese educational history; and at the University of Alberta, Brian Evans, who initiated courses in East Asian history in its Department of History,[6] teaches Canada's relations with East Asia (along with his courses in Chinese history), and is working on, among others, a project on Alberta-East Asia relations (with Sinh Vinh).

C. FUNDING OF RESEARCH AND PROSPECT FOR EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATE STUDENTS

Language poses a great barrier to foreign students of Japanese history and culture. To an ordinary foreigner, in order to be well-versed in the Japanese history it will perhaps require more than that, since the materials that he is expected to be familiar with are normally more complicated and difficult than ordinary texts. Constant

contact with Japanese scholars and scholarship is thus crucial to Canadian Japanologists.

The grants that are presently available to Canadian graduate students who wish to go to Japan to study are given by the Japanese Ministry of Education and the Kokusai Koryu Kikin (Japan Foundation) at Ph.D. level. Recipients of Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council can also apply for a travel allowance to do research in Japan. The Kokusai Koryu Kikin, Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council are the major institutions where teaching staff can apply for funds to do research in Japan.

Bridging the gap of communication between both sides of the Pacific might also be accomplished by inviting Japanese scholars to a Canadian institution to give lectures of to stay for an extended period of time conducting seminars. The funds available, however, are very limited; therefore there has been a conscious effort to solve this problem by inviting scholars from Japan, who are visiting institutions in the United States, to Canada.

So far as employment of graduate students is concerned, the actual situation is much more pessimistic than is indicated by the statistics. This is because employment prospects, particularly in the academic world, are so bad that many promising academics turn away from universities for high-paying jobs in industry, or pursue further training for careers which are more professionally-oriented, such as business, computer, or law. This situation is not limited to Japanese history but is a dominant trend of humanities study in Canada as well as the United States.

D. SOME OBSERVATIONS

1. As evident from the foregoing discussion, a good number of Canadian specialists of Japanese history are engaged in research on Christian missionary activities and on Japanese Christians. This trend is note-worthy, for it reflects, among others, the preferability and popularity of such themes in Canadian universities.

2. The current state of research and teaching of Japanese history in Canada is, by and large, very much a reflection of the Canadian society itself. As noted above,

E.H. Norman played a significant role in the Japanese historiography in the post-war period, and continues to be a popular figure among the historians in Japan. In contrast, his impact on Canadian specialists of Japanese history is almost unrecognizable, and his name is virtually unknown among Canadian historians at large. Such a striking contrast in the perception between Canada and Japan is probably due to differences in the historical background of the two countries. It is well-reflected in, for example, the literature of Canada-Japan relations. Trade and commerce, the dominant aspect of Canada-Japan relations, constitute a large part of the literature on the subject in both countries; on the Canadian side the question of Japanese-Canadians is the second most important issue, while in the Japanese literature on the subject Canada also means E.H. Norman and "tourism."[7]

It is well-known that towards the end of the 1940s, congruent with the American cold-war policies, Marxist and radical scholarship was under severe attack. In this cultural cold-war, Japan was gradually attributed a crucial role, both materially and as an Asian model in non-socialist forms of change. As has been pointed out, in his works Norman drew "to a considerable extent upon the research of Japanese scholars, some of them worked within the Marxist tradition,"[8] but his historical interpretation could not properly be called Marxist. Nevertheless, with the rise of McCarthyism in the U.S. in the early 1950s, Norman was subject to political persecution and his works began to be attacked in the early 1960s by the modernization theorists, who are known to have been in the process of formulating a theoretical alternative to the Marxist theory. In contrast to the political context of post-war American scholarship on Japan, Canadian Japanologists, although not unaware of the debate on the theory of modernization, by and large did not share the problem-consciousness of many of their American colleagues. Somewhat symbolic of the low political profile that Canada assumes in the international community, they were neither strongly motivated by the theory of modernization nor by radical approaches. The common ground between Norman and the current Canadian specialists of Japanese history can be found rather in their openness to foreign cultures, their disdain for cultural ethnocentricity, and perhaps a strong feeling for the common people.

If Norman was the victim of McCarthyism in the U.S. in the 1950s, it is note-worthy that the two significant endeavors to reappraise the place of Norman's scholarship in the post-war study of Japan's modern history were the works of two American-based scholars.[9]

3. The need for a greater understanding between the Canadian people and the East Asian peoples has become increasingly pressing, in proportion with the expansion of Canada's relations with the countries on the Pacific Rim.

So far as relations between Canada and Japan are concerned, the problem is particularly acute as at present, trade and commerce occupy 90 per cent of Canada-Japan relations. The necessity to diversify the economic relationship into academic, cultural, and journalistic fields has been recognized by both sides of the Pacific. So far efforts have been made along this direction, but the non-economic aspects are still minor.

Thus, in practice, Canada and Japan remain as two countries of many contrasts, which are yet to be identified, and a number of problems have arisen from this. For example, due to the centre-orientation in the tradition of their political culture, the Japanese, when coming to Canada to do business, tend to look to Ottawa as the ultimate power broker for problems in various parts of Canada. Similarly, due to the lack of the realization, on the Japanese part, of Canada's political structure, a former premier of Ontario was treated as the counterpart of a governor of an American state during his visit to Japan, and of course he was not happy with his treatment, to say the least. At present, a group of Japanese academics in the Japanese Association for Canadian Studies are doing their best to further understanding of Canada among the Japanese. They are publishing an impressive *Annual Review of Canadian Studies*.

What about us in Canada? In recent years, there have been a number of significant efforts to improve the situation, but generally speaking, there is still a myth in Canada, as well as in the U.S., that it is impossible to come to grips with the Japanese frame of mind, the Japanese system, the Japanese market, and so on.

I for one am of the opinion that we will not be able to understand the Japanese and their society, or any other people and their society, unless we have a fairly good idea

about our own. Let me give a couple of examples to illustrate my point.

Many of us are aware that harmony, or to change the words, "conformity," is one of the key factors in the Japanese pattern of behavior. This idea of "unity in conformity" perhaps can be best understood by Canadians when contrasted to the emphasis on "unity in diversity" in Canadian society. Both are of course the reflection of two entirely different traditions.

Similarly, from my experience I found that it is difficult for an average Canadian student to comprehend the great shock felt by the Japanese in the mid-nineteenth century at the arrival of the American Commodore Perry's Black Ships, which demanded Japan to open itself for trade after some 250 years of national isolation. This is because Canada is so large a country and its borders by and large are wide open. The Japanese experience perhaps can be related to Canadian students when they are reminded of the contrasting Canadian geographical and historical dispositions.

Tsurumi Shunsuke, a highly-respected Japanese scholar, wrote in his recent book (a collection of the thirteen lectures which he gave at McGill University in Fall, 1979) of his astonishing experience in Canada. The map of Canada, a very popular one published by Geographic International, that he bought does not include Canada's northeast border line. In other words, part of the Canadian territory is left out of the map. If there is a Canadian cartographer who possesses a Japanese frame of mind, Tsurumi suggested, he would use a smaller reduced scale to include all parts of Canada in the map. This is because in Japan, being a small and geographically isolated nation, thorough care would be taken to include every tiny island in the national map. Tsurumi was also amazed at Canada's clear-cut southern border line, which Japan does not possess. For most Japanese, leaving their country is quite an experience, and they are to be prepared for every "risk" which they might have to face in a foreign land.[10]

To sum up, in many cases the Japanese experience can be better appreciated by Canadians when compared and contrasted to the Canadian experience.

4. Finally, Japanese Studies, as a component of East Asian Studies, appear to be best developed when existing side by side with Chinese Studies. E.H. Norman, in his lecture on "The Place of East Asian Studies in a Modern University" at the Victoria University College in New Zealand, compared the complementary nature of Japanese Studies and Chinese Studies to that between Latin and Greek in a Classical Department. As he put it:

> ...But the enormous influence of Chinese culture upon Japan in the field of philosophy, literature, art, medicine, and so forth - and I am speaking of the pre-modern age - would indicate that the study of Japanese civilization without some knowledge of the Chinese will give a distorted or incomplete picture. Alternatively, to study Chinese without Japanese would not be quite as crippling, since, until recent times, the Chinese debt to Japan has been light. On the other hand, in the last few generations, Japanese studies of Chinese history, literature, and archeology have been valuable and in some cases are pre-eminent. Thus a sinologist without a knowledge of Japanese would be like the modern classical scholar who cannot read French or German, in which languages so many basic studies of the classics have been published.[11]

I think that this remark still remains valid.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The names of the institutions and specialists in Japanese studies are listed, although not completely, in the two directories: 1) Overseas Japanese Studies Institutions and Specialists, edited by the Fukuoka UNESCO Association, 1980; and the Directory of Japanese Specialists in Canada, 1981, compiled by the Japan Foundation. The latter includes an introduction by John Howes of the University of British Columbia.

2. This paper is a revised and expanded English version of my "Kanada ni okeru Nihonshi kenkyu no doko", which appeared in the Rikishigaku kenkyu, July 1983.

3. For a discussion on the role of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the expansion of East Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia, see Ronald Keith's paper, "East Asian Area Studies in Canada: The Pursuit of the Dragon's Pearl", pp. 20-21.

4. Cited in John W. DOWER, "E.H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History", in J.W. DOWER, ed., Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman, New York, Pantheon Books, 1975, p. 101.

5. Charles TAYLOR, Six Journeys: A Canadian Pattern, Toronto, House of Anansi Press, 1977, pp. i-ii. The words in quotation are by George Woodcock, a Canadian author.

6. For a history of the development of courses in Asian history at the University of Alberta, see ''Self-study Report for President's Advisory Committee on Campus Review'', Department of History, 1985, pp. 16-21.

7. In the Checklist of Materials on Canada Published in Japanese (compiled by the Canadian Embassy in Japan on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of diplomatic relations between Canada and Japan in 1979), there are altogether 1,300 entries, and under the heading ''Japan-Canada Relations'' there are thirty-two entries which are broken down as follows: eighteen entries on trade and commercial relations, eight entries on E.H. Norman and his works, three entries on Canadian missionaries in Japan, two entries on introducing Canada, and one entry on comparison of architecture between the two countries.

In addition, in a survey conducted in Japan on the same occasion, asked what they think of Canada, most of the Japanese respondents answered that Canada appeared to them as a ''land of beautiful lakes and forests''.

8. DOWER, op.cit., p. 3.

9. John W. DOWER, op. cit., and Roger W. BOWEN, ed., E.H. Norman: His Life and Scholarship, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984.

10. Tsurumi SHUNSUKE, Senjiki Nihon no seishinshi, 1931-1945, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1984, pp. 26-27.

EDWARD C. MOULTON

4. LES ÉTUDES DE L'ASIE DU SUD AU CANADA : ÉTAT-DE-LA-QUESTION ET PERSPECTIVES

Les études de l'Asie datent de fait, au Canada, du début des années 1960, ce qui est fort tard, et comme de raison les manifestations formelles de l'institutionnalisation de ces études sont plus tardives encore : l'Institut indo-canadien Shastri fut fondé en 1967 et la première société savante d'études asiatiques fut créée l'année suivante. Il peut donc être affirmé que le développement du domaine d'études fut assez lent, ce qui est paradoxal, surtout si l'on considère que le pays borde depuis 1871 l'océan Pacifique; en outre l'importance économique et politique du continent est aujourd'hui telle qu'il n'est plus possible pour le Canada d'ignorer l'Asie.

Dès le 19e siècle, plusieurs pays européens possédaient d'excellents centres d'études asiatiques; aux Etats-Unis, le développement de tels centres fut plus tardif, mais il fut considérable. Le Canada est resté étranger à ces développements et ce n'est qu'en 1942 que fut créé le premier poste universitaire spécialisé dans l'étude de la région; il s'agissait, plus spécifiquement, d'une chaire d'études chinoises à l'université de Toronto. En 1948 se constituait dans cette même université un Département d'études de l'Asie de l'est; plus tard, ce Département s'est transformé et divisé en différentes sections, entre autres en une section d'études de l'Inde. L'autre université importante dans le domaine d'études est l'université de la Colombie Britannique : son Département d'études asiatiques fut fondé en 1961. L'université McGill commença, également pendant la décade de 1960, un programme d'Etudes de l'Asie de l'est. Les autres universités canadiennes possédant des programmes d'études de l'Asie sont les universités de Windsor, d'York, de l'Alberta et de Montréal; il existe également des programmes d'études dans

les universités Brock, de Calgary, Carleton, du Manitoba et St-Mary's, mais ils sont d'importance moindre.

De manière générale, dans le domaine d'études, l'intérêt pour l'Asie de l'est est plus grand que celui pour l'Asie du sud; en 1983, 253 chercheurs se définissaient comme spécialistes de l'Asie de l'est et seulement 177 comme spécialistes de l'Asie du sud. «Asie du sud» est considéré ici comme incluant l'Afghanistan, le Bangladesh, le Boutan, l'Inde, le Népal, le Pakistan et le Sri Lanka; l'Asie du sud-est, soit l'ensemble des pays allant de la Birmanie aux Philippines, était - toujours en 1983 - le domaine de spécialisation de 64 chercheurs. La prééminence des études de l'Asie de l'est est évidente, et elle correspond, parmi les étudiants, à une plus grande popularité des cours traitant de la Chine, du Japon et/ou de la Corée. L'intérêt moins prononcé pour l'Asie du sud est paradoxal parce que de par le Commonwealth le Canada a toujours eu des liens étroits avec le sous-continent indien et l'implication du pays dans la coopération au développement résultant du Plan de Colombo n'a fait que renforcer ces liens. En outre, sur le plan politique, la non-violence de Mahatma Gandhi et la forte présence indienne dans les affaires internationales intéressent beaucoup d'étudiants canadiens. Enfin, les religions de l'Inde continuent d'inspirer une vive curiosité. Malgré cela, il semble bien que l'histoire mouvementée de la Chine depuis la Seconde guerre mondiale ainsi que la puissance économique du Japon constituent des motivations plus fortes que celles concernant l'Asie du sud.

L'organisation d'une société savante regroupant l'ensemble des spécialistes des études de l'Asie n'a pas été sans difficulté. Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà signalé, une telle société fut créée en 1968, mais - malheureusement - un groupe dissident constitua en 1971 une société des spécialistes de l'Asie du sud; en fait, cette société regroupait surtout des chercheurs originaires du sous-continent. Cette duplication a incontestablement ralenti l'institutionnalisation des études asiatiques au Canada. Après bien des tensions et pressions de tous types, les deux sociétés savantes se regroupèrent en 1980 et constituèrent l'Association canadienne des études asiatiques (ACEA), Association qui comptait en 1985 environ 500 membres et dont les activités deviennent de plus en plus nombreuses et diverses. En dehors de la création de l'ACEA, c'est sans

conteste la fondation de l'Insitut indo-canadien Shastri qui a eu pour les études canadiennes de l'Asie du sud l'importance la plus cruciale. Le but explicite de cet Institut est de promouvoir dans le pays une meilleure connaissance et compréhension de l'Inde. Pour ce faire, l'Institut a créé et administré divers programmes : il octroie des bourses d'études de post-doctorat, de doctorat et de maîtrise; il donne des bourses à des professeurs non-spécialisés en études indiennes afin de leur permettre d'acquérir une telle spécialisation; il finance des tournées de conférences, tournées permettant le passage d'importants chercheurs indiens dans les universités canadiennes; il achète des publications indiennes ou concernant l'Inde afin de développer entre autres les collections des trois universités les plus impliquées dans les études de l'Asie du sud, soit les universités de Toronto, de la Colombie Britannique et McGill; l'Institut achète aussi des ouvrages pour les collections des universités d'importance plus secondaire en termes d'études indiennes. Le budget de l'Institut s'élevait en 1984-85 à environ 400,000 $, dont 250,000 provenant du Gouvernement indien, le reste de sources canadiennes.

Parmi les 177 chercheurs qui en 1983 se considéraient comme spécialisés en études de l'Asie du sud, 128 l'étaient spécifiquement en études de l'Inde, et seulement cinq en études du Pakistan et cinq en études du Bangladesh; la différence entre ces chiffres est des plus remarquables. Les disciplines ou champs d'études les mieux représentés parmi les spécialistes de l'Asie de l'est sont, en ordre décroissant, l'étude des religions (18.94%), la sociologie (12.12%), la science politique (10.98%), l'histoire (9.09%), l'économie (7.95%), l'anthropologie (5.30%), l'éducation (5.30%) et l'étude comparée des littératures (3.79%). Ce qui frappe dans cette répartition est la place très secondaire occupée par l'économie et l'importance de l'étude des religions.

Au début des années 1980, il s'enseignait au Canada 461 cours sous-gradués et 118 cours gradués totalement ou partiellement consacrés à l'Asie du sud; ces cours s'enseignaient dans 48 universités. L'auteur estime que 37.4% du total de ces cours, soit 217 cours, ont au moins 75% de leur contenu traitant du sous-continent. La répartition, par disciplines ou champs d'étude, de l'ensemble des cours est fort parallèle à celle des disciplines ou champs d'études

des spécialistes. Le problème le plus grave auquel font face les programmes d'études de l'Asie de l'est est le faible intérêt des étudiants : dans toutes les universités, il s'observe qu'au plus les cours sont explicitement orientés vers l'étude du sous-continent, au moins ils ont d'étudiants. Etant donné cet état de chose, les spécialistes devraient entreprendre un sérieux effort afin d'intéresser plus d'étudiants au domaine de recherche. Le danger que représente ce manque d'intérêt des étudiants est très évident, surtout en ces années de récession académique.

Les spécialistes de l'Asie du sud sont, en tant que tels et en termes comparatifs, plus actifs en recherche que dans l'enseignement. En 1983, environ 35% d'entre eux reçurent des subventions de recherche, ce qui est un pourcentage élevé et tend à montrer une forte motivation. Magré cela, le Canada n'a probablement pas plus d'une douzaine de chercheurs ayant acquis une réputation véritablement internationale. Ce qui surprend dans les orientations des chercheurs, c'est la virtuelle absence de recherches appliquées, surtout de recherches consacrées aux problèmes concrets du développement. Cela est certainement fort regrettable, d'autant plus que le financement de la recherche fondamentale à tendance à plafonner, voire même à diminuer.

Il n'est pas impossible que les études du sous-continent connaissent un certain déclin dans les années futures. Il semble qu'en particulier il sera difficile de maintenir le nombre actuel de cours spécialisés; des ajustements devront se faire, ajustements tels que, par exemple, l'intensification de la coopération interuniversitaire dans les villes ayant deux ou plusieurs universités s'intéressant au domaine de recherche. Un modèle intéressant de coopération de ce type est le programme conjoint d'études et de recherche des universités de Toronto et York. Une éventuelle expansion des études de l'Asie du sud pourrait peut-être être envisagée, et ce à partir des éléments suivants : (1) les cours d'études des religions restent fort en demande, (2) des cours consacrés aux problèmes du développement pourraient et devraient être enseignés, et (3) plus de cours de langue, et peut-être de culture, devraient être donnés; ces cours seraient susceptibles d'intéresser les immigrants et descendants d'immigrants originaires du sous-continent.

En conclusion, disons que, depuis le début des années 1960, tant la recherche que les programmes d'études portant sur l'Asie de l'est se sont considérablement développés dans le pays. Mais ce développement fut quelque peu anarchique et, par exemple, les duplications de programmes d'études ne sont pas rares. Le domaine d'études a atteint aujourd'hui un niveau d'institutionnalisation fort respectable; cependant, ce niveau d'institutionnalisation ne reflète que mal le relativement grand nombre de spécialistes; en fait peu d'universités possèdent de solides départements ou programmes d'études. Malgré les gains réalisés par les études de l'Asie du sud, si celles-ci veulent croître - ou même simplement se maintenir, un sérieux effort de promotion s'impose.

On the Canadian academic scene the development of Asian Studies is quite a recent phenomenon. It is only approximately twenty-five years ago that area studies focusing upon Asia began in a significant or a formal way at several of Canada's most established universities. The first formal, voluntary association of Asian scholars in Canada is of considerably more recent vintage, having been created in 1968. The previous year saw the foundation of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, an organization which has played a tremendously important role in the growth of South Asian Studies since that time. By coincidence the current year, 1984, also happens to mark the twentieth anniversary of my own appointment as a South Asian historian at the University of Manitoba, the first Asianist, incidentally, to be hired at that prairie institution. This twenty year backdrop, coupled with my long-term involvement with both the Canadian Asian Studies Association (CASA) and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI), places me in a reasonable position to assess the development and current state of the discipline. But my strongest credentials for undertaking such an assessment derive from my having just completed for the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute a thoroughgoing investigation into the state of Indian Studies in Canada. The findings in that comprehensive study, entitled *Indian Studies in Canada in the Early 1980s: A Report and Directory,*[1]

will be cited extensively in the ensuing review of South Asian Studies.

This review will begin with brief observations on the history of Asian Studies in Canada, followed by a general comparison of the position of the South Asian field in relation to the other main subregions of Asian Studies. Discussion will then focus upon the role of the two national organizations, the Canadian Asian Studies Association and, more especially, the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, in the development of South Asian Studies. This will be followed by an examination of South Asian specialists by region and discipline; a general analysis of university teaching on South Asia at the undergraduate and graduate levels; an assessment of research and publication in the field; and a discussion of programs and library resources of the leading universities in South Asian Studies. The article will conclude by emphasizing some of the strengths and weaknesses of the discipline and provide some suggestions for future development.

A. ORIGINS OF ASIAN STUDIES AND THE SOUTH ASIAN COMPONENT

Canada has had a Pacific frontier since British Columbia joined the federation in 1871, but until the interwar years the country's trans-oceanic, political and cultural orientation was overwhelmingly towards Britain and Europe. The world-wide interest in the national liberation movements in India and China, and Canada's limited involvement in the Pacific arena of World War II, began to modify somewhat our traditional fixation on Europe. Nonetheless, as recently as 1972, a special Canadian Senate Committee on our relations with the Pacific region candidly acknowledged that Asia was "the least familiar to Canadians of all the world's great zones of civilization".[2] In the past twelve years, thanks to the political and economic reemergence of Asia on the global scene, and in part to diplomatic and commercial initiatives of the Trudeau Government,[3] Canada's relations with Asia have entered a significant and exciting new phase.

The establishment in mid-1984 of the federally-supported Asia Pacific Foundation, with headquarters in Vancouver, and a mandate to promote business, educational

and cultural relations with the countries of that region, will immensely strengthen our ties with Asia.

In general, Canada's neglect of material relations with Asia was paralleled by a corresponding or even greater neglect in the academic domain of Canadian higher education. The development of small but distinguished centres of Oriental Studies in various Western European countries in the nineteenth century, and somewhat later on the northeastern seaboard of the United States, had no counterpart in British North America. As far as I have been able to determine, the beginnings of Asian Studies in Canada date from the establishment of a chair of Chinese Studies at the University of Toronto in 1942.[4] A few years later in 1948, Toronto went on to create the Department of East Asiatic Studies, and then under the headship of Professor W.A.C.H. Dobson (1953-64), separate sections for Japan and India were established within the Department. It should come as no surprise, as we shall see later, that the pioneer university in Asian Studies, which also has the distinction of being Canada's largest Anglophone university, leads the country in the South Asian field. At the second main centre of Asian Studies in Canada, the University of British Columbia, the impetus for the development of the field dates from 1960 when Professor William L. Holland, and the New York based *Far Eastern Review* which he edited, were forced out of the United States by the notorious McCarthy Committee on Un-American Activities and were invited to relocate at U.B.C. in Vancouver. In 1961 an Asian Studies Department was created at British Columbia with Professor Holland as its first head. During the same decade McGill University began formal programs in East Asian Studies, while its Islamic Institute, in existence since 1951, has always devoted some attention to Muslim South Asia. A fourth and smaller university, Windsor, established an Asian Studies Department in 1967, with a focus on undergraduate studies and a strong emphasis on South Asia. Since then two other Anglophone universities, York and Alberta added East Asian Departments, and the Francophone Université de Montréal established a Centre des études est-asiatiques. In addition, less extensive interdisciplinary programs on Asia, mainly at the undergraduate level, have been established at Brock, Calgary, Carleton, Manitoba and St. Mary's University.

Not only was Asian Studies slow to develop and become institutionalized in our universities, but as the above information suggests, the main emphasis within the Asian area as a whole has been on East Asia, that is the China-Japan region. The preeminence of East Asian Studies is clearly demonstrated by the area specialists' data in the latest *Directory of Asia Scholars in Canada*, published by the Canadian Asian Studies Association in 1983. The total number of East Asian specialists in the humanities and social sciences employed in Canadian institutions of higher learning and other agencies is 253.[6] The comparable total for South Asia, which by accepted scholarly convention includes Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, is 177 specialists. Well behind East Asia in terms of the number of specialists, South Asia still ranks considerably ahead of Southeast Asia, the third Asian sub-region of academic study. The CASA *Directory* lists 64 specialists resident in Canada who name Southeast Asia, or one of the countries of that region which stretches from Burma to the Philippines, as their priority field.

The preponderance of specialists in East Asian Studies is undoubtedly matched by relatively higher student enrollment in University courses on East Asia than in those focusing on South Asia. Clear evidence of this has been provided by Professor Ashok Aklujkar, whose U.B.C. Department of Asian Studies encompasses the study of the main regions of Asia. In a report for the SICI study referred to above, he explicitly noted the "lagging behind" of Indian Studies as compared with both Chinese and Japanese Studies.[7] As a scholar myself, who specializes on South Asia but also teaches at the undergraduate level on China and Japan and finds consistently greater student interest in the latter areas, I detect a number of reasons for the lesser interest in South Asia. It is not that Canada has neglected the region. Through the Commonwealth, Canada has had a special connection with the Indian subcontinent going back to pre-World War II, and was involved in the first major international development assistance program, the Colombo Plan, to countries in that region. It is also true, I think, that India's heroic struggle for freedom from Britain, the moral fervour of Mahatma Gandhi's commitment to non-violence, and independent India's moderating and high profile in international affairs

during the Nehru years (1947-64) attracted considerable interest among younger Canadians of that generation. On a pertinent personal note I may say that my own decision in the late 1950s to specialize on the modern history of South Asia was conditioned by these events. By contrast, during the past two decades there have been few developments connected with South Asia to capture the imagination of young Canadians. Media coverage of South Asia is limited, but tends to emphasize natural disasters, poverty, interregional conflict, communal or religious violence and sensational instances of social injustice. On the other hand, there is a general perception that East Asia has been a centre of momentous developments, involving socialist innovation and upheaval in China and the rise of Japan as an economic superpower and, incidentally, Canada's second most important trading partner. This perceived importance is demonstrated by the fact that *The Globe and Mail* has had a permanent correspondent in Beijing for the past twenty-five years, the only such Canadian full-time, media position in Asia.[8] This in turn has helped to account for rather more and better Canadian news coverage of China and Japan than in the case of South Asia.

B. PROFESSIONAL AND EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS

1. The Canadian Asian Studies Association

Given the recent time frame of the development of Asian Studies at Canadian universities, it is hardly surprising that it was not until 1968 that Asian scholars first met to create a professional organization, known as the Canadian Society for Asian Studies (CSAS). At that time there were probably less than 400 Asian specialists in the whole of Canada, and if all had united and pulled together the organization would still not have been strong compared with the major discipline associations. Regrettably, that did not happen, in that South Asianists, particularly those originating from the subcontinent who formed a substantial majority, created their own Canadian Association for South Asian Studies (CASAS) in 1971. With a membership probably averaging around 200 or more, CASAS operated for eight years as a parallel organization to CSAS, which was

not a great deal larger and which, without most of the South Asianists, was obviously dominated by East and Southeast Asianists.[9]

More farsighted and scholarly committed Asianists in both organizations soon realized that fragmentation was prejudicial to the fundamental and indeed challenging goal of promoting Asian Studies. This, coupled with astute pressure from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), to which both organizations were appealing for funding support, led to merger talks which were successfully concluded in 1980. What emerged from this agreement was a new organization, the Canadian Asian Studies Association (CASA), a federally structured organization with considerable power vested in the three regional councils of East, South and Southeast Asia. The merger process was far from easy, and the regional and political factionalism involved along the way evidently led some of the most reputable scholars to withdraw their support. As yet the membership of the new Association, averaging around 500,[10] has not significantly exceeded the combined membership of the two predecessor organizations. A building job still remains to be done and disenchanted scholars from all three regions need to rejoin the Association and endeavour to cooperate in the important common objective of strengthening all regions of Asian Studies across the country.

Despite the above problems CASA has been making some significant contributions to the profession. Thanks to funding support from the IDRC, the Association has for the past three years sponsored cross-Canada lecture tours by teams of two or three development studies scholars from the various regions of Asia. While the quality of individual presentation has varied, on every campus the visiting scholars have tended to enhance the profile of Asian Studies. The Association publishes an information bulletin, the *Revue*, three or four times annually. The quality of papers presented at the annual conferences, now held in conjunction with the Canadian Learned Societies in June, has clearly been improving. The South Asia section seems to be especially thriving. Last year the conference proceedings on South Asia were published for the first time.[11] Also significant is the formation within the South Asia forum of two active study groups, Sanskrit and Related Studies and a Hindi Literary Society, with memberships of

35 and 23, respectively, in 1984. Despite these encouraging developments, the challenges remain of improving the quality of conference papers; increasing interregional or interethnic harmony; extending the scholarly activities of the Association; and enhancing its membership till it approaches the number of 750 specialists identified in the organization's 1983 *Directory of Asia Scholars in Canada*.

2. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute

Whereas CASA serves all areas of Asia, the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, as the name implies, is of special significance for South Asianists since its primary purpose is to promote in Canada a better knowledge and understanding of India, the dominant power and cultural influence of the entire region of South Asia. Incorporated in 1967, the SICI was the inspiration of McGill's Michael Brecher, at that time Canada's foremost Political Scientist of Modern India.[12] Designed to promote Indian Studies in Canada through means of a fellowship program and the acquisition of Indian publications, the SICI was a cooperative venture sponsored by the three universities most involved in South Asian Studies, Toronto, British Columbia and McGill, together with the National Library of Canada.[13] Funded partially by annual membership fees, the basic budget of the Institute initially came from the Government of India, which, with the concurrence of the Canadian Government, in November 1968 allocated to the SICI a three year grant of RS.3,000,000 ($430,000) from counterpart funds derived from the sale of food aid from Canada.

Since its earlier days the Institute has expanded in a variety of highly significant ways. During the first two years of its existence, seven additional universities - Brock, Carleton, Concordia, Manitoba, McMaster, Queen's and Windsor - became members. Windsor withdrew from the organization because of its own internal difficulties in 1981, but, in the meantime, Alberta, Calgary, Ottawa, Regina and Memorial became members. The first significant program expansion was achieved in 1972 when the Library Acquisition Program was extended from the four founding institutions to include all member universities. This major constitutional breakthrough was made possible by an agreement to continue to develop major research

collections at British Columbia, McGill, Toronto and the National Library, and to confine acquisitions at the remaining universities to modest collections designed to support undergraduate teaching on India.[14] In a similar way the fellowship program, originally confined to doctoral and post-doctoral research on India in the humanities and social sciences, has been extended to include M.A. studies, the performing arts, language studies at various levels, and faculty grants to encourage non-specialists to develop an Indian Studies focus. In a major move towards reciprocity, the Institute has long operated a Visiting Scholar Program, which annually brings several distinguished faculty from India to lecture at Shastri-member universities. Two years ago the Institute also inaugurated a program bringing several post-doctoral scholars from India each year for humanities or social science research in areas of common Indo-Canadian interest. A final program of great benefit to scholars of both countries is the Institute's microfilm program. In conjunction with the National Archives of India, the SICI has since 1975 been filming a variety of important historic collections, both official and private. Three copies of this microfilm are deposited with major research libraries in India and two copies in Canada.

The above program expansion, so important for the health of South Asian Studies, has been made possible through enhanced funding from the Government of India; regular and special funding from the Canadian Government and the Canadian International Development Agency; enhanced membership fees; and some support from private Canadian foundations and individuals.[15] But as with most organizations involved in higher education, funding over the years has not kept pace with inflation. If any of the major sources of Institute funding were to cut back, the SICI and South Asian Studies would suffer severely.

Shortage of funds has already had a serious negative impact in obliging the Institute to abandon for the past two years, and for the near future, the highly successful summer program in India for students and teachers. That program, first initiated in 1973, generated much student interest and its absence is particularly unfortunate in view of the problem, as noted below, of developing strong enrollments in South Asian Studies courses. Indeed, one of the shortcomings of the Institute is that it has not devoted more attention to problems of extending and

improving teaching on South Asia. The Institute has also been rather slow to recognize the potential for a broad-based, development studies program focusing upon India. But it is not moving energetically on this front and one hopes it will be successful in gaining special funding support for a program in which much can be achieved through Indo-Canadian scholarly collaboration.

C. SOUTH ASIANISTS: REGIONAL AND DISCIPLINE COMPOSITION

As indicated above the 1983 *Directory of Asia Scholars in Canada* identified 177 faculty in the social sciences and humanities who declared South Asia to be their prime speciality area. The regional breakdown of this total is as follows: Afghanistan 2, Bangladesh 5, Bhutan 0, India 128, Nepal 2, Pakistan 5, General South Asia 21 and Sri Lanka 14. Though that was clearly the most comprehensive listing up to 1983, my own extensive investigation for the SICI report, *Indian Studies in Canada...*, revealed that it is far from complete. For the purposes of that report the definition of "Indianist" was any post-graduate scholar in the humanities, social sciences or related professional disciplines who was involved in significant research or teaching on India. relying basically on questionnaires distributed either through the directors of the 14 Shastri-member universities or by direct mailing to other scholars on the India or General South Asia lists in the CASA *Directory*, I came up with a grand total of 243 Indianists.[16] This number included 69 scholars whose names did not appear in the *Directory*. Axiomatically the entire 243 Indianists qualify as South Asianists.

A grand total of South Asianists can be arrived at by combining this number of 243 with that of the *Directory*-listed specialists on Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, General South Asia and Sri Lanka whose names did not appear in the SICI report. The latter number is 21. The grand total of South Asianists is therefore 264. Considering that the total is derived from two very extensive questionnaire surveys, one can assume that the figure is highly accurate.

Table 4.1 below provides a detailed breakdown of the discipline orientation of the South Asianists and estimates

of their involvement in research and teaching related to the area. It is based on a combination of the data in the SICI report and that provided by the CASA *Directory* on the 21 additional South Asianists.

Among the disciplines, Religion, with 50 specialists, is well in the lead. If the related disciplines of Islamic Studies and Philosophy are added, the combined total is 62 or 23.5 percent of all South Asianists. After this humanities cluster, a number of the social sciences are strongly represented, beginning with Sociology/Anthropology (46), followed by Political Science (29), History (24) and Economics (21). Among the professional disciplines Education is strongest with 14 specialists, followed by Administrative Studies with 7. The table reveals few specialists in either language studies or in cultural subjects. The reasonably impressive number in Comparative Literature (10), is a reflection of the Commonwealth connection. Finally, the number of specialists in development studies, rural or urban, is disconcertingly small considering the innate importance of these fields.

The estimates in Table 4.1 concerning research and teaching are very revealing. They suggest that of the 264 South Asianists not more than 167 (63.3 percent) - and that is probably a generous estimate - are doing more than half of their research on the area. The position regarding teaching is far weaker, with only 48 scholars (18.2 percent) doing most of their teaching on South Asia. All except four or five of these 48 are also doing most of their research on South Asia. In effect this means that there are less than 45 specialists engaged full time in South Asia Studies. This means that in essence the real core of South Asianists is indeed small.

Table 4.1 South Asianists: Discipline Distribution and Research and Teaching

Disciplines	Number of Specialists	Percentage per Discipline	Estimated Number doing +50% Research on South Asia	Estimated Number doing +50% Teaching on South Asia
Administrative Studies	7	2.65	6	-
Anthropology	14	5.30	7	-
Architecture	2	0.76	2	-
Communications	1	0.38	-	-
Comparative Literature	10	3.79	6	1
Dance	1	0.38	1	-
Economics	21	7.95	9	-
Education	14	5.30	8	-
Environmental Studies	2	0.76	2	-
Film	1	0.38	-	-
Fine Arts	5	1.89	1	1
Geography	9	3.41	8	1
Hindi	4	1.52	3	4
History	24	9.09	16	5
Islamic Studies	3	1.14	-	-
Law	1	0.38	1	-
Linguistics	5	1.89	4	-
Music	2	0.76	-	-
Philosophy	9	3.41	2	3
Political Science	29	10.98	21	-
Psychology	5	1.89	4	-
Religion	50	18.94	33	30
Rural Development	6	2.27	3	-
Sanskrit	2	0.76	2	2
Sociology	32	12.12	24	-
Theatre	1	0.38	-	-
Urban Studies	4	1.52	3	-
Total	264	100.00	167	48

D. UNIVERSITY COURSES AND TEACHING ON SOUTH ASIA

One of the unique features of the SICI report is that it provides for the first time a detailed inventory of all Canadian university undergraduate and graduate courses dealing to any significant extent (5 to 10 percent plus) with India. The criterion for inclusion was so broad that practically every course dealing with South Asia appears in Part II of the Report. A calendar-by-calendar survey of Canada's 48 universities and degree-granting colleges revealed a total of 461 undergraduate courses and 118.5 graduate courses that devote some attention to South Asia.[17] Of this total of 579.5 courses, my estimate is that only 217 (37.4 percent) have more than three-quarters of their content devoted to South Asia. A total of 235.5 courses (40.6 percent) probably focus less than 25% upon South Asia. The remaining courses fall in between a 25 and 75 percent South Asia content range.

In most of the subjects there is a close correlation between the number of specialists and the number of courses. Detailed data on the number of undergraduate and graduate courses in the 10 disciplines with the largest number of specialists is provided in Table 4.2.

As one would logically expect, Religion leads the field with 138.5 undergraduate courses and 34 graduate, for a total of 172.5, or nearly 30 percent of all the courses offered. Sociology/Anthropology, with the second largest number of specialists, offers 50 undergraduate courses and 11.5 graduate, making a total of 61.5, or some 11 percent of all South Asian related courses. For reasons that are not readily apparent, this puts these disciplines behind History, which with only 24 specialists compared with 46 in Sociology/Anthropology, has a total of 59 undergraduate courses and 9.5 graduate, or 68.5 (12 percent of the total) overall. Political Science, with the second largest number of specialists (29), offers a total of 56 courses, 48 being undergraduate and 8 graduate. Third in the number of specialists, Political Science is thus fourth in the total courses offered. Economics, the last of the top five in terms of specialists, with 21, has a total of only 20 courses, 16 of which are undergraduate and the remainder graduate. This places it far behind the other four numerically. It is also lowest of the top five in the

ratio of courses to specialists (less than 1: 1), compared with more than 3 to 1 in the case of Religion, the discipline with the highest course-specialist ratio.

Table 4.2 South Asian Specialists and Courses

Disciplines	Specialists	Number of Courses		
		Undergrad.	Graduate	Total
Religion	50	138.5	34.0	172.5
Sociology/ Anthropology	46	50.0	11.5	61.5
Political Science	29	48.0	8.0	56.0
History	24	59.0	9.5	68.5
Economics	21	16.0	4.0	20.0
Education	14	1.5	11.0	12.5
Comparative Literature	10	9.5	3.5	13.0
Geography	9	11.5	1.0	12.5
Philosophy	9	21.0	9.0	30.0
Administrative Studies	7	2.5	1.5	4.0

Of the five other disciplines listed in Table 4.2, the ratio of courses to specialists is less than 1 to 1 in the professional fields of Education (14 specialists and 12.5 courses) and Administrative Studies (7 specialists and 4 courses). Comparative Literature, with 10 specialists, and Geography, with 9, have a total of 13 and 12.5 courses respectively. Geography is especially weak in the graduate area with only one course. The position of Philosophy is relatively similar to Religion, in that the number of courses (30) is more than three times the number of specialists.

Among the 16 other disciplines listed earlier in Table 4.1, that is those with between 1 and 6 specialists, only four have a significant number of courses. These are

Sanskrit, with a remarkable 37 courses (30 undergraduate and 7 graduate); Fine Arts with 28.5 (23.5 undergraduate and 5.0 graduate); Hindi with 15.5 (14.5 undergraduate and 1.0 graduate); and Music with 9 courses, all of which are undergraduate. The strong position of Sanskrit, in which the SICI survey revealed only 2 full time specialists, is a reflection of the primacy of Religious Studies. Many of the Religion specialists are also qualified in Sanskrit and do some teaching in that subject. By contrast, modern languages are disconcertingly weak, with Hindi (15.5 courses) and Urdu (3 courses) being the only ones in which there are formal courses of instruction.

While the total number of courses relating to South Asia is impressive, the comparatively low ratio of courses to specialists in the major social science disciplines gives cause for concern. It is also true that in these same disciplines, namely Economics, Geography, Political Science and Sociology/Anthropology, there are relatively few courses in the 75 to 100 percent South Asia content range. Most, in fact, are at the lower end of the scale. Part of the explanation for the relatively poor showing of these disciplines as compared to Religion, and to a lesser extent History, is that the dominant emphasis in these disciplines may be more general and theoretical, with in built disincentives for area studies. This is probably most true of Economics, though less so for the remaining disciplines. A more important explanation may be that many of the specialists in these fields were not, in fact, hired as South Asianists and have not been sufficiently energetic in introducing area studies courses.

This brings me to a final serious problem concerning teaching on South Asia, namely the very real difficulty of generating substantial student enrollment. The extensive data on enrollments in the SICI Report confirms what most of us teaching in the field already know, namely that in most courses which concentrate heavily on South Asia student numbers tend to be comparatively small. In reality, few young Canadian arts students enter university with an obvious interest in South Asia. Interest has to be created, either by providing some exposure to South Asia in more general courses or by special educational or cultural activities relating to the area. To achieve this, South Asianists need to be dynamic and stimulating instructors and to give much extra effort to special inter-

disciplinary activities such as public lectures, films and cultural events. Programs such as the SICI summer study tour to India were especially valuable interest-generators, which is why, as mentioned above, its current abeyance is so unfortunate. It would also be helpful if young, second generation Canadians of South Asian origin were to show some real interest in university courses focusing upon their ethnic heritage. One thing is certain, namely that unless reasonable enrollment levels can be generated South Asian Studies will be bound to suffer in the increasing competition for scarce university funding.

E. RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

As noted above, South Asianists are considerably more active in research than in teaching on the subcontinent. Table 4.1 suggested that some 167 of the 264 South Asianists are devoting more than 50 percent of their research on the region. Assuming that there is normally a close correlation between scholarly activity and the receipt of research grants, the SICI questionnaire sought data on research grants during the past five years. Of the 167 scholars heavily involved in research on South Asia, information concerning grants was received from 125. Of this number, 85 or 68 percent received research funding, frequently for extended periods, over the past five years. The main sources of funding were the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC), which provided support to 41 scholars, and the SICI, which funded a total of 34 scholars involved in India-related projects. More than a dozen scholars received both SSHRCC and SICI fellowships. The only other major source of research grants was the universities, most of whose funds for smaller research grants come from the SSHRCC. Surprisingly only one scholar received a grant from Ottawa's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). This demonstrates an unfortunate lack of development-oriented research. This is all the more regrettable considering the opportunities available through the IDRC for collaborative, development research with colleagues from South Asia.

Among the 125 scholars in the sample under consideration, 40 (32 percent) evidently received no research

grants for South Asian projects during the past five years. Regrettably, the survey data did not reveal how many of these had sought grants but failed to obtain them. No doubt there were some in that category. However, the combination of the SSHRCC and the SICI as major funding sources makes it unlikely that many deserving scholars have been denied an opportunity to work on South Asia because of a lack of research support. But the prospects for the foreseeable future are less reassuring. In the past year or two there has been a real decline in SSHRCC funding for non-priority research, a category which includes South Asia and Asian Studies generally. The modest increases in the SICI rupee budget will be insufficient to offset the SSHRCC cutbacks. In fact, the overall approval rate for SICI fellowship applications for the past five years has averaged less than 25 percent.[18] In short, unless additional funds are forthcoming, research on South Asia is certain to suffer in the years ahead.

The generally satisfactory position of research funding to date is reflected in a strengthening profile of publications by South Asianists. Although there are probably only a dozen or more scholars who have achieved an internationally-recognized status in the field, the publications data in the SICI report reveal a substantial number of scholars with impressive publication records. A comparison of the precise information available on publications by Shastri-funded scholars during its first decade, with the record of the past five years, is instructive.[19] During the ten years up to 1977, the total South Asian-related publications of 39 SICI funded-scholars were 2 monographs, 1 monograph edition, 1 report, 95 articles or essays and 1 educational film. By contrast, in the five years 1978-83, some 45 Shastri scholars produced the following publications: 17 monographs, 110 articles and essays and 1 audio-visual presentation. While judgements on the intellectual quality of these publications is best left to scholars in the respective disciplines, both the total number of publications and their increase in the latter brief period, are indeed impressive. Provided there is no major cutback in research funding, one can assume that a reasonable level of publication on South Asia will be sustained. Here CASA has a valuable role to play either through the regular publication of quality conference

papers or, preferably, the launching of a Canadian Journal of Asian Studies.

F. LEADING UNIVERSITIES IN SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

Table 4.3 turns the focus from the nationwide overview of South Asian Studies to an examination of the position at the eight universities most involved in the field. Based upon the most crucial indices of faculty specialists (26), library resources (110,000 volumes), and number of courses (93), Toronto is well in the lead in the South Asian Studies. In graduate work it has been less active than McGill, McMaster and British Columbia during the past five years. This somewhat poorer showing may have resulted from the readjustments necessitated at Toronto by the demise of the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies which had been in existence from 1971 to 1977. As the name implied, that Department was heavily oriented towards Sanskrit and classical studies. Being unable to generate strong student enrollment, it was obviously vulnerable in a competitive university structure. In place of the defunct Department, the university created an inter-disciplinary Graduate Centre for South Asian Studies, which is advisedly directed towards providing relatively more emphasis upon modern South Asian Studies. The new Centre, with experienced and dynamic leadership, is giving a valuable thrust to the all-round development of South Asian Studies at Toronto. It has been very active in bringing to the campus distinguished lecturers and visiting professors, and is beginning to develop links with the large community of South Asian origin living in the Toronto metropolitan area. These positive developments, coupled with the overriding primacy in library resources, give grounds for anticipating a gradual expansion of South Asian Studies at Toronto.

British Columbia, with its well established Asian Studies Department, now splendidly housed in its new, Japanese-designed, Asian Centre building, is clearly the second most important institution in the South Asian field. As the Table suggets it stands by itself on a second level plateau, with 14 specialists, a library collection of 52,000

Table 4.3 South Asian Studies: University Comparisons

University	Number of Asianists	South Asian Library Resources* Mono-graphs	Serials	Number under-grad. courses	Number grad. courses	Theses in progress 1983-84	Theses completed 1978-83
Toronto	26	110,000	n.d.	67	26	12	10
Br. Columbia	14	52,000	200	44	16	16	10
McGill	10	28,903	160	19	13	16	18
McMaster	8	21,900	310	24	17.5	15	16
Alberta	11	20,350	260	15	3.5	7	8
Manitoba	12	13,429	181	26	6.5	3	4
Calgary	12	10,412	101	16.5	3.5	1	3
Concordia	12	7,529	83	16.5	6	2	3

* The library data were provided by Robert S. Lincoln, Acquisitions Librarian of the University of Manitoba and Chairman of the SICI Library Committee.

volumes, and a total of 60 courses. In terms of graduate students, it is roughly on a par with Toronto, and indeed the total of current students and theses completed is higher, but considerably fewer are at the Ph.D. level. The number of faculty is the lowest it has been for some time, as a result of the non-replacement of a Religionist who retired a few years ago and the more recent departure of an Anthropologist for another university. South Asian Studies are obviously sharing in the difficult times being experienced by U.B.C. generally as a consequence of the Provincial Government's extreme austerity towards institutions of higher education in recent years. In terms of program, British Columbia has attempted to develop a well-rounded focus on South Asia. Its particular strengths are in Hindi language and literature, History and Sociology/Anthropology. The South Asianists operate a regular seminar program and the new Asian Centre is involving the public of the South Asian community in the development of cultural activities. The Department is currently endeavouring to establish a Punjab Studies unit, a very fitting

venture in view of the large Punjabi community in the lower mainland area of the provinces.

McGill and McMaster share the third ranking position in South Asian Studies though their programs are quite different. Neither university has established an institutional centre for South Asian Studies, although McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies specializes to some extent on the subcontinent. McGill focuses upon Religion (Hinduism and Islam), Politics, Education and Anthropology. As Table 4.3 shows, it has the overall lead in graduate students and theses completed in the past five years. McMaster has not had the advantage of SICI Resource Library status shared by Toronto, British Columbia and McGill, but the university has benefitted financially from being located in Hamilton, the steel manufacturing capital of Canada. This undoubtedly helps to account for its impressive South Asian library collection (21,900 monographs and 310 serials), far ahead of all the remaining SICI member universities except Alberta, which likewise has benefitted from being in an oil-rich province. McMaster is unique among Canadian universities in developing an overriding specialism in one field, South Asian religion. Six of its 8 specialists are in that field, as are practically all its undergraduate courses, while it offers the most highly developed graduate program in South Asian Religions anywhere in Canada. Its 15 theses in progress and 16 completed from 1978 to 1983 (totals second only to McGill), are all in the area of Religion. It is reasonable to expect that McMaster will continue to benefit from the obviously high interest across the country in South Asian Religions.

The Universities of Alberta, Manitoba, Calgary and Concordia, all members like the first four of the SICI, share a roughly common level of involvement in South Asian Studies. In each university the proportion of specialists heavily involved in teaching on South Asia is considerably less than at those institutions discussed above. Alberta is the strongest in library resources and graduate students and theses, but lowest in South Asian-related courses. Manitoba and Calgary both offer formal interdisciplinary programs in Asian Studies at the undergraduate level and have quite active areas studies committees. All four universities do some graduate studies work in selected disciplines, but principally at the M.A. level.

Manitoba leads in the total number of courses (32.5), and is considerably stronger in library resources than shown in Table 4.3. Manitoba has a growing collection of Indian official publications, now in excess of 12,000 volumes. This is the result of a special agreement worked out with the National Library in 1974, whereby, in the interests of better geographical distribution, that institution transferred to Manitoba one of its two copies of Indian official publications acquired through the Shastri Library Program. It is probably the case that South Asian Studies at these four universities will remain rather vulnerable unless they are further institutionalized and backed by reasonable student enrollment levels.

The remaining members of the Shastri Institute, Brock, Carleton, Memorial, Ottawa, Queen's and Regina, are all active in South Asian Studies, though less extensively than the last four examined above.[20] Outside the Institute, Windsor, which left the organization in 1981 and around the same time eliminated its Asian Studies Department,[21] still leads the field with 7 South Asian specialists and 25 courses on the region. It still offers B.A. general and honours programs in Asian Studies. Another university with even more South Asianists is York. It has 12 specialists in a wide variety of social science and cultural studies disciplines. It is an obviously appropriate institution for SICI membership, though specialists there have so far failed to persuade their administration to lay out the necessary funds to join.

G. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

It is unrealistic to expect a significant expansion of South Asian Studies in Canada in the foreseeable future. This is particularly true as far as traditional type, specialist-intensive studies are concerned. Given the tightness of university finances and the pressure of student demand in various other disciplines, it is difficult, except perhaps in Religions Studies, to envisage new positions being created in the South Asian field. What is more likely, unless enrollments are quite strong, is for many of the positions currently occupied by South Asianists to be transferred to other more heavily subscribed fields as faculty retire. Only vigorous, well institutionalized area

studies programs are likely to be able to withstand this kind of contraction.

For the present the most feasible way to extend teaching coverage of South Asia may be for specialists involved in general courses to draw on South Asia for case studies, where that is appropriate. It may also be possible in some instances for specialists to introduce new comparative studies courses, using South Asia as one of the subject areas. Another possibility is for under-utilized South Asianists to develop a new expertise in a related field which is likely to attract student interest. South Asian art and architecture are fields where this would probably prove successful. Then too, as the SICI report indicated, there are a considerable number of specialists who are doing little or no teaching on South Asia. It is possible that a concerted effort by some of these scholars to introduce or expand South Asian material in the curriculum would yield positive results. Finally, where two universities involved in South Asian Studies share a common metropolitan area (such as Toronto and McMaster and McGill and Concordia), graduate programs could be strengthened and made more attractive to students by inter-university cooperation. An obvious model is the collaboration of Toronto and York in East Asian Studies.

The above constraints on South Asian Studies expansion apply only as far as reliance has to be placed on regular university funding. Universities are quite receptive to new external funding, and if such were forthcoming for South Asian Studies new programs could certainly be established. At Manitoba, for example, the teaching of Hindi would be possible on a regular rather than the present ad hoc basis if external funds were available to hire an instructor. The same would be true no doubt of a number of other universities which currently provide no South Asian language or literature courses. Realistically, however, external funding for such language and literary studies, is unlikely to be forthcoming from either government agencies or private foundations. Indeed, unless or until Canadians of South Asian origin realize the importance of university-based, formal language study for the preservation of their cultural heritage, and mobilize their resources to provide the funding, little is likely to happen on this particular front at Canadian universities.

There is one South Asian area in which a strong case can be made for expansion, namely that of development studies. South Asia is such an important part of the developing world, and it includes such diversity in levels of development, as to justify the establishment, at some appropriate university location in Canada, of a centre of development studies focusing primarily on that vast region. Such an area focus would enable appropriate attention to be given to the culture and historic evolution of the societies, factors which are so crucial for a truly successful and longterm development strategy. An area-focused development studies centre would also facilitate collaboration between researchers and specialists in Canada and those in the South Asian countries. The Shastri Institute, with its impressive record in promoting Indian Studies, may be the best agency to mobilize government and public support for such a development centre. It is important, however, that such a centre be South Asian wide in scope. As such it could surely be a significant venture in Canadian-South Asian cooperation for human betterment.

H. CONCLUSION

South Asian Studies in Canada has made considerable strides in the past twenty years. Education being a provincial responsibility, there has been neither a national plan nor even inter-university coordination of the development of South Asian or any other area studies programs for that matter. This has inevitably led to extensive duplication in programs. This is necessary and reasonable at the undergraduate level but less justified in the more specialized and costly graduate field. This uncoordinated growth has resulted in the absence of any subregional specialization on South Asia, including anomalies such as the total neglect of the Dravidian language-cultural area of the subcontinent. South Asian Studies would be well served if the major universities attempted, even informally, to coordinate graduate studies in such a way as to avoid unnecessary overlap and instead seek to enlarge the range of course offerings available.

The analysis of the state of the discipline suggests that the comparatively large number of South Asian specialists and courses is deceptive, for it exaggerates the

organic strength of the field. Only at Toronto and British Columbia does South Asian Studies have the strong institutional underpinning of a university Centre or Department. Even so British Columbia has experienced staff losses. This must be a reminder of how vulnerable less institutionalized programs are likely to become in future. In reality the key to survival, let alone growth, is reasonable levels of student enrollments. While there is no doubt room for improvement in research and publication, the main challenge to the continued health of the field is stimulating and dynamic teaching and effective research supervision. Unless we maintain and increase our strength in these crucial areas, the future of the discipline, given increasing competition for scarce university resources, is not bright. In this context the contributions of an organization such as the Shastri Institute are incalculable. Indeed the position of South Asian Studies would be considerably improved if similar institutes could be developed with Pakistan and Sri Lanka, the two most viable areas in terms of specialists and resources.

While the grounds for concern about the future of South Asian Studies are obvious, this should not detract from a sense of satisfaction over what has been achieved over the past two decades. At the same time a real consciousness of the vulnerability of the discipline should motivate South Asianists to promote the field more determinedly and systematically. We also have a responsibility to attempt to sensitize the Canadian public to the cultural richness and economic potential of the region, as well as its very real social and human problems. In both the traditional disciplines and in the crucial, underdeveloped area of Development Studies there is a tremendous scope for meaningful collaboration between Canadian scholars and their counterpart in South Asia. In the broadest sense, we will thus be addressing one of the increasingly acute problems of our time, that of achieving real cooperation and understanding between one segment of the economically privileged North and the economically deprived South.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI), in collaboration with the University of Calgary Press, is publishing the study. It will be released in April 1985. My thanks are due to the President of the Institute, Professor Harold Coward of the Religious Studies Department at Calgary, for agreeing to the use of that material for the present article.

2. Canada. Senate. Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Report on Canadian Relations with the Countries of the Pacific Region, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1972, p. 3.

3. Shortly after being elected, the Trudeau Government undertook a special foreign policy review. One part of the report, Pacific Foreign Policy for Canadians (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1970), placed a strong and altogether new emphasis on the importance of Canada's relations with Asia. Later in 1971, the same government took the long overdue step of establishing formal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

4. This information was kindly provided by Professor John Brownlee, former Head of the East Asian Studies Department at Toronto. The similar information below on the beginning of the formal Asian Studies program at British Columbia was helpfully provided by Professor Fritz Lehmann of the Department of History, and that on McGill by Professor Robert W. Stevenson of the Department of Religious Studies and Dean of Students.

5. Directory of Canadian Universities, 1982-1983, Ottawa AUCC, 1983, pp. 294-96. The Directory lists Area Studies Programs and the levels at which they are offered. Calgary and Manitoba do not appear on the Asian list, though they should be there.

6. Specialist here means one who declared that region as the primary focus of study. The total of 253 is less than the number who declared East Asia as their chief speciality, because I have omitted graduate students, scientists and persons employed outside Canada. My object was to identify humanities and social science specialists engaged in the development of Asian Studies in Canada. According to my criteria the sub-area breakdown is as follows: General East Asia 15, China 128, Hong Kong 4, Inner Asia 1, Japan 95, Korea 4, Mongolia 1, Taiwan 3 and Tibet 2.

7. Edward C. Moulton, Indian Studies in Canada in the Early 1980's: A Report and Directory. University of Calgary Press, 1985, part II.1.2.1.

8. Globe and Mail, 1 Oct. 1984.

9. Professor O.P. Dwivedi of Guelph University, a former CASAS member, in a recent article ''Asian Studies in Canada: Evolution of the Profession'' (Revue, CASA, 6, 3, 1983, pp. 14-18), has argued that CSAS showed from the outset ''a clear and overwhelming orientation to China''. Myself a CSAS founder and continuing supporter, I think the dominance of East Asia was more a result than a cause of the exodus of South Asianists.

10. The actual membership for 1984 is 492, with the following regional breakdown: East Asia Council 212, South Asia Council 168, and Southeast Asia Council 112. I wish to thank Gisèle G. Trubey, CASA Secretary, for supplying me with this data.

11. Pandakur, V. Setty, ed., South Asian Horizons (2 vols.), Ottawa, CASA, 1984.

12. For further information on the origins and development of the SICI, 1967-77, see Edward C. Moulton, ''South Asian Studies in Canada, and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute'', Pacific Affairs 51, 2, 1978, pp. 245-64.

13. In addition to Michael Brecher, the principal other founders were William L. Holland, Head of Asian Studies Department at U.B.S.; A.K. Warder, Head of East Asian Studies at Toronto; and Kaye Lamb, Director of the National Library.

14. The four research libraries receive approximately 50 percent of the library acquisition rupee budget. In 1983-84 that amounts to RS. 100,000 ($14,500) each. The eleven teaching support libraries receive RS. 33,000 ($4,125) each.

15. Regular funding from both Governments increased last year, and in 1984-85 amounts to RS. 2,000,000 ($250,000) from the Indian Government and $90,000 from Ottawa. During the preceeding year the Institute received over $37,000 in special project funding from Canadian federal agencies such as CIDA. University membership fees currently average around $4,600 per year.

16. Edward C. Moulton, Indian Studies in Canada... op. cit., Part I.

17. For more detailed information on the overall number of courses in each discipline and an inventory of all the courses offered, see ibid., Parts I, II.2 and II.3. All computations are on the basis of full course equivalents, that is two semester courses.

18. In the period 1979-80 to 1983-84 the SICI received a total of 189 fellowship applications and awarded 46 grants.

19. Detailed bibliographies of publications by SICI-funded scholars are contained in the Institute's published Annual Reports of 1977-78 and 1982-83.

20. For detailed information on their programs and that of the next 10 universities most active in the field, see Edward C. Moulton, op. cit., Parts I and II.1.

21. These developments were setbacks for Asian Studies in Canada though they appear to have been caused by internal difficulties within the university.

LORNE KENNY

5. LES ÉTUDES DU MOYEN-ORIENT ET DE L'ISLAM AU CANADA

Au Canada, l'intérêt pour le Moyen-Orient est nettement plus ancien que celui pour les autres régions du monde. Cela peut s'expliquer en partie par une certaine fascination pour l'«orient mystérieux», mais surtout par une immense curiosité pour la connaissance de la Terre Sainte. Tout au cours du 19e siècle, les Canadiens partageaient l'enthousiasme des Européens pour l'étude de la région, particulièrement en matière de recherches historiques et archéologiques. Dès 1882 s'inaugurait à l'université McGill le Musée Redpath, musée qui abritait entre autres une importante collection d'objets du Moyen-Orient, en majorité des objets provenant de fouilles archéologiques faites en Egypte. A la même époque, l'université de Toronto possédait déjà un Département de langues orientales/sémitiques et, dès le début du 20e siècle, ce Département avait établi des liens étroits avec l'American School of Oriental Research de Jérusalem. L'intérêt historique et archéologique des Canadiens pour le Moyen-Orient est donc ancien, et il précède clairement toute activité canadienne effective dans la région, y inclus l'activité missionnaire. Celle-ci n'a débuté, tant au Moyen-Orient qu'en Afrique du Nord d'ailleurs, qu'à la fin du 19e siècle, avec des Soeurs blanches, des Pères blancs et des Franciscains s'établissant en Algérie, en Terre Sainte, en Egypte et en Tunisie. Les missions protestantes furent un peu plus tardives, mais assez importantes. En dehors de la curiosité historique et archéologique et de l'activité missionnaire, d'autres facteurs ont contribué à augmenter dans le pays l'intérêt pour le Moyen-Orient, à savoir la présence de militaires canadiens dans divers pays arabes durant les deux guerres

mondiales, et surtout le rôle économique croissant de la région ainsi que ses nombreux problèmes et conflits politiques.

L'ensemble de ces facteurs fait que les études du Moyen-Orient et de l'islam ont acquis aujourd'hui une importance incontestable au Canada. Dans le présent article, nous insisterons surtout sur les contributions canadiennes aux études de la région dans les domaines des sciences sociales et des humanités. Même si notre intention est de ne pas considérer ici l'étude proprement religieux de l'islam, une grande place sera faite à celui-ci dans le présent état de la question parce qu'il n'est pas possible d'analyser les manifestations de la civilisation islamique sans comprendre l'islam en tant que religion. Cela est tellement vrai que souvent les spécialistes des études du Moyen-Orient font partie de départements d'études religieuses.

Cet article est basé sur une enquête faite auprès de 40 institutions canadiennes. Presque par définition, une telle enquête ne peut être ni totalement exhaustive, ni rigoureusement exacte: des cours sont enseignés certaines années et d'autres non, leur contenu précis n'est pas toujours évident, les sujets de recherche des spécialistes sont parfois difficiles à catégoriser, etc. Cependant, malgré ses limites, nous pensons que cet article donne un tableau général assez fidèle de ce qui se fait au Canada dans le domaine. Afin de donner au lecteur une première approximation de ce tableau général, nous citerons ci-après quelques chiffres révélateurs: au Canada, 34 professeurs se consacrent exclusivement aux études du Moyen-Orient et 58 le font partiellement; de ces 34 professeurs, 10 se trouvent à l'université de Toronto et 7 à McGill; il s'offre annuellement (en théorie) 247.5 plein cours consacrés entièrement à la région ou à certains de ses aspects, et ce surtout en étude des religions, langue, histoire, géographie, étude de la culture, science politique et économie; un peu plus de 50% de ces 247.5 cours s'enseignent dans seulement deux universités, à savoir les universités de Toronto (78 cours) et McGill (51.5 cours); 26 universités offrent au moins un cours consacré exclusivement à la région.

Le premier centre canadien spécialisé dans le domaine d'études fut l'Institut d'études islamiques de l'université McGill, créé en 1952. Son fondateur, le professeur

Wildred Cantwell Smith, était spécialisé en études religieuses; il a fait des contributions marquantes dans notre connaissance de l'islam: il a essayé et d'adopter une approche néo-marxiste et de montrer l'importance centrale de la religion dans le monde islamique et de comprendre ce que signifie l'islam pour les croyants eux-mêmes. L'Institut d'études islamiques a pour politique d'avoir, tant parmi ses professeurs que parmi ses étudiants, un nombre égal de musulmans et de non-musulmans. L'Institut comptait en 1984 cinquante quatre étudiants dans ses programmes de maîtrise et de Ph.D. En plus des cours gradués, les professeurs de l'Institut enseignent également de nombreux cours «de service» au niveau sous-gradué, particulièrement des cours d'histoire de l'islam, de religion, de langue, de science politique, d'anthropologie et de droit. L'Institut d'études islamiques est clairement, dans le domaine, le plus important centre d'études graduées existant dans le pays. Il s'agit aussi du seul centre dépendant par son financement, dans une large mesure (40%!), de sources «extérieures», c'est-à-dire de sources autres que celles provenant de l'université McGill.

Ce n'est qu'au cours des années 1950 que les études de l'islam et du monde musulman se développèrent à l'université de Toronto et qu'en 1961 que fut fondé le Département d'études islamiques. Ces dates doivent être considérées comme exceptionnellement tardives, surtout si l'on sait que l'arabe était enseigné à l'université depuis 1857-58! Les justifications pour fonder le Département d'études islamiques furent les suivantes: (1) il n'était plus possible de négliger l'étude de diverses sociétés représentant environ un milliard d'individus, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit de sociétés ayant beaucoup contribué aux civilisations et cultures occidentales; (2) l'étude d'une autre tradition religieuse était non seulement possible, mais aussi indispensable, dans une université de stature internationale; (3) il était nécessaire de créer un centre de recherche et d'enseignement qui soit multidisciplinaire; l'étude de la religion, des langues, de l'histoire, de la culture, de la politique et de l'économie doivent être combinées si l'on veut véritablement comprendre le monde musulman. Le Département d'études islamiques se développa considérablement dès sa création: il comptait seize professeurs à temps complet au cours des années 1960,

mais en 1984-85 les contraintes budgétaires avaient ramené ce nombre à dix. La troisième université ayant donné une certaine importance aux études du Moyen-Orient est l'université de la Colombie Britannique: son Département d'histoire offre, tant aux niveaux sous-gradué que gradué, des concentrations en histoire moderne du Moyen-Orient, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique latine. De la sorte, les université McGill, de Toronto et de la Colombie Britannique sont les seules où l'on puisse obtenir un Ph.D. en études du Moyen-Orient et/ou de l'islam. Deux autres universités offrent plus de 10 cours dans le domaine; il s'agit des universités de Calgary et de l'Alberta, à Edmonton.

Parmi les 30 universités offrant au moins un cours en études du Moyen-Orient ou de l'islam, 20 n'enseignent aucun cours d'arabe. Parmi les 10 universités qui le font, il ne s'enseigne généralement qu'un ou deux cours, ce qui montre l'intérêt très mineur que portent ces universités au domaine d'études. De fait, seules les universités McGill et de Toronto ont d'importants programmes d'enseignement des langues: dans ces deux universités se donnent 18 des 39 plein cours (six crédits) d'arabe enseignés dans le pays. Ce sont aussi les seules universités canadiennes offrant des cours de turc et de persan.

Comme de juste, ce sont aussi les universités McGill et de Toronto qui ont les meilleures collections dans le domaine, l'université McGill possédant même une bibliothèque séparée qui comptait, en 1984-85, quelques 85,000 volumes. L'université de Toronto possède environ 50 ou 60,000 volumes en arabe, et des milliers d'autres en langues «européennes». L'université de Calgary possède 15,000 volumes en arabe.

Que publient les spécialistes canadiens dans le domaine? La réponse n'est pas aisée parce que le pays n'a pas de presses académiques ayant un intérêt marqué pour le Moyen-Orient ou l'islam, et les chercheurs publient «là où ils peuvent». De ce fait, un recensement n'est pas facile à réaliser. Nous nous bornerons simplement à signaler que le Gulf Cooperation Council Study Group de l'Université McMaster a publié à ce jour 16 ouvrages spécialisés et que l'Institut d'études islamiques de l'université McGill a assuré la parution de 300 ouvrages en persan et en arabe au cours de ces 25 dernières années.

Il est incontestable que le domaine d'études fait face aujourd'hui à une sérieuse crise, surtout d'ordre financier.

Les centres de McGill et de Toronto voient leur nombre d'enseignants diminuer progressivement. Une évolution parallèle s'observe dans les autres universités: moins de cours spécialisés sont offerts, moins de thèses sont produites, les programmes sont réduits. Tant d'un point de vue humaniste que d'un point de vue plus commercial, économique et politique, une telle évolution ne peut-être que défavorable. Les chercheurs spécialisés ont été accusés tantôt de n'avoir aucune empathie pour la région et sa culture, tantôt de s'identifier trop à celles-ci; tantôt de servir les intérêts impérialistes occidentaux, tantôt de ne pas être assez utiles aux intérêts de ces pays. Des accusations et contre-accusations de ce type sont inhérentes aux études régionales. Quoi qu'il en soit, deux choses sont certaines: (1) les études régionales sont sous-financées au Canada et (2) si le pays prétend posséder ou maintenir une vocation internationale, il ne peut se permettre de négliger les études régionales. Les études du Moyen-Orient et de l'islam sont en régression. Il faut que les spécialistes fassent un sérieux effort pour promouvoir leur domaine de recherche; il est nécessaire qu'ils fondent une société savante et qu'ils deviennent beaucoup plus présents tant dans la communauté universitaire qu'auprès des organismes fédéraux et provinciaux de financement.

A. A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Historically, the interest of Canadians in the Middle East stems from the age-old attraction of the 'mysterious Orient', especially the sacred sites of the Holy Land, for the pious pilgrim and the inquisitive traveller. Canadians shared to a certain extent the growing romantic and historical/archaelogical interest of Europeans in the nineteenth century in the Orient, including the Near East, as our region was then called. Typical of the works produced by travellers to the area is one printed in Toronto in 1876, though by an American from Hartford, entitled *Mummies and Moslems*, relating his experience in, and impressions of the Land of Egypt.

Canada's first scientific museum was the Redpath Museum which opened its doors on the McGill campus in

1882. Besides providing space for scientific collections and for teaching the natural sciences, it also housed a collection of artifacts from the Near East collected from the 1860s onwards by James Ferrier[1] and others. The large purchase of Egyptian artifacts resulting from archaeological work of John Garstang, the British archaeologist, in the early part of this century, is also housed in Redpath Museum.

At the University of Toronto it was Professor James F. McCurdy who had joined the Department of Oriental/ Semitic Languages in 1886, who developed the first serious interest in archaeology. The publication of his scholarly work, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*[2] in three volumes brought him wide recognition, and in 1911-12 he was appointed Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Other members of the same Department were later invited as lecturers in the ASOR, and Professor F.V. Winnet, chairman of the Department from 1952-1967, was twice Director of ASOR.

The Royal Ontario Museum opened its doors in 1914.[3] It was housed at first at Victoria College and was the result in the main of the inspiration and efforts of Charles T. Currelly, with the support of Victoria's Chancellor Burwash. It all resulted from a fortunate meeting between Currelly and Flinders Petrie in London in 1901 and Petrie's invitation to the former to become a member of his staff.

One fascinating story that was a part of Canadian relations with the Near East in the nineteenth century had to do with the 300 or so *voyageurs*, including a dozen Indians, who were brought over by Colonel Wolesley to assist in the attempt to save General Charles Gordon and the Egypto-British garrison under siege by the Mahdi's forces in Khartoum in 1884-1885.[4] Some of these intrepid rivermen lost their lives bringing the expedition's boats up the treacherous Nile cataracts, and the rest returned to Canada in April 1885, though eight wheelsmen returned to the work of piloting the Nile boats between Aswan and Wadi Halfa. The same source recounts the part of Lieutenant Edouard Percy Girouard in overseeing the building of the railway south from Wadi Halfa to Dongola in support of Kitchner's expedition to reconquer the Sudan from the Mahdist forces, 1896-1898. Because of his outstanding ability and achievements in this task he was made President of the Egyptian State Railways and Alexandria

Harbour by Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer), Britain's Consul General in Egypt and its virtual ruler at that time.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Canadian churches began to give attention to the Near East and North Africa. The first missionary which the writer was able to trace was a member of the Soeurs Blanches who went to Algeria in 1885. The Canadian Franciscans established themselves in the Holy Land in 1898 and in the following year two Franciscan female orders started work in Egypt and Tunisia. The White Fathers, following the establishment of a novitiate in Quebec in 1901, began sending recruits to join the White Fathers in Jerusalem, Algeria and Tunisia, as well as in East Africa.[5]

Protestant missions in the area began about the turn of the century with the arrival of H.E. Randall in Alexandria in 1898 under the auspices of the Holiness Movement Church of Canada (later united with the Free Methodist Church). Randall later joined the Pentecostal movement and founded a mission for the Assemblies of God in Egypt. Canadian Protestants were also engaged in missionary activity in Ottoman Turkey from the turn of the century, making a contribution especially in the educational field. As time went on, other Canadian groups established missions in various Middle Eastern countries.

A relatively small number of Canadian soldiers and airmen found their way to the Middle East in both World Wars, attached, of course, to the British Army. Canadian businessmen were becoming increasingly active in the area in the post-World War II era; and in view of the enhanced stature in international affairs with which Canada had emerged from the Second World War, the previous arrangement whereby Canadian diplomatic and consular affairs were looked after by the British Embassy was no longer adequate to Canada's needs and role in the region. The first Canadian embassy was therefore opened in Ankara in 1947, but ambassadors were not appointed to Egypt and Israel until 1954, with Ambassador Kirk of Cairo also accredited to Lebanon. In the years that followed diplomatic relations were gradually established with other countries in the region.

B. PARAMETERS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Since a recent survey of Islamic Studies in Canada has been done by Professor Charles Adams, the successor of Wilfred Cantwell Smith as chairman of McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies,[6] this one will concentrate more particularly on the 'state-of-the-art' in Middle East studies in Canada from the standpoint of the humanities and the social sciences. Nevertheless, the close relation between the study of Islam as a religion and as a civilization in its historical, political, cultural and social dimensions must be emphasized. One cannot, in fact, understand Islam as a religion without investigating its impact upon the history and culture of the peoples who embraced that religion, and their interaction with other peoples on a global scale from the seventh century A.D. to the present. Similarly, it would be folly to undertake a study of the manifestations of Islamic civilization in time and space without a serious effort to understand Islam as a religion, its tenets and its concrete expression in the events and the civilization that developed out of the Islamic matrix.

The present survey confirms Professor Adams' observation that the study of the Middle East is most often centred in Departments of Religious Studies. Just as Islamic Studies grew out of Comparative Semitics, so has the interest of the social sciences in Islamic civilization and culture often been closely linked with the study of Islam as a religion. The other major impulse to the study of the Middle East by the social sciences came from the explosive development of 'area studies' in the post-World War II era.

The present survey[7] is limited to courses and programmes dealing with the modern Islamic Middle East, as specified in the terms of the assignment. It does not cover the study of the ancient Near East prior to the rise of Islam in the seventh century A.D., or that of Hebraic studies and the modern state of Israel.

No guarantee can be made for the completeness or scientific accuracy of the results, because of the variants of full-time versus part-time faculty, full-year versus semester courses, and the frequency with which courses are offered (many are obviously not offered every year, including some in the various language fields). It is possible, too, that courses touching upon the Middle East may be taught in a few centres from which we have

received no information. The study does, however, provide a general picture of what is taught across Canada in this field.

C. AN OVERVIEW OF THE FIELD

A tabulation of the questionnaires returned shows that as many as twenty-six universities and colleges throughout the country do offer at least one course concentrating specifically on the Middle East as defined above, an obvious recognition of the importance of the region as an object of study in the humanities and social sciences. A further two institutions list courses that touch upon the area. The courses offered cover religion, language, history, geography, culture, politics and economics. As nearly as could be estimated from the data, the total number of full-year course equivalents offered is some 247.5, in addition to which another thirty coursse have an appreciable amount of Middle East content. Although the average number of full courses per institution is just nine and one-half, slightly more than fifty percent of the total are offered at the two main Canadian centres - 78 at the University of Toronto, chiefly in the Department of Middle East and Islamic Studies, and 51.5 at McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies with its related undergraduate Middle East Studies Program.

To mount these courses, some 34 staff members devote their full time to teaching about the Middle East, while another 58 or so are partially engaged with courses on the area. Of the 34 full-time staff members, ten are to be found at the University of Toronto, with a further eight teaching at least one course, while McGill has seven full-time staff members and three part-time. There are centres of strength in certain fields in other universities across the country, which will be noted later on.

D. ORIGINS AND RATIONALE

The first centre for the study of the religion of Islam, the history of its civilization and culture was the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, founded in 1952 by Wilfred Cantwell Smith.[8] Professor Smith, a

comparative religionist by training at the University of Toronto's Department of Near Eastern Studies and Princeton's Center for Near Eastern Studies, joined McGill's Faculty of Divinity in 1949. Having spent some time in Cairo and the World War II years in India before its partition, Smith had gained a first-hand knowledge of the Islamic World and was convinced of the central importance of the role of religion in Muslim society, though with a Marxist emphasis on economic factors, as is apparent from a reading of his first major work, *Modern Islam in India.*[9] His second book, however - *Islam in Modern History,*[10] the product of five years of teaching in the Institute and of continuous study and frequent travel to the Muslim World - focuses on the centrality of the Islamic faith for Muslims and seriously attempts to view that faith from the inside as Muslims see and understand it, as far as that is possible for a man of faith from outside the tradition.

The Institute aimed at a balanced Muslim and non-Muslim staff and student body from the first, convinced that a study of Islam as a faith and civilization, while applying objective scientific methods of investigation, must at the same time make sense to Muslims themselves. It opened as a graduate Institute and, with fifty-four students enrolled in the current year, remains the largest graduate centre for the study of Islam and the Islamic World in the country. Because its students come from such disparate backgrounds and training, its requirements demand two years of residence work, plus a thesis, for an M.A., with a further two years residence for a Ph.D.

At the undergraduate level McGill offers Major, Honours and Joint Honours Programs in Middle Eastern Studies, with twelve students specializing in these programmes in the current year. At the undergraduate level, the Middle East Studies Program is dependent upon the Institute of Islamic Studies for courses in Islamic history, religion and languages, while providing the other courses in political science, anthropology and law relating to the area.

The Institute was founded largely on the basis of outside funding and continues to depend on such sources for some 40 percent of its financial support. As far as the information given in the questionnaires is concerned, it is the only centre in Canada that is dependent on external sources for a major part of its funding. It is a tribute

to, as well as a matter of deep concern for the administrators of the Institute, that they should have remained under the obligations of securing a large proportion of its necessary finances from outside the University budget, especially in these days of shrinking support for the humanities.

The Department of Islamic Studies at the University of Toronto grew out of the Department of Near Eastern Studies in 1961. Arabic had been taught as early as 1857-58 in the "Orientals" Department, the name by which Near Eastern Studies was then known. Something of the history of the Muslim World was later added to the curriculum, but it was not until the mid-1950s that the decision was taken, under Professor F.V. Winnett's chairmanship, to develop Islamic Studies as a discipline in its own right. This responsibility was delegated to Professor G.M. Wickens, brought from Cambridge University in 1957, who was appointed the first chairman of the Department when it became a separate entity within the Faculty of Arts and Science.

The creation of a distinct Department of Islamic Studies recognized the fact that a great university could no longer neglect the study of the religion, history and culture of nearly a billion members of the human race, especially since Islamic civilization made significant contributions to Western civilization in such fields as mathematics, medicine, philosophy, astronomy, agriculture, art and architecture. The new departure was based on the conviction that an objective study of another religion and culture is possible and the aim was to provide an academic education at least comparable with that gained in other humanities and social science fields in Western universities. A cardinal feature here, as at McGill, was that any specialist study of the history, culture and politics of the region necessitated the mastery of one or more of its major languages - Arabic, Turkish or Persian, particularly the first. A further conviction was that intercultural appreciation and understanding among peoples cannot be left to the fields of diplomacy and public relations; rather, if a lasting impact is to be made in this area, the effort must be educational, flowing from the university and the research centre into the school system and society generally.

The addition of the words "Middle East and" to the name of the Department of Islamic Studies in 1976 was a

recognition of its important function as a centre of area studies, though it was sparked by controversy over the teaching of Islam in the university.

The Department expanded quickly in the sixties to a total of fifteen fulltime faculty members, with two cross-appointees - now increased to three - in the West Asian and Textile Departments of the Royal Ontario Museum, thus adding a whole new programme - that of Islamic Art and Architecture. Not only has the planned growth of the Department been prevented by the financial stringency imposed on universities over the last decade and more, but the overall number of fulltime faculty has been allowed to contract from fifteen to ten for the coming year, making it difficult to maintain the integrity of the programme in all of its major fields, for example in Urdu Studies, upon the untimely death, without replacement, of the leading Urdu scholar, Aziz Ahmad, leaving only one colleague in this area.

At the undergraduate level, the Department has increasingly come to fill the role of a service department for the students from other disciplines within the Faculty of Arts and Science and also other faculties. The Specialist Programme in Middle East and Islamic Studies still insists on a reasonable competence in Arabic, Persian or Turkish, as well as a thorough knowledge of Islamic history, but a wide range of courses in history, culture, religion and thought, literature in translation and Islamic art and architecture are open to the non-specialist without a language requirement. It is hoped that a proposed distribution requirement for Arts and Science students to take a minimum of three courses in the humanities, two of them in non-English fields of study, will bring more students to Middle East and Islamic Studies and similar departments.

We have noted the conviction of the central importance of the Islamic faith in the life of Muslims which underlay the plan to found McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies for the purpose of studying that faith in its religious, historical and cultural expressions. While this motivation has been present at Toronto also, the emphasis here has primarily been upon the descriptive approach of the would-be unbiased observer, although it also has been a joint venture of both non-Muslim and Muslim faculty and students. Similar aims and objectives have motivated the

establishment of other Middle East and Islamic Studies programmes, as the following statement by Professor John Spagnolo indicates:

> The Department of History at Simon Fraser University was founded in the belief that there is more to the History of the world than that of Europe and North America as is traditionally assumed (consciously or unconsciously) by most departments of history. For this reason it offers a significant concentration of undergraduate and graduate instruction on the modern Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

A majority of the questionnaires do not, however, make explicit the rationale behind the mounting of Middle East programmes other than the desire to take advantage of current interest in events in the area and its increasing economic and strategic importance to Canada and the West. The personal interest and involvement of faculty members in research on the region is often cited as the reason for mounting specific courses or programmes.

E. PROGRAMMES AND DISCIPLINES IN MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

Only ten out of the thirty Canadian universities and colleges mounting courses in Middle East and Islamic Studies include an Islamic language in their programmes. The preeminent importance of Arabic in the field is indicated by the fact that it is taught at all ten centres at least at two levels, except in one instance. Turkish and Persian are offered only at McGill and the University of Toronto, which also provide eighteen out of the thirty-nine full-course equivalents listed in Arabic.

This comparative neglect of the study of the Islamic languages as a basis for understanding the people, culture and events of the area can be ascribed to two main reasons: The first is that nine of the institutions that offer something in Middle East Studies list only one or two courses, bespeaking a minimal interest or commitment that does not merit the time and expense of language instruction. The other important factor, which may also underlie the first one, is the social science attitude that a

knowledge of the language of a culture is not really necessary for the understanding of that culture, particularly at the statistical level so popular in some disciplines, the inference being that if you can measure people, their attitudes and customs statistically, you have the essential facts in your hand. Put so baldly, this thesis may seem absurd, but how else do we explain the low incidence of a serious study of the Islamic languages? In fields such as French, German or Russian history, most scholars would take a reading knowledge of the language concerned for granted.

Moving on to the non-language courses, we find that although the largest number of programmes are centred in departments of religion, a slightly higher number (63.5) fall under the rubric of history as nearly as one can judge, as compared to 59 under the broad category of 'religion, culture and thought', including Islamic philosophy. (This classification is so broad because of the difficulty of separating religion from culture and thought, especially in the Islamic context. It also illustrates the weakness of any classification system which divides, for instance, between the religion of Islam and Islamic history.)

Of the three other centres beside the University of Toronto and McGill which offer more than ten full-course equivalents in Middle East area studies, Simon Fraser mounts one of the strongest history programmes in the country, at the undergraduate level in its interdisciplinary minor in Middle East Studies, and also at the graduate level leading to an M.A. or Ph.D. degree. Simon Fraser University, the University of Toronto and McGill are the only three universities in Canada where the student may obtain a Ph.D. in the field of Middle East and Islamic Studies. No other centre offers more than two full-course equivalents in Middle Eastern history.

The other two universities that provide more than ten courses in the area studies under examination are located in Alberta at Edmonton and Calgary, bespeaking strong local and/or provincial support for these studies. Because of the eleven courses listed in the religious field, Edmonton's strength seems to lie in this area (although they are all given by one staff member). In addition, Arabic is offered at three levels, along with a full course in each of political science and anthropology. Calgary's

programme is more diversified, being spread out between the religion of Islam, history, political science (its strongest field with three courses), economics, geography and anthropology, in addition to Arabic (in which four courses are listed).

Political science, with 25.5 courses, follows 'religion, culture and thought' in the strength of its offerings. Sixteen universities list political science courses, though only three others beside Calgary - Concordia, Winnipeg and Toronto - offer three or more courses.

Next in order comes the 17.5 courses given in Islam's rich artistic heritage in art and architecture, primarily at the University of Toronto with its unique arrangement for the cross-appointment of three experts in this field from the Royal Ontario Museum to the Department of Middle East and Islamic Studies, and in the far west at the University of Victoria with its internationally known scholar, Anthony Welch.

Six courses - two of them half courses - are offered in the anthropology and sociology of the Middle East at seven institutions across Canada. It is rather surprising that no more than four and one-half courses are offered in Middle Eastern economics and development studies, in view of the growing importance of the Middle Eastern market for our own economy and the critical dependence of the West on Middle East oil. McGill, which provides four and one-half courses in Islamic law, is the only place where one can study this important branch of Islamic culture in depth. The mere two courses in Middle Eastern geography can only be explained on the basis of the fact that the geography of the region forms a part of many introductory and history courses. Similarly, bibliography is basic to any study of the Middle East, especially at the graduate level, which may provide some justification for the existence of only one and one-half courses devoted to providing the student with an in-depth acquaintance with the tools of the trade.

LORNE M. KENNY

F. LIBRARIES AND PUBLICATION IN MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

Research libraries are the working capital of the scholar, particularly in the humanities. Just as the growth of a great university is always characterized by the quality of its research facilities, whether the scientific laboratory or its library holdings, so too the excellence of any centre for Middle East and Islamic studies depends to a large degree upon the richness of the library resources available for teaching and research. It can only be regretted that library allocations have suffered, along with other sectors of the university, from government underfunding in recent years.

As one would expect, the best library resources in the field of Middle East and Islamic studies are to be found at the two leading centres, Toronto and McGill. McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies possesses an important advantage found nowhere else in Canada, namely a separate library collection of some 85,000 volumes, combining both works in European languages and those in the major Islamic languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu. The scholar thus finds at his disposal in one place the major research resources he needs, especially in the areas of language, literature and religion, though he will still have to refer on occasion to the main University libraries, especially in the social sciences, including journals.

Since at the University of Toronto, as elsewhere across the country, library holdings on the Middle East are integrated with the main library collections, it is impossible to arrive at an inclusive figure. As for works in the Islamic languages, the best estimate is that the University of Toronto possesses some 50-60,000 volumes, beside those in European languages.

As to manuscript collections, McGill possesses some 250, whose titles are listed without full cataloguing. The manuscript collection at the University of Toronto, consisting of some fifteen hundred volumes, has unfortunately not been worked on at all and is therefore unavailable for use. Both collections consist largely of works of *fiqh* and other religious sciences.

With regard to the adequacy of library holdings in the field of Middle East studies across Canada, one can only say these are as good as the centres themselves and

the resources allocated to book purchases. The disclosure of the fact that the University of Calgary possesses an estimated 15,000 volumes in Arabic indicates a commendable emphasis upon library acquisition, which has resulted in the creation of a sizeable research corpus of books in Arabic in a relatively short space of time.

Since the university is engaged in the twofold task of both the transmission and the production of knowledge, reference must be made to publication in the field of Middle East and Islamic Studies. No attempt can be made here to estimate the amount of publication that has occurred to date on either the individual or the national level, nor the quantity or quality of the research that is being carried forward. (Such documentation was not called for in our questionnaire and if collected in detail would fill a whole volume by itself - though a study of research in Canada in the field of Middle East and Islamic studies might be a worthwhile project both for the purpose of information and publicity, of which more anon.)

Almost all publication in our area is carried on through individual arrangements between author and publisher. There are a few university presses in Canada, such as the McGill-Queens, the University of Toronto and the University of Alberta presses, which have given some attention to publication in this field. Although competition for the attention of publishers is no doubt salutary to the degree that encourages the survival of the fittest, yet the situation is far from satisfactory. What can be done in certain well-defined areas is illustrated by the fact that a research team such as the Gulf Cooperation Council Study Group at McMaster University has succeeded in securing the publication of sixteen works (an impressive number, even though the major portion of the funding comes from governments interested in this research project). Even more noteworthy in numbers and significance for the field of Middle Eastern scholarship is the "Wisdom of Persia Series" produced by the Teheran Branch of McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies, in which some 300 works in Persian and Arabic have appeared over the last twenty-five years. What has been said above serves only to illustrate the urgent need for support for both libraries and publication on a national scale.

LORNE M. KENNY

G. PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

It cannot be denied that the whole field of Middle East and Islamic studies is facing a crisis situation with respect to the adequacy of the funds available to support it. That this is no exaggeration can be seen in the fact that the two leading centres for such studies have already suffered a very serious attrition of funds and personnel which, if the trend is allowed to continue - as there is every indication it will, unless steps are taken to retrieve the situation - within a few years the results will be disastrous for these programmes of which the universities concerned frequently boast and which are still respected across the country and beyond.

It is not just these two centres which are a national resource, but the whole twenty-six university departments where Middle East and Islamic studies are taught, with their thirty-four full-time and fifty-seven part-time staff members, along with the libraries that support their teaching and research, are an important national resource.

This endeavour may be valuable from the standpoint of Canada's economic, political and strategic interests in the area, but that should not be the primary factor in the equation. The study and understanding of the culture and civilization of the hundreds of millions of people in the Middle East, because of the interdependence of our culture and theirs, and the intertwining of our histories, both past and present, makes the undertaking crucial. The study of the history of a civilization that embraces nearly a quarter of the human race must be an inherently worthwhile humanistic venture for its own sake; and the mutual understanding and appreciation that we aim at may be crucial to the survival of the human race.

What is at stake is not merely our jobs and our programmes as such, but the health and progress of this humanistic endeavour itself. The dollar sign is not the only or even the most important criterion of success. We ourselves must be convinced that what we are doing is important. We must shake off our own apathy and cynicism, and then set about the task of convincing others within the university community, the public at large and the governments which usually reflect public views.

The body of scholars as a whole engaged in Middle East and Islamic studies, formerly known as 'Orientalists',

have been accused of bias, tendentiousness and the misrepresentation of the history and culture they study, of serving the interests of Western political, economic and cultural domination. While such a sweeping generalization is dangerous on many counts, not only because it omits to tell the whole story of devotion to the truth and the promotion of understanding between peoples, but also from the fact that now so many scholars from the area - Arabs, Turks, Persians, Pakistanis and others, both Muslims and non-Muslims, including the author of the well-known work on *Orientalism* himself[11] - are engaged in these area studies, nevertheless, there is enough truth in these charges of lack of true sympathy with the subject and the culture that we study to give us pause and prompt close self-examination. Those who do not possess some sympathy and empathy with the people and the interests of the region ought to seek another area of study; however, the scholarly community has no means of purging its ranks or enforcing its ideals other than to let the individual discredit himself in the eyes of his peers.

Beyond this internal problem, there is a formidable task facing us. There is a massive public ignorance and indifference, even antipathy many times, to our field of study. This has to be overcome and we cannot leave it to others or to the PR men, even if we had the money to hire them. We must do it ourselves, beginning in our own universities, our school systems and our communities. We have to make a better case to governments and granting agencies. The skewed public priorities may be seen in the fact that the proposed budget of $56.4 millions for the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council is only 12.5% of the total allocated for the granting agencies, while the SSHRC embraces 55% of the full-time faculty in Canadian universities, in comparison with 45% dependent on MRC and NSERC combined, as well as support for 62% of the graduate students as compared to 38% cared for by the other two agencies. We have to change this perception and convince governments and administrations that we do indeed represent a vitally important humanistic endeavour.

The task at the government level is made much more difficult, as Adams has pointed out, because Canada is divided up into ten provincial jurisdictions which are responsible for controlling and funding education. Consequently we have no federal department of education and no

national education policy. Universities are now, however, trying to convince the Federal Government that it must assume a more direct responsibility in supporting post-secondary education, especially research and infrastructure. Our voice, as part of the humanities branch of higher education, must be heard.

Our first priority should be to convince our own government at the federal and provincial levels. External funding should not be rejected, here as elsewhere, as long as there are no strings attached (although often some *quid pro quo* is expected). We should not have to go cap in hand to a foreign government or agency for support when Canadians possess one of the higher per capita standards of living in the world, ahead of all the Middle East members of OPEC save Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

We shall have to take a more active part as individuals, as departments and centres, for no one else will do it for us. There may be merit, however, in Professor Spagnolo's suggestion for a national organization of some kind to coordinate our efforts. Let me close with his words:

> It seems essential for the future development of Middle Eastern studies in Canada that a Canadian academic association be formed to bring together scholars in the field, to offer them a forum for interaction, to encourage expansion of Canadian academic interest in an integral part of our global village, and to establish a viable 'presence' in Canada for Middle Eastern studies which will assist in obtaining funds from university administrations, government agencies, foundations and other sources.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. James Ferrier was, from 1847-1852, president of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, which was responsible for the founding of McGill University, and was Chancellor of the University from 1884-1888 (see Stanley B. Frost, McGill University, for the Advancement of Learning, vol. 1, 1801-1895, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1980).
2. New York, MacMillan, 1894-1901.
3. See Currelly's account, I Brought the Ages Home, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 1976.
4. See the recent book by Roy Maclaren, Canadians on the Nile, 1882-1898, being the adventures of the voyageurs on the Khartoum relief expedition and other exploits, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1978.

5. The above information was gathered from the societies involved and from Le Canada français missionnaire, Montreal, Fides, 1962, pp. 81f.

6. "The Development of Islamic Studies in Canada," The Muslim Community in North America, Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1983, pp. 185-201.

7. A questionnaire was sent to 46 universities and colleges across Canada, requesting information regarding course and programme descriptions, their origins and aims, numbers of faculty members and students involved, the total number of full course equivalents, the sources of funding, problems, plans, needs and desirable directions to be pursued. Replies were received or elicited by telephone from some 40 institutions.

8. Adams goes in some detail into the story of the establishment of the McGill Institute and the Department of Islamic Studies at the University of Toronto, op. cit., pp. 186-191.

9. New York, A.M.S. Press, 1974 (repr. of 1946 edition).

10. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957.

11. Edward Sacid, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. His book, Orientalism, was published by Pantheon Books, New York, 1978.

DONALD I. RAY

6. LES ÉTUDES AFRICAINES AU CANADA

Le fait que les études africaines se soient d'abord développées dans des pays tels que l'Angleterre, la France ou la Belgique n'est certainement pas le fait du hasard: ces pays avaient d'importantes colonies africaines et donc un intérêt évident à mieux connaître les sociétés qu'ils avaient subjuguées. Cette origine «impériale» des premiers centres d'études africaines n'implique aucunement que la curiosité intellectuelle des chercheurs et professeurs travaillant dans ces centres n'était pas réelle ou que leurs travaux aient été non-pertinents. Il a été beaucoup écrit au sujet de la genèse de ces centres, mais très peu par contre au sujet de l'origine et du développement des études africaines au Canada.

Avant la deuxième Guerre mondiale, l'Afrique restait pour les Canadiens un continent virtuellement inconnu: tout au plus y avait-il quelques individus ayant soit participés à des campagnes «anglaises», soit servis dans l'administration coloniale britannique; le pays ne possédait avant 1940 aucun programme d'études africaines. La situation changea considérablement après la seconde Guerre mondiale. Le Canada acquérait alors le contrôle constitutionnel de son système judiciaire et de ses politiques extérieures et de défense. Les horizons des Canadiens devinrent progressivement plus étendus et très naturellement divers milieux, gouvernementaux, des affaires, humanitaires et académiques, exprimèrent la volonté que le pays possédât ses propres sources d'information concernant l'Afrique. L'expression de cette volonté marque le début du processus d'institutionnalisation des études africaines dans le pays. La première phase de cette institutionnalisation, celle des années 1950, pourrait être qualifiée de décade des personnalités: des chercheurs individuels répartis dans diverses universités acquièrent une réputation internationale. A partir des années 1960

commence une seconde phase, celle de la création et de la consolidation d'institutions. Un Comité des études africaines est créé en 1962 et ce dans le but de former une association nationale d'africanistes; ce Comité survivra tant bien que mal et avait en 1969 une cinquantaine de membres. Au cours de l'automne 1969 s'organisa à Montréal une conférence conjointe de l'Association américaine des études africaines et du Comité canadien. Cette conférence se termina dans la confusion la plus complète, pour ne pas dire en bataille rangée. De nombreux chercheurs noirs faisaient partie de l'Association américaine; le mouvement noir aux Etats-Unis et les indépendances africaines les avaient galvanisés et, à Montréal, ils accusèrent les universitaires blancs de colonialisme intellectuel, et ce dans les termes les plus violents. La situation devint tendue et se détériora encore plus à cause des velléités d'«indépendance» des Canadiens et du nationalisme québécois. A tout cela vient s'ajouter la présence de participants africains francophones qui comprenaient à peine ce qui se passait, mais s'unirent de facto aux Québécois. Peter Gutkind a décrit l'événement comme «la bataille de Montréal». Elle eut pour résultat que le Comité canadien devint totalement autonome. Il le devenait à une époque particulièrement favorable: le système académique canadien était en expansion rapide et de nombreuses positions en études africaines étaient créées. De plus, depuis 1967, le Comité éditait la Revue canadienne des études africaines (RCEA).

Après «la bataille de Montréal», c'est à dire à partir de 1970, commence la troisième phase de l'institutionnalisation des études africaines au Canada, la phase de la maturité. L'Association canadienne des études africaines est constituée en 1970, et dès 1971 elle organise des conférences annuelles. Ces conférences sont devenues de plus en plus importantes et elles attirent maintenant au moins autant d'africanistes étrangers que canadiens. L'Association est extrêmement active: elle publie deux fois l'an un Bulletin, elle organise des visites d'africanistes étrangers, en particulier des africanistes travaillant en Afrique même, et bien sûr elle publie la RCEA. La décade de 1970 voit aussi un renforcement très considérable des études africaines proprement-dites: les publications sont de plus en plus nombreuses et de meilleure qualité. Cependant, depuis 1985 environ, il s'observe une certaine

stagnation, stagnation qui pourrait devenir une quatrième phase dans le processus d'institutionnalisation: l'Association n'a presque plus de fonds, des africanistes perdent leur poste et moins de chercheurs canadiens participent aux conférences annuelles. Par contre, la profonde crise dans laquelle se débat l'Afrique a réhaussé le profil politique du continent.

Malgré leur récente stagnation, les études africaines canadiennes sont maintenant très développées. Il s'enseigne des cours portant sur l'Afrique dans 37 universités; sept de ces universités sont francophones et trente anglophones; treize sont situées dans l'Ontario et neuf au Québec; l'Alberta, la Colombie Britannique, le Manitoba et la Nouvelle Ecosse en ont chacun trois. La plupart des Africanistes font partie des sciences sociales. Les deux disciplines les plus représentées sont la science politique et l'histoire et il est certainement étrange de constater que les anthropologues, sociologues, économistes et géographes n'occupent une place qu'assez secondaire. Le droit, la philosophie, les sciences exactes, les sciences de la santé et les sciences agricoles sont virtuellement absentes.

Des programmes formels en études africaines existent dans les universités de Calgary, Dalhousie, Simon Fraser, Laval, McGill et York. Les universités de Carleton et Toronto ont de nombreux africanistes, mais pas de programme formel, une situation qui se retrouve dans diverses universités bien que dans une mesure moindre. L'Université de Calgary offre un exemple particulièrement remarquable de développement des études africaines: en 1968, l'Université n'avait qu'un cours - de premier cycle - consacré entièrement à l'Afrique; en 1987, elle avait seize cours de premier cycle et de nombreux autres de deuxième et troisième cycles; en outre, l'Université organise régulièrement des séminaires en Afrique. Les programmes d'études africaines ont acquis progressivement une réputation enviable et elles attirent, par exemple, de plus en plus d'Africains. En ce qui concerne les publications, la RCEA est devenue l'une des meilleures revues dans le domaine et l'Université de Calgary publie Nyame Akuma, un bulletin consacré à l'archéologie africaine. A ces deux publications, il faut ajouter la Revue canadienne d'études du développement, qui publie nombre d'articles consacrés à l'Afrique, et la Review of African Political Economy, qui

bien qu'anglaise, publie fréquemment des articles d'africanistes canadiens. A tous ces programmes d'études et publications universitaires, il faut ajouter les diverses organisations qui visent à conscientiser le public et sont centrées sur une cause particulière: libération de l'Afrique du sud, libération des colonies portugaises d'Afrique, le Mozambique, lutte contre le racisme, etc.

Nous essayerons maintenant de caractériser les principales approches théoriques existant au Canada dans le champ d'études. Plutôt que d'essayer de découvrir un éventuel paradigme dans l'ensemble des contributions canadiennes, nous avons choisi de considérer la tendance dominante dans quelques disciplines au domaines d'intérêt des chercheurs. Ainsi dans le domaine de la santé, en général, les auteurs critiquent les «palais de la maladie» et plaident pour une médecine préventive, généralisée et ruralisée. Pour ce qui a trait à l'étude des langues africaines, le Canada ne possède aucun centre se consacrant à leur enseignement ou à leur étude; par contre, l'étude des littératures africaines est assez développé, mais cette étude semble plutôt dominée par des questions que par un cadre théorique donné: la critique littéraire doit-elle être faite en langue africaine?, un non-Africain peut-il effectivement comprendre les sentiments et les émotions des auteurs africains?, la littérature peut-elle servir d'instrument d'éducation sociale?, etc. Un domaine qui est devenu assez important est celui de l'archéologie, surtout sous l'impulsion de Peter Shinnie de l'Université de Calgary. Les archéologues se divisent en deux groupes distincts, ceux qui s'intéressent surtout au paléolithique et ceux qui s'occupent d'époques plus récentes, et sont de ce fait plus nettement des «africanistes». L'un des problèmes majeurs de ces derniers est celui de la «question bantoue»: y a-t-il eu ou non une expansion des peuples bantous?, quand a-t-elle eu lieu?, quelles sont ses caractéristiques? Dans le domaine de la science politique, la tâche des chercheurs n'est pas aisée: le continent est très instable et les rebondissements sont nombreux, à tel point que bien des politologues ont «cherché refuge» dans l'étude de l'histoire africaine! Pour ce qui est de l'Afrique contemporaine, la tendance actuelle est de moins s'intéresser aux institutions formelles du pouvoir, institutions dont la capacité d'explication est des plus médiocres. Les politologues ont essayé d'intégrer d'autres dimensions de la

réalité sociale dans leurs schémas d'explication; ils ont principalement considéré la dimension économique, d'où le succès de l'économie politique dans le domaine d'études. Cela a donné naissance à un courant radical, fortement influencé, entre autres, par des latino-américanistes et/ou des auteurs latino-américains, tels que Celso Furtado, Raul Prébish, André Gunder Frank et les dépendantistes. Ces analyses radicales insistent beaucoup sur des éléments comme la conscience de classe, le rôle des bureaucracies et des partis, les disparités régionales, le centre et la périphérie et le développement rural.

En conclusion, il peut être affirmé que les études africaines se sont effectivement institutionnalisées au Canada, et ce en moins de trente ans. Certes, des problèmes demeurent: coupures budgétaires récentes, manque de contacts entre les chercheurs (le pays est immense, mais les fonds ne le sont pas!), «solitudes linguistiques», et d'autres. Cependant, malgré ces problèmes, les études africaines se sont fermement établies dans le pays et elles ont acquis une valeur et une réputation incontestables.

A. GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN CANADA

African studies in Canada were born in the shadows of the empires of others but have matured in the light of African liberation. The idea of African studies received considerable support from the creation of the European empires in Africa during the latter part of the last century; their dismantling under pressure from the First and Second World Wars, the Bolshevik Revolution, the rise of a socialist alternative and the rise of African nationalism; and the subsequent struggle for ascendency between the USA and the USSR. The imperial masters discovered that they needed to know more about their own colonial subjects in order to manipulate them and in order to create disorder in the enemy empires, as well as in pursuit of genuine intellectual curiosity. Centres of African studies such as Britain's School for Oriental and African Studies were established, in large measure, to produce more

Lawrences of Arabia (and elsewhere). Similar centres grew up in other European countries. The imperial motivations for the establishment and expansion of African and other studies in the U.S. has been well-documented (Africa Research Group, n.d.; Chilcote, 1981; Chilcote and Legassick, 1971).

By contrast, little has been written on the emergence of African studies in Canada. Savage (1967), Taylor (1978) and Ray (1983) remain the main analyses of this early period. One is left with impressions of gentle scholars pottering about the cloisters after having been manifested fully grown. Kirk-Greene (1982) has noted the almost curio quality of Canada's early links with Africa: Canada as place of slavery for Africans under the French and British regimes and eventually emancipation, the voyageurs sent to paddle the vessels of Britain's expedition to relieve Gordon beseiged in Khartoum, the Canadian units who participated in the Second Boer War (1899-1902) as well as those individual Canadians who served in the British colonial service, such as Governor Guggisberg of the Gold Coast.

However, the real impetus for African studies in Canada seems to have come after the Second World War, by which time Canada has achieved complete constitutional control over its defence, judiciary and foreign affairs. As the horizons of Canadians expanded, and especially in light of the growth of the Commonwealth and the Francophone community to include independent African states and the consequent need of the Canadian government to have Canadian sources of information on Africa, more Canadians in government, business, humanitarian and scholarly circles began to study Africa.

By the 1950s, African studies in Canada had begun to coalesce around a core of individual scholars who were developing an international reputation and carving out a place for themselves on individual terms at their own universities. A list of prominent "personalities" of this period would have included Alf Schwartz (Laval), Cranford Pratt (Toronto), Douglas Anglin (Carleton), Don Savage, John Flint (Dalhousie), and Ronald Cohen (McGill). Indeed in terms of the institutionalization of African studies, the 1950s can be characterised as the decade of the "personalities".

In turn the 1960s became the time of institution building. Individual energies were combined to create first a committee and then a national association independent of foreign ties. The Committee on African Studies in Canada was created in December 1962, with Ronald Cohen as president. Support was received from the Social Science Research Council and the Overseas Institute of Canada. The Committee's strategy for building African studies in Canada focused on bringing together Canadian Africanists into a national scholarly association, representing their interests at the International Congress of Africanists as well as publishing a newsletter. *The Bulletin of African Studies in Canada (BASC)* was published for six issues from November 1963 to May 1966 until the Committee decided at its June 1966 annual meeting, held in Sherbrooke, to supercede it with the *Canadian Journal of African Studies(CJAS)/Revue canadienne des études africaines* (Taylor, 1978: 1-2). The transition in March 1967 from bi-annual newsletter to tri-annual journal marked a major advance in the institutionalization of African studies in Canada: the journal was not only a vehicle for scholarly debate but also a mechanism for promoting professional bonding and career advancement as well as a means of giving Canadians an international forum in which to display their talents, and thus open up opportunities for Canadian-controlled co-operation with scholars in Africa, Europe and the Americas.

The first issue of the *CJAS* contained the first retrospective article. Don Savage concluded that in five years the Committee had established a foothold in the scholarly institutions of Canada but, and this has remained a constant refrain, the future was not secure (Savage, 1967: 5-11). Nevertheless the gathering-in of Africanists had proceeded apace until some fifty belonged to the Committee by the mid-1960s.

The 'Battle of Montreal' galvanised African Studies in Canada and led to cutting of all apron ties to the U.S. African Studies Association. The importance of an independent Canadian perspective was firmly established. Peter Gutkind's account of the 'battle' remains a classic (Gutkind, 1979). The Africanists of Montreal, led by Gutkind, organised a joint meeting of the Canadian Committee and the U.S. Association for the fall of 1969.

The joint meeting was interrupted by one of those conjunctions of historical forces that leave the on-looker and participant unsure if they really saw what they just experienced. Essentially the joint meeting was hit by the after-shocks of the American enslavement of Africans, the black American civil rights and black pride movements, and the rise of African nationalism: all of which became focussed on the issue of to what extent the study of Africa in the U.S. had become an exercise in intellectual colonization by a white American elite serving the interests of American white-owned corporations and its government agencies (Africa Research Group, n.d.). Indeed it can be fairly suggested that African studies in the U.S. was not adequately attuned to the realities of black Americans. To this complicated mix of forces must be added Canadian nationalism, Canadian resentment of overbearing Americans, and the then-rising tide of francophone Québecois nationalism.

When some black American scholars challenged the white American scholar power structure to address their concerns, events occurred which resulted in chaos breaking out. As the debate became more and more vehement between black and white American anglophones, the francophone Africans found it more and more difficult to follow, and finally had to appeal to their francophone white Canadian colleagues, who were bilingual, to explain what was happening. The Canadians caucused and decided that the Committee on African Studies would withdraw from the joint meeting. The Americans were to be left to the unfolding consequences of their own history. Canadian scholars were left with a profound desire to avoid such entanglements.

The desire for independence re-inforced by these events combined with the rapid growth of the Canadian university system and subsequent growth of positions in African studies led to an increased capability and a further transformation of the institutionalization of African studies in Canada at the start of the 1970s.

Consequently, the Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) was formed in 1970, its first conference being held at Laval University in February 1971. Over one hundred and seventy Africanists attended the conference. A new constitution was adopted that sought to promote African studies in Canada as a bilingual enterprise

of Africans and Canadians, and which moreover was not dominated by Americans, business or government. As Taylor (1978: 3) has written, by the 1970s "there were more than sufficient resources in Canada to form an Association and to run a full scale conference with Africa as a focus independent from other learned societies".

By the mid-1970s, the Association had become synonymous with African studies in Canada. Membership had dramatically increased to the range of two hundred and fifty, with as many as six hundred and twenty-five Africanists, mainly from Canada, the U.S., the UK and Africa, attending the annual four-day conferences of the Association. Funding from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) made possible in 1975 the expansion of the acclaimed *CJAS*, the birthing of the biannual *Newsletter/Bulletin*, the creation of a bilingual national secretariat (with the assistance of Carleton) in the federal capital of Ottawa, and the organising of annual series of visits by Africa-based scholars in order to promote scholarly ties between Africa and Canada (Taylor, 1978: 4). The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provided funds to the Association that have allowed African graduate students in Canadian universities to attend the annual conference. The availability of federal funding facilitated the Association's commitment to promote the study of Africa, by Africans, for African-defined priorities.

Throughout the rest of the 1970s and until 1985, African studies in Canada enjoyed a prolonged period of strong intellectual growth and excellence as well as administrative consolidation (see for example Ray, 1983). As recession lingered on in North America during the 1980s, it ate away at the major funders of Canadian universities (the provincial governments) and at the major institutional funders of the Association (several federal government agencies). As provincial governments cut back spending on social services, including universities, in order to placate misguided ideologues, the number of Africanists and their university facilities such as libraries were squeezed: some scholars fell before the assault. The main blow to the Association came in 1985 when IDRC decided to respond to the cuts in funding, demanded by the new federal Progressive Conservative government, by withdrawing nearly all of its funding from the Association.

Besides the effects which can be easily imagined, the IDRC measures also discriminated against Africanists living in the western and Atlantic regions of Canada because there were no longer funds available to allow executive members of the Association to be flown in from these regions for the necessary executive meeting. Budget cutbacks undermined the federal principles that Canadians from all regions would have equal access to governing themselves and to equal levels of social services. Were it not for the lengendary innovatory qualities of Africanists and the continued support of applied and basic research and scholarly endeavour on Africa by CIDA, the Association and African studies in general in Canada would have been in very serious trouble. Despite these temporary setbacks, there remains strong bases for optimism. The increased interest in Africa by ordinary Canadians who want to end apartheid in South Africa and the famine in Ethiopia has raised the political profile of African issues. If Africanists can reach out of the universities and colleges to begin to answer these concerns of their fellow citizens, they serve not only the cause of enlightenment but they also make it easier to mobilise further resources from African studies. In any case by the end of the 1980s, hundreds of Africanists were active at over thirty-seven universities, as well as other institutions, stretching across Canada from Victoria to St. John's.

B. PRESENT STATUS OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN CANADA

By the end of the 1980s, there were many Canadian organizations contributing to African studies in Canada, and indeed around the world. While there were only individual scholars in a few universities with a few businesses, humanitarian organizations and government officials concerned with Africa at the beginning of the 1950s, by the 1980s the numbers of those concerned with the study of Africa had mushroomed and the issues of Africa had become parts of the Canadian political and intellectual agendas.

Thirty-seven universities, as well as a number of colleges, now have scholars who research African questions and who teach courses having African content. Of the

universities that have Africanists, seven are francophone and thirty are anglophone, thirteen are in Ontario, Quebec has nine, while Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Nova Scotia each have three universities with Africanists, Saskatchewan has two, Newfoundland has one, but alas New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have none. All in all this must be said to replicate the geographic, linguistic and population distribution of the country.

Most Canadian Africanists are social scientists. Political scientists and historians form the two largest groups of social scientists. Other concentrations of social scientists are in anthropology, archeology, demography, economics, geography, military studies, sociology and women's studies. Much smaller numbers of Africanists study the fine arts and humanities. Most of these scholars work in the field of literature, with others studying art history, drama, music and religion. African philosophy is studied as part of religious and political studies but not as yet as philosophy *per se*, although a group of philosophers at Calgary are beginning to change this. The concentration in the professions is in the field of health studies, with some others in engineering, law, journalism, social welfare, environmental design, education and family studies (home economics). The now completed joint project of the University of Guelph and the University of Ghana in the area of agriculture brought a number of Canadian scholars in the agricultural and biological sciences into African studies. Contacts still remain. Overall, weakness of African studies in the medical, engineering and physical sciences suggests that the needs and research opportunities of Africa should be communicated to their non-Africanist colleagues by the Africanists of today. Interdisciplinary co-operation is necessary.

Designated African studies programmes exist at Dalhousie, Laval, McGill, York, Simon Fraser and Calgary. The universities of Toronto and Carleton have such concentrations of Africanist scholars that, to all intents and purposes, they have an unofficial African studies programmes of the first rank. Numerous other universities have significant concentrations of African studies but have not as yet formalised these into a designated programme.

The University of Calgary is an interesting case study of how institution building in African studies has occurred at Canadian universities. Donovan Williams

(History) founded African Studies at Calgary when he arrived in 1968. Since then he has constantly encouraged African Studies at Calgary in his roles of scholar, formerly head of the history department, formerly CAAS regional representative, co-ordinator of the 1981 CAAS conference and co-editor of the two volume 'state of art' of African studies for the B.A. Peter Shinnie's arrival in 1970 gave international lustre to African archaeology at Calgary. African studies have since been added to by the appointments of numerous professors in a wide variety of departments.

In 1968, there was one undergraduate course that focussed entirely on Africa; by 1987 there were sixteen of these, as well as another twenty-one undergraduate courses that had significant African content. There were also a number of graduate courses on Africa, most notably in Political Science, History, Archaeology, Anthropology, Environmental Studies and Education. Besides the Africanist courses in the disciplines, there are three interdisciplinary African studies courses in Faculty of General Studies: AFST 301, a second-year level introduction; AFST 400, a senior level field study course that is taught in Africa every second year; and AFST 501, the senior African studies seminar. The various departments have encouraged their own Africanists. The deans and associate deans of the Faculty of General Studies have shown extraordinary vision and aid to Africanists by making General Studies the administrative home of the African Studies Programme.

Africanists at the University of Calgary have also hosted the 1981 Association conference, published a two-volume review of African studies (Ray, Shinnie and Williams, 1981), arranged for a series of visits by scholars from Africa, Europe and elsewhere in North America, besides contributing to research. Dan Mato (Art) has organised several exhibitions of African art. As well, Calgary's Glenbow Museum hosted the only Canadian showing of the exhibition, "Treasures of Ancient Nigeria".

CAAS membership includes a pleasing number of scholars resident in Africa. A considerable number of anglophone and francophone African scholars have received at least part of their graduate training in Canada. To take one case, in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Calgary, under the guidance of Peter

Shinnie, five Sudanese students have received their M.A.'s; a Ghanaian has received his Ph.D and another one is a Ph.D. candidate. Canadian-African academic cooperation can be seen in a number of joint projects. The universities of Ghana and Guelph cooperated in the fields of agriculture as did the universities of Saskatchewan and Makerere (Uganda) from 1970 to 1973. The Institute for International Development and Co-operation of the University of Ottawa has assisted in the establishment of the Centre for Training and Study in Administration as part of the National University of Benin. Canadian university libraries contributed tons of books and journals to restock the library of the Makerere University as well as to the University of Ghana.

The Canadian Association of African Studies[1] (CAAS) has become the organizational backbone of African studies in Canada since its founding in 1970. The CAAS represents Africanist interests to governments at home and abroad. The annual conferences draw together Africanists, and promote the consequent exchange of ideas. Through the CAAS's conferences and its programmes for bringing scholars from Europe and Africa on cross-Canada tours, they are able to meet with their counterparts in Canada.

The *Canadian Journal of African Studies (CJAS)* has attained international academic stature and is of the first rank of intellectual importance in the field. The other ongoing publication of the CAAS is the *Bulletin/Newsletter* which has been published since 1974. The *Newsletter* is an invariable mine of information on what is going on at Canadian universities in African studies as well as notices of Africanist publications. Supplements have been published on various aspects of African studies in other countries. Canadian Africanists owe a great deal of gratitude to the *Newsletter*'s founding editor, John Owen (Medicine, Saskatchewan) and to the present editor, Tim Shaw (Political Science, Dalhousie) and the assistant editor, Jane Parpart (History, Dalhousie).

Peter Shinnie (Archaeology, University of Calgary) founded *Nyame Akuma* (which means "God's Axe" in Twi) in October, 1972. This significant newsletter of African archaeology and related subjects is published twice yearly. Most of its three hundred and fifty subscribers are based

in North America, but also in Africa, Europe and Australia. David Lubell, an African archaeologist (Anthropology, University of Alberta), took over the editorship from Peter Shinnie in 1982. Peter Shinnie has also founded, in 1983, and edited the African Occasional Papers. This new series, funded and published by the University of Calgary Press originally utilized material drawn from the Ph.D. and M.A. thesis of African and Canadian universities which might otherwise go unpublished because of a lack of funds in Africa, but has now been broadened to include other Africanist materials. Dalhousie has a well-established series of Africanist occasional papers.

Africanists have also come to appreciate the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* (published by the University of Ottawa), the *Review of African Political Economy* (published in England but with significant Canadian scholarly and editorial content), the occasional papers and monographs of such universities as McGill or Ottawa, as well as the new series on "The Political Economy of World Poverty" from the University of Toronto Press. The Sage book series on Africa had significant conceptual planning from the several Canadian editors.

The 1970s and the 1980s also saw the rise of new sources of scholarly contributions to African studies outside the universities. These new organizations contributed to public education on Africa and began a modest but interesting publishing programme: the late Liberation Support Movement (LSM of Vancouver), the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLSAC, formerly the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Portugal's African Colonies: TCLPAC), Centre d'Information et de Documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique Australe (CIDMAA, Montréal), the South African Congress of Trade Unions - solidarity committee (SACTU-sc, Toronto), the Committee Against Racism (CAR, Calgary), The Task Force on Churches and Corporate Responsibility (TCCR, Toronto), the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAFSA, Ottawa) as well as the national bodies of a number of churches. Additionally, organizations that promote public education on Africa as part of their programmes number amongst themselves the network of learner centres, such as Calgary's Arusha Centre, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC), Oxfam, CUSO, the Canadian Labour Congress

and its provincial affiliates, the British Columbia Coalition on Human Rights, the Mennonite Central Committee, CANSAVE and other liberation support groups and humanitarian agencies.

Funding for African studies at the universities has come primarily as part of the financial package from the provincial governments. Research at the universities, for the Association and for the *CJAS* and *Newsletter* has come perhaps entirely from such federal government agencies as the Canada Council, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, CIDA, formerly IDRC until its abrupt virtual pull-out in 1985, as well as others. The amounts of funding from other sources is not known.

In summary, the institutionalization of African studies in Canada over the past thirty years has made considerable progress. Increasingly African studies in Canada has been able to develop and implement its own capability for world-class professional training. Additionally research and publication facilities of international standards have been created in Canada. These factors have been important in attracting Africanists from abroad, who in turn have further enriched African studies in Canada.

C. MAIN APPROACHES AND THEORETICAL TRENDS OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN CANADA

Any attempt to appreciate the main approaches and theoretical trends of the whole range of African studies in Canada is a daunting task, requiring Herculean stamina and Socratic wisdom. The tools for a task are still in their infancy. Nevertheless some initial qualitative and quantitative estimations can be made.

The 1981 survey of African studies was designed by Canadians (Ray, Shinnie and Williams) to interpret what the major questions and approaches were in African studies. Most of the chapter authors were based in Canada, but all of the authors had as their mandate to evaluate what they considered to be the most significant works from around the world in their field.

The study of health and disease had been focussed on such questions as how to combat the disease, how to eliminate the favourable context for the disease and how to utilize best available scarce resources (Owen, 1981).

There has been some movement away from the "disease palaces" for the urban elite to making primary health care available to the poor majority in rural and urban areas of Africa (Morley, 1981). Canadian interest in African family planning resulted in extra-budgetary support for the World Health Organization's Special Programme of Research Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction. Given the funding cut-backs that have occurred in the tropical health research facilities in Britain and Africa, increased Canadian interest and aid in African health programmes has been welcomed.

Canadian scholars of African art have been influenced by both the more established ethnographic tradition of Europe and the newer art history discipline approach of the United States. The literature has emerged largely in the last ten years (Dan Mato, interview, Calgary, October 5, 1982). An increasing amount of fieldwork has been incorporated into the study of African art. Compared to the U.S., the study of African architecture in Canada is in need of more attention. African architecture should be examined not just as an example of African art but rather as a response to the social needs of the occupants (Willett, 1981).

There continues to be few facilities for African Language training in Canada. There is no equivalent language study centre such as the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Such a lack is a considerable hinderance to researchers seeking to do field work in Africa. It also hinders the publication of research results in African languages; this is an important issue, especially for scholars specializing in the study of African literature. Indeed, like African scholars and writers, Canadian scholars of African literature must evaluate the appropriateness of whether to write in European or African languages. The choice seemed to reflect a political choice as well: European languages will reach the elites who use that language, but the masses can often only be engaged by the use of their own, African, language. The question was also posed of how fully can the range of feeling and emotion of an African language be expressed in any language but itself? And beyond that, Canadian literary scholars are faced with a problem that also touched the social scientist: can non-Africans ever hope to comprehend the African reality in as full and complete a manner as

Africans? Another major question that was addressed was whether literature should serve art or social education. One Canadian scholar has perhaps suggested the solution:

> If the experience the poem communicates is of the first order of importance, the means by which the poet communicates it - his 'art' - will also be of the first order of importance and will cause the importance to be seen if art is meant to prompt people to action... (Killam, 1981: 193).

If the study of African philosophy from the technical perspective of philosophy is young in sub-Saharan Africa (Wiredu, 1981: 176), in Canada the birth-pangs have only just started. In Canada the study of African philosophy has engaged for the most the attention of political scientists, theologians and anthropologists, but some philosophers have joined the debate since 1981.

African military studies in Canada have focussed on history. Direct official Canadian participation in military fighting in Africa has been limited to supporting the British Empire in South Africa's Boer War (1899-1902) and the U.N. operation in the Congo (Zaire) in the aftermath of Belgian decolonization. Canadian scholarly interest has extended elsewhere as well.[2]

Africanist archaeology in Canada as elsewhere has found itself divided into those who are interested in the early to middle stone age, in which case they tend to be oriented to world history, and those interested in the later stone age onwards, in which case they tend to identify themselves more closely with Africa. Africanist archaeologists continue to face a shortage of hard evidence in order to solve the problems of dating and defining the stone age as well as those of food production and the beginnings of metallurgy. The so-called "Bantu Question" continues to vex archaeologists. Was there or was there not an expansion or dispersion of Bantu-speaking peoples from the west African area now known as Cameroon along an arc to east, central and southern Africa. Historians initiated the debate on the basis of certain linguistic evidence. Since then archaeologists including Calgary's Nicholas David, have joined the fray. This has been part of a general tendency towards more complex and diverse explanations. Compared to the size of Africa, there is a paucity of archeological sites and these are unevenly distributed.

The lack of funds to finance excavations of the number and extent has hindered the ability of archaeologists to draw more certain conclusions (Shaw, Thurston, 1981).

Africanist political science in Canada, like the rest of the discipline, has been challenged by political economy. The winds of change have blown with such force through Africa since the 1960s that the political landscape is often unrecognizable to those who remember the "certainties" of the colonial era. This combination of intellectual challenge and political change have pushed, if not forced, Africanist political scientists into a reconsideration of the discipline's fundamentals that has not been experienced since the false dawn of behavioralism.

There has been a fundamental shift in focus away from the traditional themes and foci of study: the institutions of power. In the wake of coups, revolutions, economic crises that seemed beyond the power of the institutions, and the cancerous growth of white racism in South Africa that mocked the democratic pretensions of that country's political institutions, many political scientists realized that the institutions were often "fragile and temporary", and that where the institutions were more enduring they were often "less and less likely to be instruments either to advance a common good or to limit and control abuses of power."[3]

Some political scientists, as Cranford Pratt has expressed it, "retreated into history, particularly colonial history."[4] This retreat from contemporary Africa was perhaps in reaction to models and theories which did not seem to explain or predict trends in African politics. The concerns of the 1950s and early 1960s were the problems of state creation and formation: nationalism, colonial rule, the new parties and other institutions of the newly-created states. The institutions of independence were usually dictated to the nationalist leaders by the colonial power which underwent a 'death-bed' conversion to the principles by which they had never governed while they thought they could remain: the show but not the substance of liberal democracy. Such institutions were unable to prevent their overthrow by coup and civil war in many African countries. Such institutions did not prevent the rise and continued entrenchment of white racism in South Africa. Thus scholarly attention switched to seeking explanations for coups, racism, and the search for new

institutions and models of development, be they one-party states or the revolutionary situations of the post-national liberation armed struggles.

The other response to the apparent futility of studying the political institutions in isolation from the other aspects of society was the extensive redefinition of political science in light of the insights of political economy. There was a need to find a theoretical framework which encompassed the relationships between politics and economics. Two schools of political economy have come to dominate the response to this need.

The first school is that of liberal political economy. The work of Apter, Uphoff and Ilchman has produced no substantial Africanist literature. However Canadian Africanist political scientists have been more influenced by what Pratt (1981: 65) argues are the modern exponents of John Stuart Mill's *Essays on Political Economy*: Gunnar Myrdal, Raul Prebisch, René Dumont and Dudley Sears. They share a common desire to promote the well-being of those who they study through the coordination of economics and political science in these studies.

By 1970 dissatisfaction with the main topics of earlier political science scholarship and with the inadequacies of the "pseudo-science of the behavioral approach" had primed political scientists receptivity to the intellectual brilliance of several Marxist political economy schools in Europe as well as the theoreticians of Latin Americanist schools of underdevelopment and dependency (Pratt, 1981: 65). As a result, radical political economy emerged as the dominant school amongst Canadian Africanists. This school, which really consisted of several sub-sets, was influenced by Marx, Lenin, Chayanov, Poulantzas, Andre Gunner Frank as well as by Furtado and Myrdal. Canadian Africanists have increasingly been drawn into the political economy debate around four major themes: the need to take class into any account of politics; the need to study both the political prerequisites and the technical aspects of the public policies supposed to promote development; the need to understand the potential of the bureaucracy as a help or hinderance to development; and the real effects of the world economy and outside powers on Africa's ability to achieve autonomous development by means of either capitalism or socialism. These debates

point to the continuing need to study the methods of mobilisation, use and control of power (Pratt, 1981: 65-68).

Canadian Africanists are in the forefront of many interesting debates in the social sciences. These debates, which have often been aired within the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, contain within them extremely important consequences for theory, public policy and political change. The hard-fought and even bitterly-fought debates between Cranford Pratt and John Saul over such issues as the relative roles of the bureaucracy, the party (and what the nature of it should be) and the Tanzanian model of development, as well as the debates between Peter Gutkind and Richard Sandbrook over the class consciousness of the African working class and its subsequent potential for breaking out of what seems to be a straitjacket (largely externally imposed) of underdevelopment or uneven growth are of international significance because they will affect the conceptual models of scholars and the policy applications of administrators for the next generation.

Since the 1960s, Canadian Africanist social scientists have gradually been moving away from theories of equilibrium towards a recognition of and application of the intellectual merits of conflict theories. As one of the then-editors of the *CJAS* noted:

> Influenced (directly and indirectly) by the historical and dialectical methods of Marxist analysis, a small but growing minority within each of the disciplines and fields has emphasized conflict (as opposed to harmony or ''harmonious competition'') disequilibrium (as opposed to equilibrium), and the dynamic impact of continuous - and discontinuous - change (as opposed to static, cross-sectional analysis) (Gregory, 1981: 122-123).

The rise of this trend has been provoked perhaps as the conflictual, disparate and asymetrical nature of African societies became more apparent to Africanists. Of course this is not to argue that now they have agreed on one theoretical approach.

Evidence of this trend can be seen in the various components of Africanist social science. The increasing use of class analysis in Africa reflects the recognition of conflict. In geography (Riddell, 1981), economics and

political science there has been a move away from the concepts of dualism and a continuous harmonious co-operation towards some higher form of social organization in favour or the use of concepts such as core-periphery conflict and accommodation and spatial disparities which emphasize however much the size of pie may grow or shrink, not all are allowed to eat the same proportion of it (Gregory, 1981: 122-123). The movement from a static to a dynamic view of society has been noted also in anthropology (Hatt, 1981). Women's studies are founded on the assumption that the "sexual asymetry" of societies needs to be explained in terms of the origins and rationales of the exploitation of women in society (Dirasse 1981).

In conjunction with this question, scholars asked themselves: "Is modernization theory dead?" (Gregory, 1981: 120-121). The main assumptions of modernization included a faith that the adoption of Western (i.e. capitalist) values, standards, technology, urban industrial investment and political guidance would ensure 'development' (Dirasse, 1981: 73). However the obvious ethnocentrism of this model has been contributing to its gradual demise and the search for alternative theories, most notably political economy. For example, Africanist legal scholars have been turning away from modernization as theory as their initial hopes that the law could be used to promote development by establishing and reforming legal structures were dashed. Instead they have perceived that the "modernization of law often contributed to skewed distribution of wealth and power" (Paul, 1981: 98). In Canadian Africanist geography, there has been a similar movement. To avoid the problems of "urban bias, ethnocentrism and spatial fetishism", the criteria of political economy and dependency are being adopted in order to consider more adequately the social, economic and political processes" which underlie and influence the spatial patterns which previous studies had emphasized (Riddell, 1981: 113-114). Similar trends are perceptible in such disciplines as political science, economics, sociology, demography and anthropology.

Canadian Africanist social scientists have also been concerned with such research problems as the societal purposes of their research, disciplinary boundaries and linguistic barriers. Social science research in Africa has been accused in the past, and some would argue the

present, of being prone to an assortment of the following biases: serving colonial (and/or Western) interests; serving the privileged African classes; being more concerned to build academic disciplines than in understanding or changing the societies being 'studies'; sexism; and the previously-mentioned use of law to entrench those in power rather than serve the citizen.[5]

One preliminary quantitative analysis has been conducted of articles published in three African studies journals, including the *CJAS*. The methodology and fuller results of this pilot study are discussed elsewhere (Ray, 1987), nevertheless some of the data is of interest to this study.

In terms of disciplinary affiliation, nearly one-third of the Africanist authors in the sample were political scientists (31.3%), followed by historians (15.6%), anthropologists (8.8%), sociologists (7.5%), geographers (4.8%), economists (4.4%) and a number of other disciplines. Some 24.3% of the Africanist authors were based in Africa.

In terms of topics, the Africanist authors paid far more attention to issues such as rural development, colonialism and ethnicity than to culture, especially religion. Considerable emphasis was placed on the issues of methodology as the topic of articles.

Certain trends seemed to emerge with regard to the methodology of the African studies articles. The single case study method dominated the field. Primary sources and fieldwork were commonly issued by the Africanists as part of their research.

Political economy emerged as the most frequently-used approach (35.9%), where it was possible to discern an approach. Modernization approaches accounted for 6.8% of the cases, and political development theories for 12.5%. The African studies articles appeared to display a considerably stronger explicit use of analytic theory than did the Middle Eastern and Latin American studies articles. Again the tentative nature of all of these findings must be kept in mind.

D. GENERAL APPRAISAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN CANADA

The Africanist community is divided in a manner reflecting the distribution of Canada's population - a few concentrations followed by a thin scattering of smaller centres and isolated outposts. The huge distances of Canada contribute to a concrete lack of communication between Africanists and a consequent sense of besiegement. Distances between scholars impose significant costs in time, money and intellectual discussion. (Although Africanists at different universities in the same centre have been known to exist in a type of glorious isolation of each other.) In contrast to the monthly seminars of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London which Africanists from all over Britain used to attend on a regular basis, distance militates against any such regular gatherings in Canada. The annual CAAS conference plays a key role in promoting intellectual interchange for Canadian Africanists. Our isolation is further complicated by the lack of frequent, nearby meetings outside our country. European scholars have the possibility of attending the Africanist meeting of, in North American terms, nearby centres in neighbouring countries. By contrast the only neighbouring country for Canadian Africanists is the United States. Such north-south dialogue is frequently hindered by the often rather daunting distances that such exchanges would involve.

Another pressure towards intellectual isolation has come from language barriers. There is an unfortunate tendency for Africanists to reflect the larger Canadian problem of living in a society with two official languages. There is a tendency for scholars in one language to not read work published in the other official language. In part this is a reflection of the sheer volume of published work in both French and English as well as scholars tendency to follow their own language into an African country with the corresponding official language. No doubt this linguistic isolation has led to considerable intellectual loss. Certainly the *Canadian Journal of African Studies* and the running of CAAS meetings have been exemplary in their efforts to overcome the problem.

Besides the above-mentioned concerns, Canadian Africanists face certain specific problems. In some quarters there has been a feel in Canada and Africa that the 'Golden Age' of studying Africa is over (Collins, 1981). Certainly there have been serious problems. The latent (where present) ethnocentric tendencies of certain university administrators have been unleashed as the funding crisis of Canadian universities deepened through the mid-1970s and into the 1980s. On a more positive note the study of Africa in Canada has been invigorated by the growth of the number of scholars and the originality and precision of their research. As elsewhere the debates between the materialist and non-materialist schools has ensured intellectual vigour.

The institutionalization of African studies has made great progress in Canada despite considerable continuing financial pressures.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The address of the Association is: Canadian Association of African Studies, c/o CAUT, 1001 - 75 Albert Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5E7, Canada.

2. See for example the work of Myron Echenberg, David Daniel Ruddy and A. Sydney Kanya-Forstner. For a review of the literature, see the War and Society section of Ray, Shinnie and Williams, Vol. 1, pp. 250-279.

3. Pratt, 1981, p. 64. I am indebted to Cranford Pratt for his analysis of the change in focus of political science and the rise in importance of political economy. It is of considerable interest and significance that similar perceptions of similar changes emerged at the 1981 CAAS conference by the contributors from demography, geography, history, women's studies, legal studies, anthropology as well as political science. These contributors were not chosen in order to make this point; that they tend to agree is a mark of an intellectual movement.

4. Pratt, 1981, p. 64. Of course, examinations of the nature of colonialism are necessary because there are important theoretical and political problems at stake. The apologists of colonialism, such as John Kenneth Galbraith in his television programme, ''The Colonial Idea'', provide, perhaps inadvertantly, the rationale for renewed imperial intervention: 'at least colonial rule provided law and order, these people can't be trusted to rule themselves'. Thus Henry Kissinger argued that the U.S. could not allow the Chilean people to be ruled by a constitutionally-elected socialist government. Theoretically the debate over colonialism and imperialism has profound consequences for the schools of political economy.

5. See especially Gregory, 1981, pp. 121-126 and Hatt, 1981, p. 90, but also Riddle, Dirasse, Paul, all 1981 as well as Jonathan Barker, 1981, pp. 6-18; Timothy M. Shaw, 1981, pp. 19-37; Richard Stren, 1981, pp. 38-63 and Pratt, 1981, pp. 64-70.

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HERMAN W. KONRAD ET JORGE NEF

7. LES ÉTUDES DE L'AMÉRIQUE LATINE ET DES CARAÏBES AU CANADA : ÉVOLUTION ET PARADIGME

Cet article tente de voir s'il existe un paradigme typiquement canadien pour l'étude de l'Amérique latine. Pour ce faire, l'article étudie d'abord l'évolution du domaine de spécialisation, particulièrement le contexte historique de cette évolution, c'est-à-dire les forces - tant canadiennes qu'étrangères - ayant modelé l'environnement dans lequel se sont développées les études latino-américaines. L'article étudie ensuite le contexte structurel canadien; les auteurs soulignent spécialement le rôle joué par les institutions, la recherche et l'orientation des politiques et de la pratique de la coopération au développement. Finalement, l'article discute du processus de formation et de reproduction des élites académiques et bureaucratiques, de leurs interactions et de leurs relations avec les spécialistes nouveaux-venus des Etats-Unis, d'Europe et d'Amérique latine. L'hypothèse des auteurs est que l'ensemble de ces éléments, soit l'expérience proprement canadienne du domaine d'études, a favorisé la formation d'un paradigme distinct. Ce paradigme est très prometteur et très dominant dans le monde académique, mais des contraintes politiques récentes l'ont quelque peu affaibli.

Jusqu'au début des années 1960, tant les études régionales que les études du développement étaient des plus réduites au Canada. Ces études accordaient énormément d'importance aux facteurs économiques et adoptaient en général des perspectives théoriques semblables à celles qui étaient dominantes aux Etats-Unis et en Grande Bretagne. Au début des années 1960, les études régionales - et singulièrement les études latino-américaines - se développèrent rapidement. Ce développement rapide résultait en partie d'un effet de démonstration: en effet,

les études régionales avaient connu une expansion soudaine aux Etats-Unis et en Europe, et le Canada suivit le mouvement. Cependant, certains facteurs endogènes jouèrent un rôle non-négligeable et dans la genèse des études du développement au Canada et dans l'élaboration d'un paradigme canadien pour l'étude de l'Amérique latine. Le premier de ces facteurs endogènes est, paradoxalement, l'influence des courants théoriques américains dans les universités canadiennes et la relative faiblesse des études de deuxième et troisième cycles en sciences sociales dans le pays; cela eut pour effet qu'il s'importa des Etats-Unis des programmes d'études et des spécialistes de tendance libérale, voire radicale; certains des spécialistes vinrent aussi d'Europe et d'Amérique latine.

Le second facteur endogène découle de certains aspects de la politique extérieure canadienne: depuis les années 1960, le pays a fréquemment manifesté son autonomie - surtout vis-à-vis des Etats-Unis - et a aussi utilisé souvent les relations extérieures comme moyen de définition et protection de ses intérêts nationaux. Le Canada manifesta son autonomie de diverses façons, entre autres par des prises de position vis-à-vis de certains pays, le cas de Cuba étant probablement le plus caractéristique; par des prises de position au sein d'organismes tel que l'OEA; et par la création d'organismes gouvernementaux destinés à promouvoir la participation canadienne à la coopération au développement. La nature de ces organismes fut assez originale, surtout dans le cas du CRDI. A ces différents aspects de la politique extérieure canadienne, il faut ajouter les efforts d'organismes indépendants, tel que l'Entraide universelle mondiale du Canada, diverses ONG et les missions. L'ensemble de ces éléments créa une ambiance intellectuelle réceptive aux perspectives du Tiers monde en matière de développement. Par contre, et dans les milieux gouvernementaux et dans le secteur privé, existaient des courants promouvant des intérêts commerciaux stricto sensu. Cette situation mena à une politique, ou plutôt à un ensemble de domaines politiques, où l'écart entre rhétorique et substance fut parfois très considérable.

Le troisième facteur endogène ayant contribué à l'élaboration d'un paradigme proprement canadien est lié à ce qui pourrait être qualifié d'«événements dramatiques», c'est-à-dire des événements dont la nature exceptionnelle

suscite un intérêt particulier. Tel est le cas, par exemple, des révolutions et des abus des droits de la personne. Ces «événements dramatiques» provoquent la création d'organismes de solidarité et des prises de conscience du public qui atteignent dans certains cas des niveaux surprenants. Divers groupes d'inspiration religieuse et des mouvements en faveur des droits de la personne ont joué un rôle essentiel dans ces manifestations de solidarité. Les dimensions activistes, morales et humanitaires de tous ces groupes ainsi que leur rôle de trait d'union avec les chercheurs universitaires, les syndicats et les partis politiques contribuèrent à créer une culture intellectuelle qui influença profondément l'évolution des études sur l'Amérique latine.

Avant les années 1960, les études latino-américaines s'intéressaient principalement à l'étude des langues, de la littérature et de l'histoire. Mais au cours de la décade de 1960, ces études s'élargirent pour inclure l'économie, la sociologie, la science politique et l'anthropologie. Cette évolution s'observe aussi bien aux Etats-Unis qu'en Europe et au Canada; cependant, dans le pays, ce processus alla au delà d'un simple changement dans les centres d'intérêt: le processus s'accompagna d'une nouvelle orientation théorique, essentiellement critique et radicale. Cette nouvelle orientation semble avoir trois causes principales: (1) la résistance à la théorie américaine de la modernisation, résistance résultant surtout de la forte tradition canadienne d'économie politique et du nationalisme québécois; (2) l'émigration au Canada de nombreux académiques américains; ces académiques non seulement s'opposaient à la guerre du Vietnam, mais étaient aussi critiques sur le paradigme dominant dans les études américaines sur le développement et décidés à élaborer ou adopter de nouvelles approches; (3) l'immigration d'universitaires latino-américains au Canada; ceux-ci différaient de ceux ayant émigré aux Etats-Unis tant par leur pays d'origine que par leurs opinions plus à gauche (les Cubains de droite étaient très nombreux aux Etats-Unis). La combinaison de ces trois causes favorisa la création d'un contexte intellectuel plus radical et plus dissocié des intérêts gouvernementaux que ce ne fut le cas aux Etats-Unis. Ces causes permirent aussi la consolidation d'un cadre institutionnel adéquat pour la formation de spécialistes de l'Amérique latine.

Les principales organisations formelles se consacrant à l'enseignement et à la recherche sur l'Amérique latine ont été mises en place au cours des années 1970. Ces organisations sont aujourd'hui assez nombreuses et importantes; elles sont réparties sur l'ensemble du territoire national et sont interreliées, mais chacune contribue de façon particulière à l'élaboration du paradigme canadien. La seule organisation d'envergure véritablement nationale est l'Association canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes (ACELAC); cette Association constitue le point de contact des chercheurs de tout le pays, elle aide les unités régionales et locales et elle contribue aux relations entre les universitaires canadiens et étrangers. La principale forme que prennent ces structures formelles est celle de centres d'études et de programmes de cours dans diverses universités, celle de York par exemple. En plus de ces structures formelles, il existe plusieurs autres mécanismes institutionnels contribuant à la consolidation et à la diffusion du paradigme: la publication de travaux spécialisés, la publication de travaux de vulgarisation, les conférences, les revues, les films, etc. Le volume et la qualité de toutes ces contributions témoignent d'un dynamisme et d'une originalité incontestables. Plusieurs éléments distinguent à ce point de vue le Canada des Etats-Unis, à savoir - au Canada - une structure institutionnelle plus faible et un financement plus limité de la recherche, une plus grande interaction des spécialistes avec les groupes humanitaires et religieux; et une plus grande volonté de participer à des débats publics. En outre, les universitaires canadiens ont moins de relations avec le secteur privé et ils participent aussi moins au processus interne d'élaboration des politiques nationales. Ils sont aussi moins impliqués dans la mise en oeuvre de projets de développement et dans la recherche effectuée par des organismes gouvernementaux, tels le CRDI ou l'ACDI. Cependant, il s'observe aujourd'hui une certaine convergence de perspectives entre les universitaires et les praticiens de la coopération internationale, et ce après l'échec des approches traditionnelles des projets de développement à grande échelle; tant les praticiens que les universitaires encouragent maintenant des approches «par le bas», plus «locales», respectueuses de l'environnement écologique et social.

Sur le plan idéologique, le paradigme canadien d'étude de l'Amérique latine s'explique par la synthèse de trois courants de pensée: la tradition canadienne d'économie politique; la critique et le rejet du modèle de développement à la W.W. Rostow, S.M. Lipset et G. Almond; et l'influence d'approches latino-américaines, telles la doctrine de la Commission économique pour l'Amérique latine, la théorie de la dépendance et la théologie de la libération. L'orientation idéologique du paradigme canadien est généralement accepté par les universitaires, par le clergé et par bon nombre de «brokers» politiques. Cependant, dans le secteur privé, dans les bureaucracies gouvernementales et même parfois dans les bureaucracies académiques, le paradigme conventionnel reste très influent.

Le paradigme canadien repose sur quatre présupposition principales: (1) le développement de l'Amérique latine doit avoir une dimension politique et la justice sociale doit être maintenue ou établie; (2) les besoins essentiels doivent être satisfaits et à tout le moins les formes les plus aiguës de pauvreté doivent être éliminées; (3) le développement et le sous-développement sont deux processus inextricablement liés dans un continuum historique et structurel; et (4) le contexte international actuel entrave le développement du continent, et en particulier sa croissance économique.

Il s'observe en cette fin de la décade de 1980, une perte d'influence du paradigme canadien: l'administration Reagan aux Etats-Unis, la prospérité de l'Europe et du Japon, et au Canada même l'administration conservatrice du gouvernement Mulroney favorisent la réemergence de perspectives traditionnelles. Des politiques de privatisation et de libre-échange ont été mises en oeuvre, politiques qui vont à l'encontre de la majorité des initiatives canadiennes prises au cours des années 1970. Il en est résulté bien des paradoxes et des contradictions dans la coopération canadienne au développement. Aujourd'hui, deux tendances opposées sont en présence. D'un côté, dans les organismes de développement comme le CRDI et l'ACDI, le paradigme canadien maintient sont emprise, et ce grâce au support du personnel de ces organismes, grâce aux ONG, aux milieux académiques, à divers groupes d'intérêt et au public informé. De l'autre côté, il y a plusieurs secteurs gouvernementaux et du secteur privé:

ils veulent que des ajustements se fassent, ajustements qui ont des implications structurelles certaines.

L'une de ces implications, très sérieuse tout au moins pour les études latino-américaines et pour le paradigme canadien, est de prévoir de nouveaux modes de financement de la recherche et des projets de développement. D'une manière générale, toutes les stratégies budgétaires dépendent maintenant beaucoup du secteur privé. Une autre implication de ces ajustements est que, dans les universités, certains domaines multidisciplinaires - particulièrement dans les sciences sociales «douces» - subissent des coupures d'envergure alors que d'autres domaines - surtout les facultés d'orientation plus professionnelle et appliquée - ont tendance à accroître leur part de contrats fédéraux en coopération internationale et en recherche. Il semble se manifester au cours de ces années 1980 un retour à la situation des années 1960: l'ACDI était alors virtuellement le moteur unique des activités de coopération internationale et la vision rostovienne du développement était généralement acceptée. Il serait dommage que cette situation se maintienne, surtout parce qu'elle finirait par marginaliser les meilleurs chercheurs dans le domaine d'étude. Nous terminerons en observant que la résurgence de l'approche traditionnelle semble reposer plutôt sur des bases économiques structurelles que sur de nouveaux apports théoriques ou de réelles solutions aux problèmes du développement. Il nous semble que le paradigme canadien, en dépit de ses fondements idéologiques, offre plus de potentiel et en termes de recherche et en termes de coopération internationale.

This is an interpretative essay in nature.[1] It explores the question of whether or not there is such a thing as an identifiable Canadian paradigm to study Latin American development. As such it is a very preliminary and tentative incursion into the field of intellectual history from the standpoint of the social anthropology and politics of social sciences.[2] Five inter-related questions will be discussed:

1. What are the origins and evolution of Latin American Studies in Canada and how do they relate to Latin

American development studies? What is the role played by circumstances, institutions, and professionals in this evolution?

2. What are the institutional mechanisms for paradigm-formation and how are these different from those of Europe and the United States?
3. What are the dominent themes, approaches, and characteristics of such studies and what are the differences from the United States mold?
4. What are the most characteristic political and ideological orientations underpinning Canadian analyses of Latin American development?
5. What are the prospects of these intellectual developments?

The term paradigm is used here to mean "some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation and criticism".[3] For the purposes of this paper, a scholarly paradigm will be seen as the outcome of the interplay of forces from both the Canadian and the external environment. As a set of hegemonic ideas, the paradigm proper and the process of paradigm-formation have to be seen necessarily in an historical and structural context where various influences are dynamically at work.[4] Particularly important here are the processes of generation and reproduction of academic and governmental-bureaucratic elites in Canada, and their interface with the academic establishment and with newcomers from the U.S., Europe and Latin America. These processes are of an incremental rather than of a thoroughly innovative kind. Thus, continuity and change must be analysed as part of a single historical trend.[5] Paradigms are systems of ideas, which - as systems - are inherently open to inputs from the environment; the latter being, in turn, affected by intellectual fads, problem-identification, epistemologies and policy perspectives.

A. GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF LATIN AMERICAN AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL, AND PROFESSIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Area studies and development studies are distinct but interrelated fields. The former is concerned with the integration of numerous disciplines and approaches into one geographical focus. The latter's ontological concern is in general the analysis of structural change over time. Although they differ in terms of "selective interest", in a more practical sense, a great degree of juxtaposition does exist. This is particularly the case with regard to the so-called "developing areas" of the Third World. There, the study of the process of development and underdevelopment constitute a leitmotive to the regional analysis.

Development studies share a similar epistemological bent with area studies: they both use, broadly speaking, a comparative approach and have a strong interdisciplinary flavour. Even the profound cleavage between ideographic and nomothetic focus which exists in both social sciences and area studies is easily circumvented when it comes to the interface between area and development studies. The inherently transdisciplinary and region-specific nature of the study of development makes it compatible with geographical specialisation.

The congruence is most noticeable with regard to Latin America. A common feature of most scholarly literature is its overwhelming preoccupation with development, apart from the purely descriptive ethnographic studies.[6] This holds true for all political persuasions as well as disciplines: anthropology, history, sociology, economics or political science. In fact, it could be argued that practically all contemporary writings in Latin American social science deal with the latter's failure to develop.[7] Being the "oldest" of the "developing nations" the countries of Central America, the Caribbean and South America constitute tangible examples of the inadequacies of the developmental common wisdom present in Western political, economic and social thought.

Area studies also share a common origin with development studies: the explicit concern on the part of the Western elites to learn about the "emerging nations" of the

Third World. In fact, area - and more specifically *developing* area studies - were born largely out of a concept which equated development with counterinsurgency. As a 1961 USA Council of Foreign Relations report succinctly put it:

> The future of the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, and parts of Europe and the Americas is a vital matter for the future of Western civilization, including, of course the security and the way of life of the American people. Economic development of these areas in cooperation with the West is a necessary part of the conditions for Western survival and for the survival in the world of some of the West's most important contributions to human progress.[8]

This preoccupation had evolved out of the experience of World War II when "the occupations of Germany and especially Japan had forced a banding together of all disciplines and the emergence of interdisciplinary area studies".[9] This trend became particularly dominant in US social science during the late '50's. It was reflected in the generous financing of centres for research. Both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, especially the latter's Foreign Area Fellowship Program (created in 1952), were instrumental in laying the groundwork.[10] It was the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, however, which finally institutionalised area studies in the U.S.[11] In turn, these developments most decisively affected the establishment of area studies throughout the West. In sum, area studies - especially those referring to the "underdeveloped" areas of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America - were a creature of the Cold War, tying the need to know the world to the exigencies of US national defence.

This is not to say that there were not more specific Canadian concerns regarding the Third World in general and Latin America and the Caribbean in particular. In the Canadian case, like that of the U.S. in the mid-1900's, commercial-economic considerations were central in shaping the "need to know" about these areas. For instance, the "commercial opportunities" for Canadian expansion into the Caribbean and Latin America emerged as early as the birth of Confederation.[12] Moreover, Canadian capital played a fundamental role in the creation of utilities infrastructure in countries such as Brazil (Brazilian Traction, Power and

Light Company - BRASCAN), and Mexico (Mexican Power and Light Company), and banking in the Caribbean as well as Latin American countries. Such commercial ventures, spanning the late 19th and early 20th centuries, however, were not divorced from British and U.S. capital behind these 'Canadian' enterprises.[13]

In its embryonic phase, area studies in Canada followed an imitative pattern, at least in form. In the early '60's, under the spell of the UN First Development Decade and Canada's firsthand experience with the Commonwealth-sponsored Colombo Plan, interest in developing area studies expanded. This reflected as well a trend in social science which asserted logical positivism and its claim to universalism as the dominant mold in Canadian academic circles. All this took place at a time when the country was breaking away from isolationism in the search for a new political and cultural identity. It was also a time when higher education in Canada grew in an unprecedented way. Canadian academic institutions took a cue from their US counterparts and developing area studies came into being in the late '60's.

The development of graduate studies in the humanities and social sciences in Canadian institutions, apart from at a few centers such as McGill and the University of Toronto, only reached significant levels after World War II. The idea that it was desirable and necessary to go to older institutions in Europe or in the U.S. for the professional or graduate phase of academic development, in most of the humanities and social sciences, dominated the thinking in most Canadian universities until as late as the 1960's.[14] Therefore it comes as no surprise that training and research related to the Caribbean and Latin America was very late in developing, despite much earlier economic linkages, but very much in keeping with Canada's very recent development of its own national policies regarding these matters.

Demonstration effect, however, is only a partial explanation for the origins of Latin American Studies. There were, as well, a number of other - largely endogenous - factors which resulted in the long-run in giving a very distinct content to the Canadian paradigm to study Latin America and the Caribbean. Three general factors can be identified as having played dominent roles in the formation of area and development studies in Canada.

1. One has already been mentioned: the influence of U.S. academic vogues during a period of expansion in Canadian institutions of higher learning. This influence manifested itself in a somewhat contradictory manner. On the one hand, there was the importation of programmes, epistemologies, library resources, and organizational models - including the very idea of 'developing area studies' - to Canadian universities. On the other, there was a displacement of liberal and radical U.S. scholars into Canada, the latter resulting from the unhealthy political climate produced by the McCarthy era and the Vietnam War.[15] We will return to this point later in this essay.

The necessity for Canadian social scientists to pursue their graduate training in the U.S., resulted from inadequate programs in Canadian institutions. As late as 1972 slightly over 60 percent of Ph.D's involved in teaching programs in Canadian institutions in Latin American programs were of U.S. origin although the actual number of professionals of U.S. origin was roughly half that percentage. The dominating U.S. influence was offset, in part, by the additional influx of foreign scholars from Western Europe, a traditional pattern, and from Latin America and the Caribbean, a relatively new source. These scholars, representing forty percent of the total (1972), provided a distinct mix - of perspective and orientation - that counter-balanced the U.S. academic vogues.[16]

2. The second factor was Canadian government policy. In the 60's, under the influence of Lester B. Pearson and later the Trudeau government, Canada's policy-makers consciously sought foreign policy options which looked upon the Third World as important to a definition of the Canadian national interest. The so-called "Third Option" explicitly recognised Latin America as a component in Canada's foreign policy framework.[17] Partly, these moves have been the result of an attempt to establish a Canadian image as an independent international actor. Events such as the unique relationship with post-revolutionary Cuba and the growing distance between Canada and the U.S. over the Vietnam War, while largely symbolic in content, served the purpose of highlighting an image of Canadian independence.

Especially, the Cuban linkage would constitute a major yardstick to evaluate Canadian relations with Latin America. But image and reality did not necessarily coincide. Ostensibly Canada's relations with Cuba did set a tone of independence. By contrast, business linkages with Brazil, for instance, did provide a pattern of strict congruence with US policy.[18] Throughout the 60's and the 70's Canada's role in interamerican affairs grew. Although the government steadfastly refused to join the Organisation of American States (OAS), a gesture privately applauded by many Latin Americans, Canada did join the Interamerican Development Bank (BID), the Pan American Health Organization and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, and sent an observer with ambassadorial rank to the OAS (1972). Likewise, with the establishment of both the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canadian involvement in development projects in the region got started. These efforts are relatively minor - negligible if compared with the U.S. developmental investment in Latin America. It had, nevertheless, symbolic and practical effects by enhancing Canadian awareness of Latin America and vice-versa. The work of independent agencies such as the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), the Canada World Youth, and the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) very often strengthened the aforementioned trend and provided an informal network of concerned Canadians with a Latin American or Caribbean experience.

Canada's opening to Latin America was also an official recognition that deeply rooted linkages had existed for quite some time. Besides commercial connections, such as those with the Caribbean and Brazil, there were historical ties established by Canadian missionaries.[19] Canadian involvement with missionary work in the Third World has been a longstanding and honoured tradition. (The activity performed by different Canadian denominations in China and Africa needs to be recalled here). This religious commitment, however, was unlike most Western missionary projects, with their emphasis on apoliticism, religiosity and salvation. On the contrary, the bulk of Canadian work in missions has been fairly developmental and politically activist. A somewhat more academic version of this type of activism is reflected by the Antigonish Movement

associated with Coady International Institute (St. Francis University) focusing upon adult education and cooperatives as self-help strategies for development in Third World areas.[20]

In the particular case of Latin America, by the late '60's, Canadian missions had become keenly aware of some of the most important intellectual developments in the region: the ECLA doctrine, dependency theory, the Theology of Liberation, Medellin and Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed". Another aspect of Canadian missions which is important to remember is the willingness of Canadian clergy, especially of those denominations represented in the Canadian Council of Churches, to get involved in contingent politics of a liberal and progressive nature. This is particularly strong among the United, Catholic and Anglican Churches. (For instance, the linkage between the United Church and the N.D.P. is a fundamental component in the latter's origins and ideology.)

To say this does not mean there were no countervailing forces, such as the fundamentalist missions of the less mainline Protestant churches, preaching personal salvation but practicing 'christianity and commerce'. These, in most instances, have strong linkages with U.S. counterparts, as do the Mormon missions (particularly in Alberta). Less capitalist, although with the same transborder connections, are the pacifist, Peace Missions (Quakers, Mennonites). The number and variety of Canadian church missions has been very significant. On the whole, however, the development paradigm to study Latin America which had most decisively influenced the Canadian clergy was, since its inception, critical of the "American paradigm-surrogate."[21]

In a similar vein, organizations such as the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (OISE), CUSO and WUSC were influenced by an exposure to development doctrines discontinuous with prevailing theories of 'modernization', 'stages of economic growth', and 'technical progress'.[22] Official development agencies such as CIDA and IDRC, while less prone to accept more radical views on development, had been, nevertheless, quite receptive to the ECLA doctrine.

In sum, the intellectual ambiance of Canadian-Latin American relations regarding development was significantly

different from that of the US. On the whole, there existed in Canada a dominant predisposition to accept, or at least not outrightly reject Third World views on development. Canadian official policy, however, was influenced in a most decisive manner by business concerns. The latter and their clientele agencies - The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Export Development Corporation, and important segments within External Affairs - held to a fairly conventional view of development. This was articulated in a persuasive way by the Canadian Association for Latin America (CALA). This organization, a professional business association founded in 1969, represented the Corporate and Banking sector and it had a decisive role in establishing official policy. CALA, during the 1970s and the early 1980s virtually dictated commercial activities with Latin American and Caribbean countries. Its members dominated the official trade delegations with the region and its annual meetings in Canada, attracting the participation of top-level national and Latin American governmental officials.[23] The effects of CALA upon the development paradigm, in practice and official policy, was that it left a vacuum. Attention to increasing commerce left little or no space for discussion of basic developmental options and their repercussions - much to the eventual regret, of the banks, for example, who almost blindly over-extended credit and loans.

The presence of these clearly antinomic influences in official circles led to a policy, or rather a collection of policy areas, where a significant gap grew between rhetoric and substance. Not unlike the case of Mexico, Canadian official ideology regarding development and North-South relations is fairly critical in tone. The doctrine, or *operational* thinking, is however, quite conventional. In fact, as practiced by business-oriented agencies, it is virtually indistinguishable from the U.S. business position.[24] A caveat must be added here, in that there was - and still is - a conspicuous absence of a "security" view of development. Instead, establishment views have been more influenced by a form of "de facto trilateralism" (there being no relative autonomy of the defense establishment in Canada).

3. Related to the above, a third factor influenced the emergence of Latin American Studies in Canada. This could be identified under the label of "dramatic events" -

that is, external circumstances that due to their relevant nature make an area "worthy of study". Needless to say, the single most important such event in Latin America was the Cuban Revolution.[25] The revolution and its aftermath, the missile crisis, more than any occurrence of the last fifty years, put Latin America on the map. The Alliance for Progress can be seen as the US developmental response to the Cuban challenge, followed by the sequence of interventions in Brazil (1964), the Dominican Republic (1965), Bolivia (1967), Chile (1973) and currently in Central America. The 1979 revolution in Nicaragua brought forth the same type of U.S. reaction as the earlier Cuban revolution. Massive intervention in the internal affairs of El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and increasingly in Costa Rica and Panama and Belize, and the Caribbean - highlighted by the Grenada invasion (1984) - heightened public interest in Latin America among Canada's informed population, while tarnishing U.S. prestige and credibility. Public interest groups, many of them connected with the Churches, NGOs, and service organizations have proliferated with equal intensity to U.S. escalation of interventionist practices. They have contributed greatly to public education and a growing sensitivity towards Latin America.[26]

Many of these, such as the numerous Chile solidarity Committees after 1973, and the even more numerous Central American solidarity groups in the 1980's - with many individuals with personal contact with the region - have raised Canadian levels of awareness to a surprising level. This was amply demonstrated during the six month deliberations of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons (1985-86) which, much to its surprise, received the greatest number of representations on Central America.[27] Church group interest, at least its magnitude, was in evidence at a Theology of Liberation Conference focusing on Latin America, held at Simon Fraser University (February, 1986), which attracted a thousand registered participants.[28] The organizers of such groups, frequently members of other organizations such as Central American Policy Alternatives (CAPA), the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, Inter-Church Committee for World Development Education, Latin American Working Group (LAWG), Project Ploughshares, and the

various support groups have combined political activism with good quality research.

Most important, they have provided a vital linkage with academics, academic institutions, organized religion, labour unions and political parties. Their role as communicators and as fora for analysis and discussion has been fundamental in the process of building a Canadian developmental paradigm. Organizations such as the Arusha International Development Resource Centre, Amnesty International, CUSO, and the Development Education Centre (DEC), *Développement et Paix*, Oxfam, and Ten Days for World Development have projected development issues in moral and humanitarian terms, a dimension often neglected by 'value-free' social science. The contributions of specialists outside of the universities, including political refugees from Latin America and Canadian-trained graduates who could not, or wished not to, find employment within the universities, have been considerable.

Their research has dealt more centrally with Canadian-Latin American contemporary political issues and historical and economic questions related to Canadian linkages with the Caribbean and Latin America.[29] The Latin American Working Group (LAWG) has produced a vast amount of literature in the 1970's. Special attention has been given to corporate activities (BRASCAN, INCO, ALCAN) and the documentation of the negative consequences of capitalist development within specific Latin American regions. The Development Education Centre, a non-profit independent group concerned with education in Canada and the 'third world', has produced a substantial body of audio-visual as well as published materials. Documentation centres, such as the *Agence Latino-Américaine d'Information* (ALAI), located in Montreal, provides a news service (a weekly bulletin, a political documentation series) in French and in Spanish. The Latin American Research Unit (LARU) represents an international and interdisciplinary study group, and concentrates on research and education about social, cultural, political and economic questions. It publishes working papers and studies, and although most of its contributors are Latin Americans in Latin America with strong Canadian ties, maintains a working address in Toronto.[30]

The activist, moral, and humanitarian dimensions of the work of the above-mentioned groups has created a

particular intellectual culture affecting the evolution of Latin American development studies in Canada. This culture has not only been hostile to the contentional Rostowian[31] (or Huntingtonian)[32] paradigm but has also been receptive to critical Latin American thinking. At the same time, it has been conditioned by ongoing political events, direct contact (travel, solidarity projects in Nicaragua) and a base-line awareness of domestic problems related to immigrants, minorities and Canadian indigenous issues.

We will now examine the effects of this cultural milieu in the formation of a Canadian perspective for the study of Latin America.

B. INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND PARADIGM FORMATION: THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION NETWORKS

The above historical overview has discussed the context in which Latin American development studies have evolved. This section deals with organization; the communication networks which tie academics and sources in the pursuit of intellectual inquiry.

1. Academic Programmes as Institutional Paradigms

The most ostensible and formal mechanisms where paradigms originate are, of course, academic institutions. Since the early '60's the list of offerings in the Latin American field grew. Moreover, the composition of what one could call in retrospect "Latin American Studies" ceased to be an area primarily covered by language, literature and history experts. Latin American studies increasingly became the domain of economists, sociologists, political scientists and social anthropologists.[33] Externally this shift from a more "psychocultural" to a more "developmental" perspective in Latin American studies was not different from that in the United States.

There was a variation in content, however. In the American case, the transition between the *"hispanoamericanista"* tradition and modern social science entailed the introduction of a "value-free" functional-structuralist and systemic approach of a liberal nature. In Canada this process went beyond a mere change of intellectual focus; it

brought about a radical and critical stream of social scientists into the field.

This process or paradigm change is, in turn, rooted in three circumstances. One was related to the nature of Canadian academia. Despite the tidal wave of "modern" US social science penetrating deep into Canadian Universities, the new mood failed to hegemonise social science discourse. Nascent Canadian nationalism among academics, combined with deeply-rooted intellectual and political traditions, - from Harold Innis, down to Mel Watkins and Kari Levitt - created a sense of rejection of the recent U.S. imports. This was particularly true with the preservation of a political economy approach with both nationalist and radical overtones as opposed to the separation between Economics and Political Science. Such was the case in Canada's most important anglophone learning centres. As for the francophone institutions, nationalism and radicalism made it virtually impossible for the US approach to gain widespread legitimacy.

There was, however, one US "import" into Canadian academia which strengthened the drive towards adoption of a critical perspective vis-à-vis the U.S. developmental paradigm. This import was largely a consequence of the Vietnam war: the massive immigration of US academics into Canadian Universities. Although schooled in the prevailing common wisdom in the U.S., this group was prone to turn their backs to their previous academic tradition and explore new avenues without the peer group and institutional pressures of the US academic environment.

The third set of circumstances is also the result of another wave in immigration. Its qualitative importance far exceeds its quantum. This was the coming to Canada of a number of established Latin American scholars with a developmental paradigm nurtured by Latin American and European traditions. True, such immigration (largely resulting from U.S.-inspired repression in Latin America) also increased the Latin American contingent in US Universities. However, it did not produce similar results there. One tentative explanation is volume. Although the quantum of Latin American dissident academics in the U.S. was by far larger than that in Canada, they were but a small and isolated group in a gigantic university system where structural-functionalism reigned supreme. There was another factor of a contextual nature. This was the

composition of the Latin American academic exile community in both Canada and the U.S. While in the former, a good number of left-leaning Brazilians, Argentinians - and later Uruguayans and Chileans - did make the bulk of the immigrants, in the latter case, right-wing Cubans tended to dominate. A similar situation existed with regards to politically-active Latin American clienteles outside the academic community. In the U.S., the overwhelming majority of them was utterly conservative and enjoyed a high degree of government support. The exception, perhaps were Chicano and a few Puerto Rican organisations. These were, however, by and large inward-looking and not active, for the most part, in Latin American issues proper. By contrast, in Canada, such Latin American organizations tended to be in general left-of-centre: they existed outside the governmental sphere and interacted very closely with church and like-minded organisations. Moreover, ideologically, Latin American views on development were held as "heretical" by US social science, being only accepted by a small and isolated group of "radical" U.S. scholars (California State University, Los Angeles, SUNY, Binghampton). There was as well something that many of us continuously felt - an intellectual "arrogance of power" - the implicit (and at times explicit) belief that Latin intellectuals were too "ideological" to produce something of value.

Circumstances were fairly different in Canada. For one thing, the academic world was relatively small. It possessed an intellectual and political tradition where the Latin American paradigm could be naturally inserted. There was a search for development theories and concepts which could also explain the Canadian experience as a dependent country. "Radical" and "marxist" streams of thought were by and large less of an anathema than in U.S. circles. Thus, the convergence of these three special circumstances brought about a unique developmental point of view to study Latin America. This process was re-enforced through the aforementioned personal connections, fora and conferences on Latin America where clergy, academics, "solidarity groups" and others participated. It is perhaps fair to say that by the late '70's a general framework to study Latin American development and 'underdevelopment' had begun to take shape.

A reflection of the scope and direction of professional work in Canadian universities can be identified from the production of MA and PhD theses in the social sciences related to Latin America and the Caribbean.[34] Most of the specialists teaching in such programmes were hired between 1965 and 1975. Not unexpectedly the 1960's represent a "take off" in graduate degree production. The change in annual production between 1965 and 1970 (from 12 degrees to 57) represents a 375% increase. This was precisely the period of intensive recruitment and hiring of specialists by universities experiencing increased enrollments and a new awareness of the importance of area studies programs. By 1972, for example, it was possible to identify 377 Latin American specialists in Canada, most but not all of whom were employed by academic institutions.[35] The dramatic increase of graduate degrees took place simultaneously, not only in Caribbean and Latin American topics but also across the board in the social sciences as Canadian academic administrators belatedly became conscious of the fact that the previous strategy of reliance upon foreign-produced professional staffs ran against the grain of national sentiments and the long-term national interest. One might have expected a continued increase during the following decade yet information for the 1970-1978 period shows a levelling-off tendency. The annual average number produced during this period was 53 professional degrees. Projection for the 1980's would see the maintenance of a level of about 55 degrees per year based on decline or a holding pattern in student enrollments, declining financial allocations by provincial and federal governments to academic institutions, and a decline in student interest in area studies. This still means that during the present decade well over 600 professional degrees will be produced, more than sufficient to supply specialists for available teaching and research positions within Canada.

2. Professionalism and Paradigm-Formation

In 1969, the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies (CALAS) was formed as one of the Canadian Learned Societies.[36] At the same time, in the early '70's, several undergraduate programmes were created as well as one provincial inter-university consortium in Ontario. The

latter known as the Ontario Co-operative Programme of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (OCPLACS) grouped six Ontario universities into a Latin American studies network. In the early '70's also UQAM and the University of Ottawa expanded their Latin American operations. By the mid '80's five loosely interrelated geographical groups of Latin American studies could be identified:

a. The most recent in terms of formal structuring (1986) but oldest in terms of actual contacts (with the Caribbean) is in the Atlantic Provinces. It links (as the Atlantic Chapter of CALACS/ACELAC), Dalhousie, St. Mary's, Acadia, the University of Prince Edward Island, the College of Cape Breton and the Coady Institute (St. Francis Xavier). Strong links are being established with activist and development focused NGO's (CUSO, Oxfam, Cansave, Development and Peace, and LAIG).

b. The second grouping, actually groupings, is in Quebec, with the most cohesive activities located in Montreal. The *Groupe de recherche sur l'Amérique latine* (GRAL) encompasses Latin Americanists at the University of Montreal, McGill, and UQAM; Caribbean interests, via the *Centre de Recherches caraïbes* (University of Montreal) and the Centre for Developing Areas Studies (McGill), have generated numerous publications and research activities. Another group exists at Laval University, with more of a Mexicanist focus. And via the University of Quebec system of institutions (Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Chicoutimi, Rimouski, Hull, Rouyn, and Sainte-Foy) there has been an ongoing attempt to establish an interamerican network of universities (the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education).

c. Another grouping, probably the most cohesive, clustered around the OCPLACS lattice.[37] Although the University of Toronto's Committee on Latin American Studies did not formally belong to the network, it did participate through personal contacts with the local committee at York. In 1977 York University, by then the leading institution in Latin American studies in the province, established the Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC). The latter was financed by a Donner Foundation grant and was linked to academics in

other Canadian and foreign universities through a system of fellowships. So far, CERLAC has been the most coherent effort in the development of Latin American studies in Canada. Likewise it has played a leading role in paradigm-formation.

d. The fourth, and least cohesive, grouping is represented by the Prairie Provinces. Here the most integrated program is located at the University of Calgary, comprising an undergraduate program, regular field-school programs in Latin America, and a dominating Mexicanist focus with a strong history-geography-anthropology flavour. Smaller numbers of scholars reside at Edmonton, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Lethbridge. Both geographic distance and the dominating numbers of U.S. scholars (who prefer retention of south-of-the-border linkages) mitigate against a cohesive Canadian perspective relative to paradigm formation. Most recently, however, closer involvement with solidarity groups and NGO's, along with increased numbers of Ontario-trained young faculty, have provided a counter-weight.

e. The fifth grouping can be identified as that of the West Coast, centred in the Vancouver area. It links (in the form of a local chapter of CALACS) Simon Fraser, University of British Columbia and a number of community colleges. It is a relatively new organization, although Simon Fraser has had an established program of Latin American studies since the late '60's. Simon Fraser has the most dynamic component, initially established by U.S. radicals and Latin American academics. It's highly successful Liberation Theology Conference (1986) reflects its development orientation in large part.

The aforementioned geographic 'centres' are integrated nationally through the CALACS/ACELAC network. The national association provides for a national coverage through its annual meetings, and supports regionally-organized conferences, international linkages through protocols with FLACSO (*Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales*) and programs of visiting Latin American scholars.

"The centre of gravity" of the system described here is provided by the overlapping membership between CALACS and OCPLACS,[38] at the core of which is York's

CERLAC. These organizations, in turn, interact with numerous public interest research organizations as well as with Latin American academic institutions. CERLAC has an ongoing exchange program with the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) and with CLACSO (the Latin American Council of Social Sciences) as well as a very active program of visiting Latin American scholars. The latter is partly financed through CALACS and, at times, OCPLACS. These two organizations give the program a provincial and national dimension by extending the visits of other university centres.

3. Communications and Paradigm-Formation

Besides the system of formal organizations with their teaching programs and research activities, there has been a proliferation of research centres and action centres. If, during the 1970's research and action showed a tendency to move off-campus (LAWG being a prime example) the 1980's has seen a return to campus of this rejectionist stance of the 'value-free' social science perspective. This is evidenced in both the establishment of specifically development-oriented centres with an international focus (education, technology transfer, health systems, development assistance). Major universities in virtually all Canadian provinces now have them as part of the formal institutional structure. There are also other important institutional mechanisms, such as the role of conferences in the development of paradigms, formal and informal linkages with action centres, the circulation of research material in the form of publications and, not least, the role played by individual scholars.

As far as the role of conferences is concerned, from the first CALAS meeting in 1969 at York University to the most recent at the University of Montreal in 1986, internal interaction and the process of setting the agenda have directly affected the development of a conceptual framework. The selection of themes and the organisation of panels reflect an implicit definition of problems and approaches. Other very important conferences in this respect have been the Carleton conference in the autumn of 1970, the York Conference on Democracy and Development in Latin America, organised by CERLAC in 1978 and the second Carleton conference in late 1980.

Throughout the 1980's the majority of CALACS conferences have had a distinct development emphasis and related groups (CERLAC, CAPA) were a driving force in the 1985 "Negotiations for Peace in Central America" Conference hosted by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security.[39] The proliferation of conferences across the country - most recently "Liberation Theology in Latin America", Simon Fraser, 1986; "In Search of Development Models and Linkages", CALACS - Atlantic Chapter, 1987; "*La démocratisation des sociétés latino-américaines*" GRAL, 1987 - is producing an increasing flow of papers, to be published either by the organizing groups or via the commercial press.[40] An analysis of such publications provides useful clues regarding the state of art as well as the process of paradigm formation.

Closely related to the above, the establishment of *North-South Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies* in 1976 has meant the provision of a relatively steady flow of information amongst Canadian scholars. In the area of Latin American reporting, two publications deserve to be mentioned: *Central America Update* and *Alai*. They both represent the left-of-centre views of independent research organizations. More important perhaps in the formation of a developmental paradigm is the publication of collections of materials or single books in a volume format. The conferences mentioned above have culminated in a number of major works. The 1970 Carleton conference evolved into a 1973 publication edited by David Pollock and Archibald Ritter under the title *Latin American Prospects for the 1970's: What Kinds of Revolutions?*[41] The York Conference was edited and introduced by Louis Lefever and Liisa North under the title *Democracy and Development in Latin America*, under the CERLAC-LARU series on the Political Economy, Society and Culture of Latin America and the Caribbean. It was published in 1981. In 1978, Jorge Nef edited the proceedings of the 1976 Guelph Conference of the Ontario Cooperative Programme of Latin American and Caribbean Studies. The title of the publication was *Canada and the Latin American Challenge.*[42] Professor Lawrence Alschuler from the University of Ottawa,[43] edited a book on *Dependent Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform in Latin America.*[44] This is just a small sample of such works.

There have been as well various collaborative efforts such as an edited book by Thomas Bruneau and Philippe Foucher, *Authoritarian Capitalism,*[45] the outgrowth of a series of seminars at McGill's Centre for Developing Area Studies held during the Winter and Spring of 1980. Most important of these, however, is the work edited by Pollock and Ritter resulting from the Second Carleton Conference.[46]

The spillover effect, between the academic institutions, scholars and former institutionalized scholars, and more publically oriented publications, cannot be ignored. Whereas in the 1960's it was rare to find books published in Canada on Latin America and developmental issues, during the 1980's, it has become commonplace. Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre's study of Canadian economic relations with the West Indies (1967), was in retrospect, a pioneering work.[47] And after a decade and a half of CIDA, IDRC and other Canadian involvement there has resulted a flow of publications high critical of the results of such involvement. *The Caribbean Connection*, by Robert Chodos (1977)[48] is a good example of the use of the emerging Canadian paradigm regarding this area. More important is the increasing role of its publisher, James Lorimer and Company, in spreading this message, which focuses upon both internal Canadian development praxis (native issues, resource development, community development, international affairs affecting national sovereignty) and its international interface, in terms of theory and implementation. Another Canadian publishing outlet, with a hard-line critical development stance, is Black Rose Books (Montreal). *Between the Lines*, a joint publications project between the Development Education Centre (DEC) and Dumont Press, in its most recent list of publications includes: Michael Kaufman, *Jamaica under Manley: Dilemmas of Socialism and Democracy* (1986); Jim Handy, *Gift of the Devil: A History of Guatemala* (1984); John Homes and Colin Leys, *Frontyard/Backyard: The Americas in the Global Crisis* (1985); Robert Clarke and Richard Swift, *Ties that Bind: Canada and the Third World* (1982); Richard Carty and Virginia Smith, *Perpetuating Poverty: The Political Economy of Canadian Foreign Aid* (1981); Liisa North, *Bitter Grounds: Roots of Revolt in El Salvador* (1981); Alison Acker, *Children of the Volcano* (1986);

and Gabriela Yanes, etal (eds.), *Mirrors of War: Literature and Revolution in El Salvador*, Keith Ellis trans., (1985).

The majority of these works are part of a "Perspectives on Underdevelopment" series, reinforcing the emerging paradigm. And DEC films makes available a great number of recently-made films, many with Canadian production involvement, on the Caribbean, Central and South America. Thus the "new" perspective on development has taken on multiple forms but with the same fundamental message. And increasingly there has been a Canadian academic involvement, inside and outside of the universities themselves. Even the novel (e.g. Marie Jakober, *Sandinista: A Novel of Nicaragua*, New Star Books, 1985), written by a University of Calgary librarian, becomes a manifestation of communicating the paradigm formation.

To engage in a more detailed description and listing of works goes beyond the possibilities of this paper. From a general observation of the aforementioned works and of individual contributions to the field, it could be said that there is a current explosion of works coming out on Central America. Furthermore, a substantive review of these works clearly suggests both a content and an evolution in Canadian thought peculiar to the Canadian environment rather than imitation of other vogues. But it would be remiss not to mention, here, that many of these recent works have had financial support from official government agencies (Canada Council, Ontario Arts Council) and NGO's. The process of paradigm formation, it is clear, has escaped the confines of the acadamic institutions.

One fundamental issue at the institutional level of paradigm building is the difference between Canadian institutions and their counterparts in Europe [49] and especially the United States. The obvious difference is one of size. Canadian institutions are by far smaller, in both absolute and relative terms compared to American institutions and as well to some of the major European programs and centres. Funding is also quite limited, as can be seen from the overall low level of funding in Canadian Universities. Most Latin American programs are staffed part-time by drawing talents from specific disciplines. This, in turn makes it difficult for academics to devote full attention to Latin American problems.

Another difference refers to the pattern of relationships with government agencies and the private sector. James Petras has formulated two possible patterns of interaction:

> The issue of the effects of research for a society is ... an eminently political question which turns on strategies for change. Two political strategies involve research directed at ''permeating the elite'' or ''pressuring from the outside''. These political strategies in turn shape the kind of research one engages in. ''Permeationists'' in search of incremental changes focus on measuring quantitative differences while the ''outsider'' approach examines the organizing principles around which the society centers.[50]

Here is where a striking difference appears between Canadian and US academia, Europe falling somewhere in between. While the U.S. academic pattern has generally been one of permeation of (if not outright collaboration) with government policy, Canadians have, by and large, willing remained outsiders. These styles are, of course, present in both countries' academic and administrative cultures and reflect to some extent different traits of recruitment into the civil service. The contrast between LASA and CALACS is substantial in this respect.[51] While the former has encouraged and maintained connections with the U.S. government and the private sector, the latter Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (formerly called CALAS) explicitly decided to exclude itself from such formal linkages as far back as 1969.[52]

This does not mean that Canadian scholars in the Latin American field isolate themselves from policy issues. On the contrary, the degree of interaction with human rights groups, churches and public interest groups is quite high by U.S. standards. Likewise, Latin Americanists have been more than willing to speak out to the media in public fora and to participate in public debate. Moreover, as the list of witnesses to the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence of 1981 indicate, Canadian experts on Latin America have provided their special knowledge to the policy debate.[53] The CAPA involvement in 1985 "Negotiations of Peace in Central America" Conference and great numbers of academics that

appeared before the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations (1985-1986) indicate increasing involvement.

A careful examination of both the testimonies and the final reports of the 1981 and 1985-86 parliamentary committees suggest that, by and large, Canadian expert opinion was seriously considered by the M.P.'s. What Canadian academics and institutions with expertise on Latin America seem to avoid is a direct inside involvement with government policy. This is not the case for CALA, its business counterpart, which has easy access to the highest levels of both the government and the bureaucracy. In the area of research and technical cooperation, however, good working relationships do exist between academic and both IDRC, and, to a lesser extent, CIDA. In the case of IDRC, it seems that the university background and international exposure of its staff have permited it to share with academics a certain commonality of language, and even, to some extent a similar developmental agenda. A small illustration of this can be seen in IDRC's 1978 publication of a small but important study by the then Argentine-based Fundacion Bariloche, *Catastrophe or New Society*.[54] This project was financed by IDRC and endorsed a radical perspective to global development issues, in sharp contrast with the Club of Rome report on *The Limits to Growth*.[55] In its central part, this IDRC study asserted:

> The major problems facing society are not physical but sociopolitical. These problems are based on the uneven distribution of power, both between nations and within nations. The result is oppression and alienation, largely founded on exploitation. The deterioration of the physical environment is not an inevitable consequence of human progress, but the result of social organizations based largely on destructive values.[56]

There has been as well, within IDRC and CIDA, an increasing sympathy for and attention to the New International Economic Order as seen from Third World eyes. The earlier large-projects - 'tech-fix' approach to development linked to bilateral aid, tied aid, and macro-projects in collaboration with the dominating international financial agencies (Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank, International Monetary Fund) - generally produced meager development results in Latin America

during the past decade.[57] The bulk of the CIDA expenditures, despite the official rhetoric of foreign developmental aid, was designated in such a way as to enhance Canadian participation and was largely spent in Canada and on Canadians.[58] Not only did growing critical evaluations from within and outside the agency reflect an increasing frustration with the traditional paradigm, but, at the same time, the feed-back impact resulted in a greater sympathy for new approaches. Two contributing factors of this turn about can be identified here. The first, is closely linked to the learning, hands-on, experience of agency personnel, which led to more intense and direct contacts with areas where projects were being administered. And like the transforming impact of actual field-work upon anthropological participant-observers, increasing numbers of administrators came face-to-face with Latin American realities.[59] This encouraged greater attention and reliance upon alternative delivery systems, and the increased role of NGO's. The second pertains to the structure of the NGO's.[60] With less resources, less cumbersome bureaucratic systems, and no need to justify activities to parliament, they quickly demonstrated a far greater 'bang' with a much smaller 'buck'. The NGO's were also more committed to the emerging development paradigm.

The academic institutional role further intensified this process by providing the intellectual (theoretical) rationalization. The springing up of area and development-focused units of investigation within the universities encouraged more graduate-level research by precisely those individuals most apt to be employed by the development agencies. In effect, the distance between academic institution and governmental agency, narrowed; the gap between the earlier academic concern and agency policy-lay lessened. Increasingly academic involvement in design and administration of developmental projects came to be accepted by both government and scholar.

The degree to which this convergence of perspectives has taken place is clearly reflected in the quarterly publications of CIDA (*Development*) and IDRC (*The IDRC Reports*). The perspectives and analysis therein presented have changed dramatically since the founding of the agencies. What was considered radical in the later 1960's has come to be accepted as sound insight in the 1980's. Ecological awareness, small-scale 'appropriate technology',

respect for cultural diversity and traditional insight (local community, peasant agrarian risk-spreading strategies) as well as the negative consequences of attempting to 'bulldoze' traditional societies into modernity have all become common fare in both *Development* and *The IDRC Reports*.

C. THE "IDEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENTALISM"[61] AND CANADA'S EMERGING PARADIGM

As discussed earlier, the Canadian perspective of analysing Latin American development constitutes a synthesis of three major streams of thought.

One of these is rooted in a long-standing liberal and radical political economy tradition in Canadian scholarship. The second is a critical rejection of the assumptions of the American development model *à la* Rostow, Lipset or Almond. Unlike the U.S., where "developmentalism" mutated from an emphasis on "democracy" under Lipset and Almond to one on "authority" under Huntington[62] (while retaining intellectual legitimacy) most Canadian scholars have not accepted the validity of the new formulations. In fact, in the area of Latin American studies, the Huntingtonian model has been explicitly rejected as a valid organizing device for scholarly research.

The third intellectual tradition is a rather eclectic insertion of a variety of distinctively Latin American approaches: The ECLA doctrine, dependency theory, "Theology of Liberation", "conscientisation" and the like. The result of these factors has been a hybrid which is somewhat different from its original ingredients but with an identifiable lineage.

It is indeed difficult to define in sharp terms an analytical paradigm. Unlike "theories", a paradigm is something which is at best a fuzzy set of assumptions, concepts, definition of problems and normative prescription. The task is by its very nature rather impressionistic, subjective and at times phenomenological, if not outright introspective. The reason for this difficulty is that, as Canadian students of Latin America, we are not only discussing a conceptual mode of analysis. We are actively engaged in its development and in the reformulation of such frameworks from within.

What follows is, then a tour de force of disparate sources. These include anthologies, journal articles, directories, CV's lists of publications, parliamentary records[63] and discussions with colleagues, not to mention participant-observation over a number of years.

In brief, the Canadian paradigm for the study of Latin American development exhibits two distinct traits. One is a conscious attempt to negate the validity of the prevailing US mold, either Almond's or Huntington's. There is, however in it something more than a negation of the US tradition. The paradigm contains an assertive component: a blend, as stated above, of Canadian traditions - in academic, politics, missional humanism and the country's own developmental experience - with a Latin American strain.

In discussing the theoretical framework, however, one should be aware of the limits and scope of its legitimacy. It constitutes an intellectual discourse whose hegemony obtains within the academic community, most of the clergy and a number of political brokers. Inside the Canadian business world, a good portion of the government and even within academic bureaucracies, such as the Inter-American Association for Higher Education, the conventional American paradigm remains unchallenged.[64]

1. The Canadian Paradigm as Negation of Developmentalism

Susanne Bodenheimer in her 1970 study of Latin American research and teaching in the U.S. stated:

> The poverty of Latin American studies is not peculiar to that field, but stems rather from certain very fundamental premises of contemporary American Political Science and American social science in general ... Research and graduate training in the discipline have been governed by consensus at a more fundamental level.
>
> This consensus, which I call the ''paradigm-surrogate'', has been transferred to Latin American studies and has dominated most empirical research in that area. It is rooted in four interrelated theories which ... have produced a systematically distorted interpretation of ... Latin America.[65]

These theories, which Rodolfo Stavenhagen has discussed in terms of his "seven fallacies"[66] are rooted in a number of assumptions about development: cumulation, stability, end of ideology and diffusion.[67] The implications of developmentalism, from the Alliance for Progress, to the Rockefeller Report, to Carter's Trilateral doctrine to Reagan's resurgent militarism, have been the object of an earlier essay.[68] Our opinion is that Canadian scholars analysing Latin America explicitly reject the core assumptions, let alone the policy implications, of what many have called "The Canadian Model" of development.[69]

2. The Content of the Paradigm

An examination of the recent literature on the subject as well as testimonies prepared for the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean (1981) and the final report of the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations (1986) suggest a number of interesting traits.

a. Regarding the core assumptions of the paradigm, four aspects need special attention. One is that the development of Latin America, more than a technical and purely growth-oriented process, is a political process addressed to issues of social justice. These issues are political in nature since lack of power lies at the core of poverty and inequality in the region.[70] Second, development entails the satisfaction of human needs, at a minimum the eradication of the "worst forms of poverty".[71] Thus, development-oriented production primarily aims at need satisfaction. The third aspect is the recognition that both development and underdevelopment are inextricably linked processes rather than opposite poles in an historical and structural continuum. Fourth is that the international context constitutes a constraint to development in general and economic growth in particular.[72]

b. Regarding the characteristics of the current developmental experience in the region.

> ... The most important thing about contemporary Latin America is the most obvious, which is that the continent is in a very, very, profound political crisis which has become particularly acute in the 70's. It is a long-term crisis - it is not going to go away precisely because it is rooted in a pattern of social and economic development.[73]

The root of the crisis is seen precisely as the very model of economic development, or rather the contradictions between economic growth and economic development and between accumulation and distribution extant in a pattern of dependent capitalism.[74]

The political manifestation of the crisis is a breakdown of hegemony and a consequent substitution of political repression for the state of compromise.[75] Political instability becomes a logical outcome of the inability to build a credible political project for all sectors of society. In turn, marginalization and the overall unrepresentativeness of the political process results from a pattern of development which benefits only a tiny minority.

Although accepting the basic premise of dependency, most Canadian researchers of Latin America go beyond a simple centre-periphery model to concentrate upon the relationships between specific class formations and the state. In this respect, a sort of eclectic neo-Marxian thought, especially in its Gramscian variety, permeates this part of the analysis. Interestingly enough, except for the above mentioned bent, a rather similar Canadian perception of Latin American development has been summarised in the official *Report to Parliament*. For the sake of brevity, we have condensed the model into nine propositions.

i. An history of unequitable development
Latin America manifests: "the pressures and tensions which run throughout the Third World today. The struggle for economic and social justice within ... Latin America and the Caribbean arises from a long history of inequitable development".[76]

ii. Economic Exogeneity
"Accompanying that social and political change is the struggle of these countries to establish their interests and identifies within the larger international community".[77] There are "deep rooted international economic pressures bearing down on these countries".[78]

iii. External Vulnerability
These economic pressures "arise in no small part from extreme fluctuations in the price of their exports, together with steady increases in the price of manufactured imports..."[79]

iv. Insufficiency of economic growth
"Trade and investment are essential elements in promoting sustained economic growth ... At the same time, while economic growth is a precondition for overcoming world poverty, it is not in itself a sufficient condition - a fact amply demonstrated by the unusually rapid but unbalanced economic growth of many Latin American countries".[80]

v. Inequitable Trade
"Trade ... by itself, may lead to extreme disparities between rich and poor".[81]

vi. Inadequacy of "trickle-down"
The "benefits of private investment seldom 'trickle-down' to all classes of society".[82]

vii. Political Polarization
"Emerging from these tensions is the grave threat of political polarization".[83]

viii. Development as Sharing
Development is a broad and important objective. "It embraces the need for economic growth as well as the need for both nations and their people to share equitably in its benefits".[84]

ix. Quality of life
The definition of development entails the improvement of "the lives of the poorest peoples".[85] It also is inextricably linked to issues of human rights. These include "access to food, shelter, employment and health care ... (as well as) civil and political rights".[86]

Although the analysis and prescriptions contained in the aforementioned document reflect some of the concerns present in both the Pearson[87] and the Brandt reports.[88] It also introduces a number of surprising novelties. These include the notions of "another development",[89] equitable development, need orientation, "deterioration of terms of trade", "unbalanced growth", "income disparities", "objective freedoms" and the like. In this respect, it is possible to detect a healthy pattern of congruence between the academic analysis of Latin American development and the parliamentary report.

D. THE PARADIGM UNDER ATTACK

Six years of Reagonomics, the lengthy tenure of Thatcherism, Western European and Japanese prosperity, and the overwhelming Progressive Conservative electoral victory in Canada have represented a serious challenge to the emerging paradigm. The slipage of Third World prosperity, unmanageable debt-loads,[90] and increased military intervention by the United States in the Caribbean and Central America notwithstanding, there has been a reemergence of the older, traditional Rostowian perspective within Canadian official policy formation. The Tory agenda, riding on the twin planks of privatization and free trade, represents a clear challenge to policies that the Liberal government seemed increasingly willing to incorporate during its years of declining public popularity. The locus of origin here, as in the post World War era, resides in the ideologies and camp-followers of the administration in power in Washington. And the Mulroney Government has shown itself, at the same time, both willing to accept and relatively helpless to withstand the pressures of Neo-Conservatism spilling across the border.[91] The result has been a mixture of paradox and contradiction in official Canadian policy formulation regarding development.

Two clear opposing trends have become evident. On the one hand, within the development agencies such as CIDA and IDRC, the emerging paradigm has continued to hold sway. This tendency has not only the internal support of agency personnel recently socialized into the new Canadian awareness of Third World perspectives, but also the active encouragement of NGO's,[92] the bulk of the academic establishment, and the grassroots represented by church groups,[93] labour organizations and the informed public. The mass media fascination with Third World problems and public distaste for the 'another Vietnam' scenario, unfolding in Central America, reinforces this trend. On the other hand, the Mulroney eagerness to make what it consider as necessary Canadian adjustment to the staying power of Reagonomics[94] has had internal structural implications. This goes far beyond the rhetorical level which has placed entrepreneurial enterprise and old-fashioned gung-ho capitalism on a pedestal; it has also affected the pattern of distribution of resources that affect

implementation of development practice. Budget priorities,[95] aimed at allowing the 'invisible forces' of the marketplace to play a more dominent role, and applied to force existing institutions to accommodate the private business sector, become the tool of strategy implementation.

New patterns of distribution of financial resources, whether in federal agencies involved in supporting research (SSHRC), in implementing development projects (CIDA, IDRC), to university development, or within the academic institutions themselves reveal a strategy highly incongruent with paradigm-formation processes previously described. An overview of the main features affecting the study of Latin American development within the academic institutions requires an analysis of the interplay of domestic budgetary strategies and policy practice, starting at the level of the Federal Department of Finance.

1. Fiscal restraint and a greater dependence upon the private business sector is the cornerstone of current policies. This has translated into a less direct federal funding for universities and an insistence that existing agencies (CIDA, IDRC, SSHRC) work more closely with the business sector. Down-sizing of federal bureaucracies, farming out (contracting out) specific projects, and linking funding to evidence of private sector participation has become a fundamental objective. Where possible, complete 'privatization' is preferable.

2. Within the Federal agencies such a strategy requires a new role for business as a source for research funding and a greater role in actual policy formation. An immediate by-product has been a greater reliance upon NGO's as implements of policy applications.[96] On the whole, of the emerging Canadian development paradigm, the NGO acceptance provides at least an appearance of continuity of recent practice. The amount of funding here, however, is not that significant in terms of overall resources available.[97] In the case of CIDA there is an emerging pattern of offering institutions, particularly universities, increasing roles in the administration of development projects, the implications of which are far-reaching and will be discussed below. This is also the case with IDRC. Both, at the same time, are providing for a greater involvement of private business in development projects.[98] Within SSHRC it is the "matching-funds

scheme, started in 1987-88, offering an opportunity to involve the private sector in supporting social sciences and humanities research".[99] In all cases this enhanced private sector involvement presents greater opportunities for incursion of business paradigm reassertion in development activities, both at the level of policy formulation and implementation.

3. Turning to the universities, we find a dual process emerging. On the one hand, restricted funding has forced curtailment in key existing areas related to area studies and development research, considered as 'soft' areas in terms of budgeting priorities. This has meant less support for inter-disciplinary programs, Latin American and other areas such as Asian and African studies.[100] On the other hand, university administrations across the country, almost desperately searching for additional and new sources of funding, have quickly seized upon the Federal Governmental Agency offerings and have established administrative units specifically geared to increase the university share of the 'development fund pie'. What is especially significant here is the areas within the universities where this activity is being focused. Contrary to what might be expected, as most universities have a large number of area specialists in development research and first-hand experience in the Third World, the thrust of university activity is in the professional schools and faculties (Business Administration, Education, Medicine) rather than in the social sciences.[101]

This is not as strange as it might appear at first glance, since within the universities there has emerged a new business, corporate management, style of administration. And the university linkage with the private sector is most conspicuous via the professional, job-oriented, faculties or schools. The establishment of an International Institute for Business, at Guelph, or the Centre of International Education and Business, at Calgary - and similar centres elsewhere - signal attempts by universities to 'cash-in' on the changed funding priorities of the Federal Government and increased prominence of private-sector roles. The implications for new development paradigm formation, however, are profound.

What we find in the universities, in effect, is a situation similar to the late 1960's when CIDA became the primary vehicle of developmental activities in the Third

World. It, then, as the university administrators now, started from the position of accepting, uncritically, a Rostowian vision of the developmental process. There was virtually no interest in discussing theory, implicit assumptions or Third World perspectives on development.[102] In the case of CIDA the proponents of alternative paradigms, considered to be 'radicals' at the time, were either marginalized or co-opted into the CIDA paradigm. But the lack of an explicit ideology of development, or at least the contradictions quickly encountered, plus actual experience, resulted in a gradual socialization of many CIDA decision-makers, as has already been pointed out. What was 'radical' for CIDA in the 1960's, has become virtually 'common-sense' in the 1980's - precisely at the point in time when increasing administration is being contracted out to the private sector and the universities. Is this a conscious strategy by the Federal Government, or merely the by-product of its own fiscal preoccupations? At this point, in our view, this remains very much an open question.

The more important question, within the universities, is whether or not history will repeat itself? In structural-functional terms, the most experienced and sophisticated analysts of Latin American developmental processes, are either being marginalized or being allowed to become co-opted into the new international business centres. They are not, however, setting the agendas and controlling the policy-decision-making processes. This has been largely placed in the hands of professional administrators. Despite a structural gloss, represented by boards of directors, or advisors, to such centres - who have a greater interest in supporting rather than critically assessing plans and activities - these centres are largely bereft of a monitoring system that can forstall or prevent the inevitable 'foul-ups' and 'muck-ups' accompanying large-scale, business-interest ventures into the developmental field. Whether, or how long it will take, to socialize these new vehicles for development work within the universities into the emerging paradigm is also an open question. What is clear, on the outset, is that the business paradigm is again being thrust forward.

Evidence of this can be seen in the difficulty that organizations such as CALACS, CERLAC, CAPA, GRAL have recently experienced in getting funding from agencies

such as CIDA, IDRC, SSHRC, and External Affairs. Despite extensive lobbying on the part of the Latin Americanists and despite supporting verbal assurances of the importance of their activities, the funds have simply not been forthcoming. On the contrary, they have been cut back.[103] The international business and education centres, on the other hand, have been receiving significant funds and offers to take over projects in Latin America and the Third World. The Inter-American Organization for Higher Education, for example, has recently received significant CIDA support for a large-scale venture which would link it with the Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank and other more traditional approach CIDA ventures.[104] The same holds true for the international centres within the universities. Ironically, neither has there emerged a very clear perception of NGO and university-based Latin American expertise within Canada and there persists an even weaker knowledge of existing paradigms of development within Latin America.

Despite these recent developments counter-acting what had (as recently as five years ago) appeared to be a general cohesive trend in paradigm formation, we are not prepared to project a sudden reversal in the overall directional trend. Within the re-emergence of CALA (which temporarily ceased functioning due to internal administrative problems) as the Canadian Council for the Americas - a "business-oriented council, serving Canadian companies, institutions and individual entrepreneurs seeking to strengthen business and economic ties with the countries of South and Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean"[105] - there is an attempt to establish a program of cooperation with the academic community, i.e. the Latin Americanist specialists within the Canadian universities.[106] Real rather than symbolic interaction may well have significant consequences not thought possible in 1969 by CALACS members. And the tenure of the Mulroney government, at this point, appears to be transitory; a successful 'free-trade' agreement with the U.S. is no sure bet. The responses, both in terms of numbers and variety of sources, received by the parliamentary committee on Canada's International Relations indicate a very solid base for the paradigm we have been discussing.

E. PARADIGMS AS IDEOLOGY

Any theoretical formulation about a given social order involves an ideological stance. Sometimes such stance is overt, most often it is latent. The success of any paradigm is related to its ability to hegemonise the intellectual discourse. That is, a theory is more successful to the extent that the intellectual community does not perceive it as "ideology" but as "truth" or as a "value-free" instrumental necessity. We have already indicated that "developmentalism" failed to perform in Canada the same hegemonic role it did in the United States.

If one recognizes this basic premise, one can treat the Canadian paradigm as an alternative world-view of Latin America. The question is now, which are its ideological underpinnings and functions *vis-à-vis* the academic and broader national communities. Four overlapping ideological strains converge in the above-discussed developmental paradigm.

1. One is a democratic socialist and humanist strain loosely connected with the missionary origins of the CCF and later the NDP. This ideological undercurrent is still pervasive in both the academic and religious establishments in Canada.

2. Another strain is a peculiar brand of Canadian neo-liberalism with a universalistic rationalist and internationalist perspective.

3. A third current is Marxism, both homegrown and Latin American. Like the first strain it is equally influential in academic institutions, especially in area studies. It is divided into numerous orientations from an intellectual "flirtation" with Marxist analysis, through Eurocommunism to the Marxist-Lenin variety.

4. The final and all-encompassing strain is nationalism, although the plural, nationalisms, may be a better term. There is indeed a Tory variety, *à la* Douglas Roche or Flora MacDonald, with a strong humanist and anti-utilitarian bent. There is also a leftist variety of economic nationalism which relates the Latin American experience of dependent development to that of Canada. In English Canada, this runs the gamut from NDP to ultra-left. There is as well as different vision of nationalism as a *Kulturnations:* Quebécois nationalism. It also runs a gamut

from social democratic to ultra-left. For Quebécois nationalists, their national experience as a latin 'Third World' country, shares parallels with that of Latin America. In all of these cases the homegrown paradigm serves to assert national identity, however defined. Underlying all these ideological postures, there is a profound rejection of US encroachment into Canadian society, economy, polity and culture from most intellectual quarters.

Besides these ideological persuasions merging into the paradigm, there are some unique political characteristics of Canadian academics and academic institutions which should be stressed. The self-perceived role of the Canadian academic as a "critical outsider" has been discussed. In combination with this predisposition, however, there seems to exist a predisposition to blend political partisanship, even militancy with scholarship. Unlike the U.S., where the academic perceives as "unprofessional" the blending of politics or moral issues with "objectivity", Canadian academe is more explicity *engagé* and less concerned about such a dichotomy.

In the Latin American field in Canada, commitment and involvement in political and moral issues often goes hand in hand with a perception of duty to scholarship. This, in turn, re-enforces the independence of the scholar *vis-à-vis* government and business. In the institutional arena, CALACS the same as CERLAC and GRAL or even OCPLACS do not hesitate to take stands on human rights or on conjunctural events such as El Salvador, Nicaragua, reactors to Argentina or linkages with repressive regimes. This is most dramatically illustrated by the official stand of CALACS at the opening meeting of the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education, in 1980.

> In countries where the University does not guarantee the basic academic and human rights of professors and students, it is difficult to envisage academic exchange and international cooperation of any form other than the organisation and expression of international solidarity and human rights.[107]

And the final report of the parliamentary committee on Canada's International Relations, despite its domination by Progressive Conservatives (12 of 20 members), echoes the ideological sentiments of the academics and the public sector. On human rights it asserts:

> We recommend that Canada use its voice and vote at meetings of international financial institutions to protest systematic, gross and continuous violations of human rights.[108]

> Canada should move forward and create a positive human rights development program ... Through co-operative programs of financial support, exchange, research and technical assistance, Canada should contribute to the long-term development of political, civil and cultural rights.[109]

On the purpose of developmental aid the report states:

> We think it essential to clarify this matter of purpose by relating development assistance to the operations of the international economic system. By and large trade and finance operate in ways that are blind to international economic inequalities and mass poverty.[110]

F. CONCLUSIONS

This highly tentative exploration into the field of intellectual history has identified a set of core assumptions, themes and formulations around Latin American development. We have called these a Canadian paradigm. One final question remains: what is the originality of the above-mentioned framework? As it has been suggested earlier, the Canadian developmental paradigm to study Latin America is a synthesis of various streams of thought. In our view, it is precisely in this ability to accommodate different intellectual traditions into one common but *critical* perspective, where the strength of the paradigm lies. Despite its very manifest ideological foundations, the approach, as it developed over the years, is quite open-ended and undogmatic. This is a far cry from the "ideology of non-ideology" existant in the dogmatic liberalism of the "paradigm-surrogate".

Statements reflecting the Canadian uniqueness we have published in the past warrant repeating, such as made in 1980:

> (The) ... type of perspective available in Canada today, about Latin America and its larger contexts, should be very cosmopolitan; that the biases and special interests of any particular country -

> especially that of the North American superpower - should always be offset by the input of scholars with far broader experience and perspective. In the long-term this should have important implications in terms of the type of research questions that are raised and the type of learning experience available in our institutions. In addition it does point to the diverse multicultural composition of Canadian society.[111]

And two years later, in 1982:

> I can recall writing on the subject back in 1976. As a newcomer to the Canadian academic milieu, I could perceive a great potential and mutual benefits in the combined efforts by Canadians and Latin American scholars to transcend their academic solitudes and learn from each others' realities. This could have, I argued, a momentous impact not only in the way Canadians perceive Latin Americans and vice-versa, but, most important in the way Canadians and Latin Americans perceive themselves.[112]

By 1987, we can conclude that there are both encouraging and discouraging aspects in Latin American development and the Canadian involvement therein. Conditions in most Latin American countries have deteriorated while our capacity to understand the processes involved has increased. In the real politic realm of inter-American relations the role of Canadian influence has diminished, epitomized by the marginalization of Canadian influence in the U.S. invasion of Grenada, while the stature of Canada has been enhanced within the perspectives of most Latin American countries. Opportunities for Canadian involvement in development within Latin America have increased, a factor officially recognized by the Canadian government but only acted upon with extreme caution as evidenced in pre-occupations with 'free trade' with the U.S. The Canadian paradigm has become extended and accepted within the informed sectors of the general public, attested to by the volume of published works emerging not only from the universities but also from official government agencies, the NGO sector and the commercial media. The reassertion of older, traditional views represents a challenge but, we suggest, a transitory phenomena. It may well represent a type of overdevelopment which, due to its structural economic basis, has the capacity to periodically reassert itself but provides no new theoretical or long-term

problem-solving alternatives. The Canadian paradigm, on the other hand, is no longer underdeveloped and has far greater potential in policy formation and praxis. Definitive conclusions, like the forecasting of actual events within Latin America, however, remain in the realm of intellectual speculation, subject to unanticipated surprises.

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2. Cf. Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolution. Second edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1970, p. 6.

3. Cf. Kuhn, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

4. Cr. Chantal Mouffe, ''Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci'', in Mouffe (ed.), Gramsci and Marxist Theory. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul: 1979, pp. 168-204.

5. Kuhn, op. cit., pp. ix 1.

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7. Cr. W. Raymond Duncan, Latin American Politics: A Developmental Approach. New York: Praeger, 1975, pp. vii-viii: Edward J. Williams and Freeman J. Wright. Latin American Politics: A Development Approach. Paolo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co.: 1975, pp. xi-xii: Robert Adif and Buy E. Poitras, Latin America: The Politics of Immediability. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall: 1074, pp. 1-28.

8. Eugene Stanley, The Future of Underdeveloped Countries: Political Implications of Economic Development. New York: Praeger, 1961, pp. 3-4.

9. Lucian W. Pye. ''The Confrontation between Discipline and Area Studies'' in Pye (ed.). Political Science and Area Studies, Rivals or Partners. Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 1975, p. 5.

10. Ibid., p. 12: From 1958 to 1973 N.D.E.A. title IV provided a $206 million allotment. ''Area and language training was about $14 a year, all of which has greatly contributed to the rise in respectibility of area studies throughout the country.'' (NB in 1958 dollars).

11. Ibid., p. 13.

12. J.C.M. Ogelsby, Gringos from the Far North: Essays in the History of Canadian-Latin American Relations, 1866-1968. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1976, pp. 9-16. For additional views on these developments see, D.R. Murray, ''Canada's First Diplomatic Missions in Latin America''. Journal of International Studies and World Affairs, 16 (May 1974), pp. 153-172; Arthur Neal ''Canada's Trade Ties with Latin America'', Canadian Geographical Journal, 31 (August, 1945),

pp. 78-95; E.R. Will, ''Economic Aspects of Canadian-Latin American Relations'', International Journal, 15 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 346-354.

13. Ogelsby, Gringos, pp. 66-153.

14. For an overview of these developments see, D.L.B. Hamlin, International Studies in Canadian Universities (Ottawa, 1964); E.L. Levy, ''Latin American Studies in Canada: Some Recent Trends'', Working Paper No. 15, Fifteenth Seminar of the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials, University of Toronto, June 23-26, 1970; J.C.M. Ogelsby, ''Latin American Studies in Canada'', Latin American Research Review, 2, 1 (Fall, 1966), pp. 80-88, H.W. Konrad, ''Old Wine or New Wineskins: The Direction of Canadian-Latin American Relations'', Newstatements, 1, 3 (1971). pp. 42-54; W.C. Soderlund, ''Latin American Studies in Canada: Ten Years after the Initial Assessments'', Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies, 1, 2 (1976), 1-8.

For listings which provide indications of place and source of degrees and main topical interests see, F.J. Tatlow, ed., Directory of Scholars in Latin American Teaching and Research in Canada (Ottawa, AUCC, 1970); F.J. Tatlow, ed., Scholars in Latin American Teaching and Research in Canada, 1969-1970, 2nd Edition, (Ottawa, AUCC, 1971); W.C. Soderlund, ed., Directors of Canadian Scholars and Universities Interested in Latin American Studies, 3rd Edition, Ottawa, (CALAS/ACELA, 1979). For hiring trends see, H.W. Konrad, ''Latin American Studies in Canada: Historical Development and Teaching Resources in 1972'', Annual CALAS/ACELA Meeting Report, McGill University, June, 1972, and H.W. Konrad, ''CALAS/ACELA: A View of its First Decade'', in J. Nef, ed., Repressions and Liberation in Latin America (Ottawa, Windsor and Toronto), 1981, pp. xi-xxiii.

15. Konrad, ''The Development and Impact'', p. 37.

16. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

17. This was prominently placed in the Policy Review papers published by the Federal Government in 1970, cf., Foreign Policy for Canadians: Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

18. John Foster, ''Canada and the Latin American People: A Testimony and a Prescription'', in Jorge Nef (ed.) Canada and the Latin American Challenge, Guelph: OCPLACS (1978), p. 179.

19. Ogelsby, Gringos, pp. 224-269 and David R. Murray, ''On Diplomatic Unrelations'', in Nef, Canada and the Latin American Challenge, pp. 170-171.

20. L.A. Pluta and W.J. Kontak, ''The Philosophy and Approach of the Antigonish Movement to the Problems of Development'', Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies, 1, 1 & 2 (1976), 158-179.

21. Cf. Susanne Bodenheimer, ''The Ideology of Developmentalism: American Political Science Paradigm Surrogate for Latin American Studies'', Berkeley Journal of Sociology, pp. 95-137.

22. See, for instance CUSO's training manual Readings in Development (1973). It contains a selection of critical readings on the subject.

23. Herman W. Konrad, 'CALAS/ACELA: A view of its First Decade'', in J. Nef, Repression and Liberation in Latin America, Ottawa, Toronto and Windsor: CALACS, CERLAC and OCPLACS: 1981, p. xxii.

24. Cf. Foster, op. cit., pp. 179-181.

25. Murray, op. cit., p. 173.

26. H.W. Konrad, ''The New Central American Awareness - Canadian Dimensions: A Review Essay'', Canadian Journal of Caribbean and Latin American Studies (in press).

27. Indicated by members of the Committee, see also Independence and Internationalism: Report of the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations, Ottawa: Queen's Printers, 1986.

28. Publication forthcoming under editorship of Jorge Garcia.

29. Konrad, ''Development and Impact'', pp. 48-50.

30. Loc cit.

31. Cf. Walter W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 1960, passim.

32. Cf. Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven: Yale University Press: 1968, passim.

33. Walter C. Soderlund, ''Latin American Studies in Canada: Ten Years After the Initial Assessment'', North South Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies, Vol. 1, nos. 1 and 2 (1976), pp. 2-3.

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35. Konrad, ''Latin American Studies in Canada''.

36. For an overview of the origins of CALAS (now CALACS) see Konrad ''Old Wine or New Wineskins'', pp. 46-47, and 'CALAS/ACELA'', pp. xi-xiii.

37. Soderlund, op. cit., p. 4.

38. Ibid.

39. Liisa North, Negotiations for Peace in Central America: A Conference Report. Ottawa, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security: 1985.

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49. Cf. Carmelo Mesa-Lago, et al., Latin American Studies in Europe, Pittsburgh: Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, c. 198-, passim.

50. James F. Petras, ''The Divergence Between Scientific Work and Political Action'', North South, Vol. III, Nos. 5 and 6 (1978), p. 99.

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53. Cf. House of Commons, Sub-Committee of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence, Canada's Relations with Latin America and The Caribbean, Issues Nos 5 and 6, Tuesday June 16 and Thrusday, June 18, 1981, pp. 5:46-5:77, 6:6-6:95.

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57. The basis for this type of involvement was clearly signaled in the International Development booklet of the 1970 Foreign Policy for Canadians series put out by the Canadian government in 1970.

58. The CIDA Annual Reports provide details of financial disbursements.

59. This is an impression gathered from discussions with CIDA, IDRC and External Affairs officials over the past decade.

60. This can be detailed from an analysis of the financial reports, information bulletins and annual reports of the government agencies.

61. Bodenheimer, op. cit., pp. 95-137.

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65. Susanne Bodenheimer, op. cit., p. 95.

66. Rodolfo Stavenhagen, ''Seven Fallacies about Latin America'', in James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin (eds.), Latin America: Reform or Revolution? A Reader., Greenwich: Fawcette, 1968, pp. 22-23.

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68. J. Nef., ''Pentagonism, Trilateralism and Military Withdrawal in Latin America'', in Pollock and Ritter (eds.), Latin American Prospects for the '80s ..., p. 1-26.

69. Cf. Helio Jaguaribe, ''Dependence and Autonomy in Latin America'', in Joseph S. Tulchin (ed.), Latin America in the Year 2000, Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975, p. 197.

70. Cary Hector, Vice President CALACS in Sub-Committee Hearings, Issue No. 6, June 18, 1981, pp. 6:6-6:9.

71. Liisa North's testimony, Issue No. 5, June 16, 1981, p. 5-61.

72. David Pollock's testimony, Issue No. 6, June 18, 1981.

73. North, loc. cit., p. 5-58.

74. Report to Parliament, p. 48:5, No. 8.

75. Ibid., p. 48:6, No. 9.

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78. Ibid., p. 48:5-48:6, No. 8.

79. Ibid., p. 48:13, No. 42.

80. Ibid., p. 48:11, No. 34.

81. Ibid., p. 48:14, No. 45.

82. Ibid., No. 44.

83. Ibid., p. 48:6, No. 9.

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85. Ibid., p. 48:14, No. 46.

86. Ibid., p. 48:9, No. 22-23.

87. Cf. Lester B. Pearson, Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development. New York-Washington-London, 1969, also see C. Sanger, ''Pearson's Eulogy'', International Journal, No. 235, (1969-70), p. 179.

88. For a critical review of the Brandt Report, cf. William D. Graf, ''Anti-Brandt: A Critique of Northwestern Prescriptions for World Order'', in Ralph Milibandt, J. Svaille (eds.), Socialist Register 1981, London: The Merlin Press, 1981, pp. 20-46; also, North-South: A Program for Survival. Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, passim.

89. Cf. Charles Jeanneret-Grosjean, ''Jalons pour autre développement'', Canadian Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1981), pp. 133-134; also Johan Galtung, Roy Preiswerk and Monica Wemegah, ''A Concept of Development Centered on the Human Being. Some Western European Perspectives'', loc. cit., pp. 135-174.

90. Independence and Internationalism, pp. 83-85.

91. A sense of this can be seen even in the title of the Canadian Secretary for External Affairs' pre-international review document, Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1985.

92. CIDA, for example has given support to NGOs to a greater extent than other 'developed' countries. Margaret Catley-Carlson, President of CIDA, points out that ''Our voluntary sector is now implementing 25 percent more of Canadian country-to-country assistance than it was two years ago.'' CIDA Annual Report, 1985-86 (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1986), p. 7. And Canada's contributions to NGOs, as a percentage of total Overseas Development Assistance, has reached 8.7 percent, Ibid., p. 53.

93. Many of which appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee (1985-86) during its review exercise. For a listing, see Independence and Internationalism, pp. 161-195.

94. The ongoing 'free-trade' talks between Canada and the US have highlighted many of these aspects.

95. Cf. Michael Wilson's (Minister of Finance) budget addresses (1985-1987).

96. Catley-Carlson, loc. cit.

97. The bilateral and multilateral part of ODA programs, in the fiscal year 1983-84, was 82.2 percent of the total. And projections were that this ''share be maintained or increased'', Competitiveness and Security, pp. 35-36.

98. Cf. most recent IDRC and CIDA Annual Reports.

99. SSHRC Annual Report, 1985-1986 (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1986), p. 19.

100. This, in spite of a commissioned IDRC study which suggested increasing specific areas of activities, cf., Thomas C. Bruneau, The Impact of IDRC Funding on Three Canadian Area Specific Learned Societies. Ottawa: IDRC, 1983.

101. See, for example, the IDO Newsletter, 8, 2 (Fall, 1986) with the title of ''Canadian Universities in International Development''.

102. Observations made by the authors from the ongoing developments at Guelph and Calgary. Despite the existence of a Standing Committee on International Relations at the University of Calgary, for example, this committee was not part of the formulation of its recently created (by university administrators) Centre for International Education and Business.

103. This has been the experience, during 1986-1987, by CALACS/ACELAC and our information from the African and Asian associations indicates the same trend.

104. Inter-America, 7, 3 (Juillet-Septembre, 1986).

105. As reported in this association's bulletin, The Americas, 1, 1 (November, 1986), p. 1.

106. The Americas, 1, 3 (February, 1987).

107. Michel Chossudovsky, Address to the Inaugural Meeting of the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education. Laval University, October 13-16, 1980.

108. Interdependence and Internationalism, p. 103.

109. Loc. cit.

110. Ibid., p. 90.

111. Konrad, 'CALACS/ACELAC'', p. xx.

112. Nef, ''Canada and Latin America: Solitudes in Search of a Paradigm'', in J. Nef (ed.), Canada and the Latin American Challenge, pp. 5-6.

PETER M. FOGGIN

8. LES GÉOGRAPHES CANADIENS ET LES ÉTUDES DU DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

L'étude des problèmes du Tiers monde est probablement pour les géographes le champ d'études à la fois le plus facilement identifiable et celui englobant la plus grande diversité de thèmes de recherche. Ce champ d'études a considérablement évolué depuis le début des années 1960: il est passé de la géographie dite «tropicale» à la géographie du développement, développement étudié dans le cadre des contextes très variés du Tiers monde. Cette géographie du développement occupe aujourd'hui une place importante dans la discipline et il s'enseigne maintenant, dans virtuellement tous les départements de géographie du pays, de nombreux cours ayant trait au Tiers monde. Ci-après, nous citerons quelques-uns des principaux thèmes de ces cours: étude de l'agriculture et du développement rural intégré; géographie économique du développement; théorie de la dépendance et de la modernisation; études de la population, des migrations et de l'urbanisation; santé et nutrition; disparités régionales; écologie, problèmes de l'environnement et aménagement des ressources; planification régionale et des transports; distribution géographique et impact de la coopération internationale. Il faut aussi souligner que parallèlement à ces cours spécialisés, la plupart des cours de géographie - en particulier ceux de géographie culturelle et de géographie politique - traitent assez fréquemment du Tiers monde.

L'étude de l'agriculture est sans conteste le domaine de recherche le plus important en géographie du développement. Il s'agit d'un domaine très vaste et les géographes canadiens y ont consacré nombre de travaux; ils ont entre autres fait des études régionales du développement de l'élevage, des études de l'agriculture paysanne, des

enquêtes sur les déficits de nourriture et la sous-production. En règle générale, quelles que soient les méthodologies employées, ces travaux arrivent à des conclusions semblables, à savoir que le modèle agricole commercial - industriel tend à accroître la marginalisation des strates sociales défavorisées. D'autres travaux traitent des disparités régionales et de l'écart croissant entre riches et pauvres, en d'autres mots de ce que David Harvey appelle la «justice sociale territoriale». Beaucoup de chercheurs se consacrent aussi à l'étude de l'écologie, particulièrement à l'étude de l'érosion des sols, des catastrophes naturelles et de la préservation des ressources naturelles nationales, telle la forêt tropicale humide. Par contre, peu de géographes canadiens semblent s'intéresser au domaine appliqué du développement rural intégré.

La géographie de la santé n'attire elle aussi que relativement peu de chercheurs; cependant, quelques contributions de qualité ont été réalisées. Robert Stock, par exemple, a écrit des études très pertinentes sur les systèmes de distribution de soins au Nigéria, travaux où il s'est penché sur l'influence des facteurs de distance, de croyances traditionnelles et d'accès aux services de santé en milieu rural. Des études de géographie de la santé ont également été entreprises dans le contexte du «développement» canadien; ainsi, Peter M. Foggin, Hubert Lauzon et Pierre Philie réalisent une grande étude comparative sur les Inuits et les indiens Cris du Québec. Leur étude essaye de déterminer les relations existant entre la nutrition et le mode de vie; entre l'environnement social, physique et culturel; entre les services de santé et le statut de la santé, statut mesuré de façon tant physique que subjective et fonctionnelle.

Les contributions des géographes canadiens à l'étude du développement régional sont assez nombreuses, en particulier celles concernant l'Amérique latine. Presque toutes ces contributions tendent à prouver qu'il n'existe pas actuellement de théories du développement «par le bas» qui soient bien structurées et qui, surtout, soient capables de constituer une véritable réponse aux approches purement économiques de développement «par le haut».

Les études sur la dépendance et la modernisation forment un domaine important de la géographie du développement, et ce tant au niveau théorique que pratique. L'une des premières études canadiennes dans le domaine

est celle que J. Barry Riddell fit en Sierra Leone au tournant des années 1970; il s'agissait d'un effort enthousiaste et quelque peu précoce visant à élaborer une approche «nouvelle» et «quantitative» en géographie du développement. J. Barry Riddell adopta comme cadre de référence la théorie de la modernisation, et se fit fortement attaquer par des géographes radicaux. La controverse fut des plus intéressantes et des tentatives furent entreprises afin de concilier les deux points de vue. L'un des auteurs les plus importants et prolifiques dans le courant néo-marxiste et dépendantiste canadien est Rodolphe De Koninck; il s'est beaucoup intéressé au sud-est asiatique, particulièrement à la Malaisie. L'une de ses idées-clés est que la révolution verte fut un instrument des pays développés; cet instrument accrût la dépendance des paysans, les aliéna plus de leurs terres et contribua à assoir le pouvoir d'élites locales rurales.

Nous terminerons en citant d'autres recherches qui, bien que moins directement liées au développement, sont néanmoins pertinentes pour qui veut comprendre les problèmes du développement international. Ainsi, en géographie historique, W. George Lovell a étudié la géographie de la région de Cuchumatan, au Guatémala, pendant l'époque coloniale espagnole; Eric Waddell, Romain Paquette, C.F. Pain et G.A.J. Scott ont fait plusieurs contributions aidant à mieux comprendre les processus de développement en milieu rural; plusieurs spécialistes de l'étude des populations et des migrations se sont penchés sur les phénomènes de la modernisation et de l'urbanisation; D.R. Fraser Taylor a mis au point des techniques de cartographie informatisées pour l'Afrique. On le constate, beaucoup de travaux sont réalisés et il est impossible que cet article soit exhaustif. Cependant, de manière générale, il peut être affirmé que si les contributions des géographes canadiens sont nombreuses et bien documentées en recherche fondamentale, leurs contributions à la géographie appliquée sont soit moins nombreuses, soit plus difficiles à répérer.

PETER M. FOGGIN

A. INTRODUCTION

The geography of development as a field of study is for geographers perhaps the most identifiable area of an almost endless array of research topics concerning the Third World. Since the terms "geography" and "development" mean different things to different people, it would be well at the outset to attempt some form of definition. By geography is understood the study of spatial relationships on the surface of the earth and the word development is used in a general way to refer to various aspects of change in the Third World, whether in terms of social, physical, economic, political, psychological or any other dimension of human activity and existence. As Australian geographer Brookfield, who was once a professor at McGill University, has pointed out, the "adoption of a holistic definition of development has important corollaries. Not only is development independent of growth, capable of both positive and negative dimensions, creative of "persistent poverty" in the one area by processes related to those which have produced wealth in another, but also even development that raised the real income of the whole world might diminish social welfare, most specifically by causing a deterioration of the environment" (Brookfield, 1976, p. 199).

As a research topic, the subject for geographers has seen a definite movement over the last twenty-five years from a preoccupation with tropical geography as a field of study to a growing emphasis on the geography of development in various Third World contexts. This trend follows quite closely the pattern that has been observed in the United Kingdom and in France. In this particular realm, Canadian geographers tend to look more to these two sources than to their colleagues south of the border. In the United States, there is a large number of excellent individual workers in the field of Third World development, but there does not seem to be a historical tradition of preoccupation with tropical geography viewed in the above sense.

As a teaching subject, the geography of development is offered in almost every geography department in Canada, and includes such topics as agricultural studies and integrated rural development; the economic geography of development; dependency and modernization theory and

research; population, migration and urbanization studies; health and nutrition; regional disparities; ecological, environmental hazards and resource management; regional and transportation planning; the geographical distribution and impact of foreign aid and international development projects. In addition, some other fields or subdisciplines of geography are either partially or largely carried out in Third World contexts. A prime example of this can be seen in the case of cultural geography, which like cultural anthropology, seems to thrive when studying smaller, rather unique societal entities. Consequently, it seems that many of these types of studies are carried out in the developing world, and it is for this reason that it is often quite difficult to draw a fine line of distinction between cultural and development geography. For the purposes of this survey, no particular attempt will be made to draw such distinctions. The same is true of what might be referred to as Third World applications of geographical methodologies such as the use of specific remote sensing and mapping techniques, for example. Finally, another study area that occasionally melts into development geography is that of political geography; the same might be said of health or medical geography, even though this sub-field has already been mentioned as one of the major topics of development geography.

It should be emphasized at the outset that geographical contributions to the field of development studies by Canadians have been modest. Over fifty development or Third World geographers across the country were contacted; about three-quarters of these responded with specific information. Consequently, the reader's indulgence is requested when he or she knows of other past or on-going research which may not have been mentioned here.

There seems to be some regional trends in the type of topics that Canadian development geographers take up. Basically, three area preferences can be identified: the Caribbean and Latin America; "Monsoon Asia" in the broadest sense (that is, including India and China); and Africa. The reasons for these concentrations have as much to do with where geographers have formerly practiced their profession as with a conscious regional choice. Some of the geographers mentioned in this overview produced some of their work while working in host or native Third World countries (Aiken, Chakravarti), while others

may no longer be in Canada on a permanent basis (Yeung).

B. AGRICULTURE

As to subject areas, agriculture seems to strike a fairly dominant, if varied, theme. This can range from regional analyses of cattle development problems in India (Chakravarti, 1985) through problems of peasant agriculture (De Koninck, 1980, 1982) to questions of food deficits (Chakravarti, 1982) and underproduction (Paquette, 1982). Interestingly, although employing totally different methodologies, both De Koninck and Paquette arrive at similar conclusions: that the commercial-industrial agricultural model tends towards alienation of the worker. However only Paquette concludes that productivity per worker is diminished. Efforts to redress inequality have been examined in a spatial context (McGee, 1980; Smith, 1984; Rouffignat, 1979) and should be viewed in the broader context of regional disparities and the whole question of the growing gap between the rich and the poor (Cole, 1981; Coates, et al., 1977). These latter authors although not Canadian help give perspective to the whole question of territoriality (De Koninck, 1985) or what Harvey calls territorial social justice (Harvey, 1974; Yeung, 1982).

Closely related to Third World agricultural studies is the whole applied field of integrated rural development (Bernier, 1982). Some work has been done or is in process (Cecil, 1978) but in general, geographers from Canada do not seem to be very active in this area of applied research. This is certainly not true internationally where geographers, particularly French ones, tend to be very involved (ORSTOM, 1984). On a more specific level, some studies have been conducted by Canadian geographers on agricultural productivity (De Koninck, 1980; Wong and Kueh, 1982; Wong and Tan, 1980) and food distribution (McGee, 1980).

C. ECOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

Still another closely related area of investigation might be qualified as that of geographic-ecological studies. Here the word ecology is understood in its narrower sense, since when it is too broadly defined it can cover a very vast proportion of development geography. This field being by definition interdisciplinary in the way problems must be viewed and analysed, the spectrum of scientific journals serving as means of communication broadens (Aiken and Moss, 1975; De Koninck, 1981; etc.) Nonetheless, it is surprising to see that the proportion of geographic journals remains as high as it does. Soil erosion remains a typical geographic preoccupation (Scott, 1981), as does the preservation of national natural resource bases such as the tropical rain forest (Aiken and Moss, 1975; Aiken, 1985). Natural hazards as an ecological factor in development is also examined (Hill, 1982; Whyte, 1981; Burton and White, 1983).

D. HEALTH GEOGRAPHY

This leads us into the important field of international health studies in which both physical as well as medical geographers are sometimes involved. Obviously the number of examples that can be attributed to Canadian geographers is limited. Two that come to mind are those of Stock and Foggin. In the first case health and health care delivery systems are examined in terms of geographical distributions and relationship for a region in northern Nigeria (Stock, 1980). Distance and the utilization of health care facilities in rural Nigeria are seen as a crucial dyad in the overall health system (Stock, 1983). In addition, the important issue of traditional beliefs and attitudes as a conditioning factor is analyzed in some depth (Stock, 1982). Closer to home, but nonetheless in what amounts to a real Third World type of setting, a current study is being carried out among the Inuit and Cree of Northern Quebec to determine the relationships existing between risk factors (for example, life-style, nutrition), physical and social environments, health care services and various cultural factors and the health status (measured physically, subjectively and functionally) of these two

native populations. The 2-year field survey involved ended in late 1984 and detailed analyses are under way (Foggin and Philie, 1984; Foggin and Lauzon, 1985). Obviously, this type of work must, by definition, be interdisciplinary in its approach. Much cooperation is involved, particularly between doctors of various specialization, epidemiologists and health geographers. International applications of this work are envisaged.

E. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In the realm of regional development, several solid contributions have been made to the literature by Canadian geographers. Latin America is the focus of a wide-ranging geographically-oriented analysis of regional development policies and programmes (Stohr, 1975). Stohr's book is a classic example of synthesis of economic, urban and political geographic approaches to the study of Third World development problems at a macro-analytic (international) scale. Conventional regional development (growth-pole oriented) theory is contrasted with local "wilful community action" (Weaver, 1981, p. 98) in terms of development strategies in a jointly edited work by Stohr and Taylor (1981). They point out that unlike development "from above" which was nurtured by the economic theories of the past three decades (particularly the neoclassical one), there seems to be no well-structured theory available as yet for an alternative paradigm of development "from below". Stohr, in his chapter, (Stohr and Taylor, 1981, ch. 2) cites, however, several attempts in this direction, notably Nerfin for "another development" (Nerfin, 1977), as well as research toward a "theory of rural development" (Haque et al., 1977). There are doubtless numerous regional scientists active in this area of regional planning in the Third World, but the above are the workers who are perhaps best known specifically as Canadian geographers in this realm. In addition, attempts have been made to analyze the process and geographical impact of various national development plans (Smith, 1980, 1984; Everitt, 1984).

F. MODERNIZATION AND DEPENDENCY STUDIES

Turning now to the important and related theoretical (and practical) field of dependency and modernization studies, a number of Canadian academics are looking at these questions from a geographic standpoint. Perhaps the best known Canadian worker in the geography of modernization is Barry Riddell (1981). His work on Sierra Leone in the late sixties and early seventies (Riddell, 1971) was part of an enthusiastic, if premature, application of modernization theory in the quest for a "new" and "quantitative" approach to the geography of development (Soja, 1968; Gould, 1971 and 1979). This approach has since been roundly criticized, primarily by "radical" analysts in geography (Harvey, 1974; Slater, 1976; Forbes, 1984) who, in general, tend to espouse some form of dependency theory in their approach to explaining the phenomenon of development and underdevelopment. However, Riddell, some ten years later, deals with a lot of the objections (Riddell, 1981) and attempts to reconcile differing viewpoints. By so doing he creates a kind of "enlightened" approach to the geography of modernization. He does this primarily by taking into account many of the historical factors that had been neglected in some of the earlier studies on development in Africa. In defence of the earlier work, however, Riddell points out that "these were viewed as being 'first approximations' or 'testing-the-waters' studies, providing an initial broad overall picture of the geography of change at the national level in several Third World countries. From such studies, investigators have moved into (...) the processes of specific dimensions of spatial change, including urban systems, periodic marketing, transportation systems, health care facility location, nutrition, the political economy of space, internal trade, and population migration" (Riddell, 1981, p. 292). Other work in the geography of modernization is currently being conducted in Canada by researchers at York University (Freeman and Solberg, 1978; Freeman, 1980; Freeman and Norcliffe, 1984) and elsewhere (Wesche, 1984; Crush, 1983; Young, 1983). At U.B.C. problems of urbanization have long been a preoccupation (McGee, 1971). The title of Armstrong and McGee's forthcoming book would indicate they are concerned with retaining the more useful aspects of both the modernization and the dependency models of

development (McGee and Armstrong, 1985). Links between modernization and dependency theory are developed to some extent by Crush (1979, 1984) and Roberge (1985).

As far as the "neo-marxist" or radical dependency model is concerned, perhaps De Koninck best exemplifies this approach in his work on Southeast Asia in general, and Malaysia in particular (De Koninck, 1979 and 1982). He shows how the much vaunted Green Revolution has been an instrument in the hands of the developed world bringing the rural peasantry inexorably to an even greater state of dependency and alienation from the land through the intermediary of a new local, elite, agricultural class. Interestingly, he comes to related conclusions (that collectivization including the management of work as applied to agriculture in China is both alienating and counter-productive) through the analysis of a brief survey conducted on two communes in the Shanghai region in 1984 (De Koninck, 1985). This would go a long way to explaining the current necessity in China for the revitalizing of certain aspects of peasant agriculture. Be that as it may, the strength of the group of researchers represented by De Koninck is that their theoretical grid is firmly tested against solid empirical data gathered painstakingly in the field (De Koninck, 1977, 1980).

G.HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND REGIONAL VIEWPOINTS

Some of the other work by Canadian geographers is perhaps less specifically developmental in its orientation, but nonetheless of vital importance to those concerned with an understanding of international development problems. Historical geography is an example of this. Lovell, of Queens University, has just completed a book on the Spanish colonial era in the Cuchumatan Highlands of Guatemala (Lovell, 1985) and this will reflect undoubtedly much of his earlier work (Lovell, 1982 and 1983a,b,c). Canadian cultural geographers have also made contributions to the understanding of development processes in the agricultural realm (Waddell, 1972; Paquette, 1982; Pain and Scott, 1981). Others, with varying approaches, have made substantial contributions to an understanding of the regional geography of the developing world (Anglade,

1974; Stohr, 1975; Taylor, 1979; Innes, 1983; Gonzalez, 1984).

H. POPULATION AND MIGRATION

The study of the spatial aspects of population and settlement has also been an important theme. As has already been noted, Riddell has been very interested in population migrations as a manifestation of modernization (Riddell, 1981; 1983). Wong examines this question also in the Southeast Asian context (Wong and Tiongson, 1980). Denis (1980) states the rural-urban problem and this is further developed in various urbanization and migration studies. A classic work on Third World urbanization was produced almost fifteen years ago by McGee (1971) and at the present time a new work along these lines, drawing on Asian and Latin American examples, is expected to appear this year (McGee and Armstrong, 1985). Population growth is examined by geographers in both spatial and historical contexts (Chakravarti, 1976; Anglade, 1983), as are possible solutions to the obvious problem that high population growth rates represent (Foggin, 1983; Everitt, 1983, 1984). The problems of the urban environment have also been dealt with at some length (McGee and Yeung, 1977; Aiken and Leigh, 1975; Aiken, 1981).

I. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, an attempt has been made towards a synthesis of what Canadian geographers are and have been doing in the recent past in the field of international development studies. One area that remains unclear is the extent to which they are contributing to international development projects worldwide by means of their discipline's particular array of expertise in the analysis of spatial data. Two workers in this field that come to mind are Taylor and McGrath, the former having developed computer mapping applications for geographical research in Africa (Taylor and Obudho, 1977; Taylor, 1971). McGrath is responsible for a volume entitled, *Mapping for Development*, which is devoted to describing this kind of applied geography. But undoubtedly scores of geographers are

involved in the various international development schemes and projects that require some kind of Canadian presence. Hopefully, this brief survey only represents the tip of the iceberg of what Canadian geographers are and will be doing in this terribly important field of scientific endeavor.

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J.C.M. SHUTE ET F.H. CUMMINGS

9. LES ÉTUDES DU DÉVELOPPEMENT RURAL INTERNATIONAL DANS LES UNIVERSITÉS CANADIENNES

Les études du développement rural international restent fort embryonnaires au Canada, mais le domaine en tant que tel ne peut être qualifié d'égale manière parce que la pratique du développement rural est relativement ancienne et importante dans le pays. Cela constitue un paradoxe, paradoxe que cet article s'attachera à expliquer. L'article se divise essentiellement en trois parties; d'abord, il discute de certains des dilemmes conceptuels qui se posent dans le champ d'études, ensuite il décrit ce qui se fait dans le domaine dans les universités canadiennes, et finalement il propose quelques recommandations afin d'améliorer la situation de «sous-développement» des études canadiennes du développement rural international.

La définition de ce qu'est le développement rural a donné lieu à de nombreuses controverses. La définition la plus opérationnelle, mais pas nécessairement la meilleure, considère surtout la (ou les) populations-cibles d'efforts déterminés de développement; c'est habituellement la définition adoptée par les gouvernements et les organisations de développement telle la Banque mondiale par exemple. Pour les universités, «développement rural» est en règle générale plus perçu comme un domaine d'activités professionnelles que comme une discipline académique clairement délimitée; le champ d'études se veut multidisciplinaire et il présuppose que les populations et les conditions rurales - singulièrement celles du Tiers monde - sont significativement différentes de celles des zones urbaines. Ce qui est bien établi pour les universités est que «développement rural» n'est pas synonyme de développement agricole: cette constatation fondamentale est à la base des approches intégrées de développement rural, et aussi de la multidisciplinarité du domaine.

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L'institutionnalisation du développement rural international en tant que domaine de recherche date du début des années 1970. Il était devenu alors évident que les zones rurales du Tiers monde restaient pauvres et marginalisées et qu'il s'agissait de trouver des solutions aux problèmes résultant des politiques de développement exclusivement basées sur une industrialisation rapide. Tout au cours des années 1970, la Banque mondiale joua un rôle innovateur dans le domaine, et cela sous l'impulsion de Robert McNamara, son président. L'ACDI devint active à partir surtout du milieu des années 1970, mais se considère handicapée par un manque aigu de spécialistes dans le domaine.

L'enseignement supérieur est censé refléter les besoins, les traditions, les intérêts et les valeurs de la société. Et c'est en général le cas pour les universités canadiennes; ainsi le passé agricole du pays est reflété dans l'exceptionnel développement des études dans les sciences de l'agriculture. De fait, ces sciences se sont peut-être trop développées dans le pays, tout au moins par rapport à certains champs d'études connexes, celui du marketing des produits agricoles, par exemple, qui est presque inexistant. Une telle situation est un paradoxe. Un autre paradoxe est que les universitaires canadiens n'ont virtuellement pas extrapolé - dans le domaine - leur expérience canadienne aux contextes du Tiers monde. De ce fait, l'étude du développement rural international est victime d'une double marginalisation dans les universités du pays, à savoir celle affectant l'étude du Tiers monde et celle affectant l'étude du fait rural. Lorsque l'on pense à l'importance cruciale des populations rurales du Tiers monde, il nous faut bien parler de myopie et d'anachronisme universitaires. Ainsi, en 1980, parmi les 347 universitaires canadiens spécialisés dans des disciplines se rapportant d'une manière ou d'une autre aux problèmes de l'alimentation et ayant une expérience du Tiers monde, moins de 10% se disaient intéressés par des facteurs sociaux ou environnementaux, ou par l'extension rurale ou par la planification ou par des systèmes d'information. A l'exception de deux universités, très peu offrent des cours de développement rural ou même de sociologie rurale, et cela vaut également pour les départements d'anthropologie qui semblent ignorer complètement le mot «rural» dans les titres de leurs cours. Ce qui est plus paradoxal encore

est que les universités ayant de fortes facultés de sciences agricoles ne s'intéressent pas au développement rural!

Il n'y a pas de revue canadienne spécialisée dans le domaine et une analyse des articles publiés dans la Revue canadienne d'études du développement et dans la Revue canadiennes d'études africaines, deux des meilleures revues du pays, montre qu'elles ne publient virtuellement aucun article consacré au développement rural international. Certes, divers chercheurs dispersés dans quelques universités, celles de Calgary, Carleton, Dalhousie, Laval, McGill, d'Ottawa et de Waterloo pour ne citer que celles-là, ont fait d'excellentes contributions, mais ces chercheurs ne sont finalement qu'une poignée. Les deux seules universités montrant un intérêt véritable dans le développement rural international sont St-François Xavier à Antigonish, N.-E. et Guelph. St-François Xavier possède un Département d'extension et surtout l'Institut international Coady; l'intérêt de l'université dans le domaine est ancien, il date de l'entre-deux-guerres, et le développement et l'organisation communautaires, l'éducation des adultes et les capacités de leadership sont les aspects essentiels du Mouvement d'Antigonish. L'Université de Guelph est fortement orientée vers le développement rural et possède une réputation internationale dans le domaine. Elle possède un Département d'études en extension rurale et, depuis 1981, une Ecole de planification et de développement rural qui offre une maîtrise; l'Ecole est impliquée dans d'importants projets de développement rural dans le Tiers monde et publie - avec l'Université de Wageningen de Hollande, Rural Development Notes.

Pourquoi cette faiblesse des études en développement rural international au Canada? Plusieurs raisons peuvent l'expliquer: la relative réticence des universités face aux programmes interdisciplinaires; la marginalité et des études du Tiers monde et du fait rural, raisons qui ont été mentionnées antérieurement; la vulnérabilité des champs d'études faiblement institutionnalisés en période de récession académique; et finalement le fait que «rural» - surtout lorsque le terme est appliqué aux PVD - connote «agriculture» et même «alimentation» pour le grand public, pour les décideurs et souvent aussi pour les administrateurs universitaires, ce qui influence les politiques d'aide internationale et aussi l'orientation des programmes d'études universitaires. Cette faiblesse des

études en développement international est d'autant plus regrettable que maintenant que les carences du paradigme et des politiques de «modernisation» sont évidentes, il existe une réelle demande pour des spécialistes dans le domaine. La multidisciplinarité et une revalorisation du fait rural sont aujourd'hui plus indispensables que jamais tant aux études qu'à la pratique du développement international.

> An effective attack on world poverty can only be made by going direct to the rural areas and dealing with the problems there.
>
> Julius Nyerere

> Not the least among the problems of our time is to discover the way of bringing the blessings of science and technology to the rural community and yet maintain the struggle which is so necessary for the proper development of human character.
>
> M.M. Coady

The "state of the art" of international rural development studies in Canadian universities may be described as embryonic. That is not to say that the field is entirely underdeveloped because the practice of rural development has a long if somewhat checkered history in Canada and this experience has had an impact on academe. What we attempt to show in this account is something of the conceptual dilemma associated with that field of scholarship called rural development. We then describe its profile in the Canadian university system, offer some explanations for the current state of affairs, and finally propose some modest recommendations to those sectors of the university community which may wish to approach the field somewhat more systematically and imaginatively than appears so far to have been the case.

A. RURAL DEVELOPMENT DESCRIBED IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Arriving at precise definitions of rural development has defied widespread agreement among either practitioners or scholars. The term as well as the concept are more susceptible to description than to easy definition. Those who use the term, says van Nieuwenhuijze, "feel a need to start by defining it".[1] We, however, prefer to describe rural development by setting out briefly both its conceptual and operational characteristics as we have observed them and tested them in Third World settings.

In general terms, rural development refers to those factors which combine to bring about an improvement in the social, economic and physical wellbeing of rural people. The term "rural" can take on a variety of connotations, including the governmental status of a particular unit (its designation as village, town or city), the ratio of population size to land area (population density), the economic function of an area (usually referring to the strength of its link to primary production) and the cultural traditions and values often associated with the countryside.

The definitions of rural development utilized by international development agencies and by governments around the world tend to refer to the choice of a particular target audience as a focus for a development effort. The World Bank, for example, characterized rural development as a:

> strategy aimed at improving the economic and social conditions of a particular human group, that of deprived peasants. Development must benefit the poorest of those that must earn their living in the countryside and among whom one finds small landowners, small farmers, and the landless.[2]

Notable elements of this working definition include the reference to social and economic conditions, occupations in the rural areas linked to the renewable resource base, and the poor as a target group. Elements of a wider definition of rural development that are missing include the importance of micro-enterprise development and the non-agricultural sector in rural areas, particularly the service sector. Rural development in both theory and practice should include all elements of rural society.

Leaving out local industries or the vibrant and colourful service sector of rural areas leaves us with a rural development description (and program) which is incomplete.

For universities, rural development is a synthesis of traditional disciplines blending to form what may more properly be called a professional field than a discretely definable discipline. This is its first academic problem, as applied fields of study which draw on conventional disciplines (principally but not exclusively the social sciences) are not always eagerly welcomed into academe. One thinks of the parallels -- business administration, adult education, management and so on -- which became academically respectable only with time and persistence and which, to this day, still struggle for that respectability in some universities.

Conceptually and operationally, rural development (sometimes referred to as "integrated" or "comprehensive" rural development) rests on the assumption that rural populations and the conditions governing their lives are different in significant ways from urban populations and life conditions. Further, it is usually assumed that rural people in the Third World not only suffer from maldistribution of natural resources and services but also, because of the nature of the often depressed rural scene, that they suffer from isolation, food production shortfalls, governmental neglect, rural-urban drift, environmental degradation, high levels of illiteracy and a low level of self-confidence. Underlying all of these conditions is poverty with all of its dampening and discouraging impact on the quantity and quality of life. It is fundamentally the observation of a high correlation between poverty levels and rural life that began to draw attention, in North America and then in the Third World, to the interlocking conditions of life which constitute the subject matter of rural development.

The majority of rural dwellers everywhere have derived their livelihoods from agriculture and from the processing and marketing activity related to agriculture. While it is a mistake, in our view, to assume that one can understand rural communities without a firm grasp of both the technology and the overall importance of agriculture, it is equally misleading, we feel, to assume that agricultural development itself can be equated with rural development. This view argues strongly for greater cooperation among

scientists concerned with primary production (agricultural scientists, food scientists, resource and agricultural economists and home economists) and social scientists concerned with rural socio-economic systems. The realities of life and the variable conditions imposed on individuals and communities are themselves integrated and not easily separated, even for analytical purposes. If the human condition of the rural dweller is a patchwork and melange of social, economic, environmental, political, even physiological factors, then it appears to us eminently sensible for the scholar and analyst to approach such situations in an integrated and holistic way. This is the principal theoretical argument underlying both the practice and the study of rural development, regardless of the particularistic definitions of "rural" or "poverty". We have observed that one-factor solutions to the problems, whether conceptual or practical, do not work. One-factor solutions typically derive from single disciplines. Is food production alone, for example, a solution to the hunger problem in developing countries? Would improved storage or marketing or nutritional quality be in itself the solution? Not in our view, for multi-factor, integrated solutions, while more elusive, are more promising. They are more elusive because effective integrative and multi-factor methodologies are rare. One commentator, remarking on this problem goes so far as to assert that:

> Today the intellectual community pretends there exists an elegant conceptual framework, but this is not so. All we really have are the irrational and contradictory frameworks of the past and fragments of concepts which are emerging give us indications of how development in wider human terms, using local resources and local knowledge, can be attempted in isolated macro or micro experiments. We are witnessing concepts emerging in an embryonic form, in an untidy system.[3]

Indeed, academic training everywhere in the world is based on the specialization characteristic of disciplines. Such training flies directly in the face of integration, interdisciplinarity and the abilities of academically trained personnel to move among disciplines, cooperate with or even speak the language of those trained in other specialties. Rarely have universities either in the North or the South paid more than lip service to integration and multi-

disciplinary studies, so it comes as no surprise that the educated elites of all countries frequently suffer from this intellectual and practical deficiency.

For us, then, rural development as a field of study examines the interplay and interrelationships among physical, social, political, environmental and economic forces at work in rural communities. This point of view is shared to some extent by national, international and nongovernmental agencies which in the past fifteen or so years have entered the field of rural development. It was in the early seventies that rural development emerged as a serious approach to the problems of marginalized or impoverished Third World countries and communities recognizing that post-independence advantages had not trickled down to the poorest rural folk. The benefits of agricultural and other technologies were not diffusing as widely or as quickly as was hoped. Rural development, with its emphasis on meeting basic human needs, seemed an alternative to failing industrialization efforts, on more equitable distribution of benefits, and because of its assumptions concerning the unleashing of the productive capacity of rural people, analogous to the earlier western experience with agricultural surpluses contributing to economic growth. The World Bank, for example, only began lending substantially to the rural sector in the late sixties and then principally to irrigation installations. The Bank policy statement on rural development put it like this:

> A national program of rural development should include a mix of activities, including projects to raise agricultural output, create new employment, improve health and education, expand communications and improve housing. Such a program might be made up of single-sector or multisectoral projects, with components implemented concurrently or in sequence.[4]

Much of this stimulus for the Bank's initiatives seems to have been provided by Robert McNamara in a speech to the World Bank's Board of Governors in Nairobi in 1973 in which he proposed a strategy for rural development combining attention to land reform, better access to credit, an assured water supply, new rural organizations and institutions, and expanded extension and research. Seventy per cent of the proposed program funding was to be directed to the smallholder sector. "Some of the absolute poor are

in the urban slums but," McNamara pointed out, "the vast bulk of them are in the rural areas. And it is there - in the countryside - that we must confront their poverty."[5]

Lele, writing for the Bank of African rural development, asserted that rural development is "improving living standards of the mass of the low-income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining".[6] This view of rural development began to inform and influence the policies and practices of bilateral donors like Canada. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) produced its own rather thoughtful set of sectoral guidelines for rural development in 1976.[7] CIDA promptly embarked on several large-scale integrated rural development projects in countries as different as Ghana, Lesotho and Nepal in the effort to implement these guidelines. As well, CIDA adopted in these guidelines a rather broader view of agriculture than had been the case previously, although little effort to integrate the two sections of the guidelines was apparent. Later CIDA sponsored a state of the art review of rural development experience. Though flawed in certain respects, this study identified seven factors limiting effective rural development project implementation. The authors concluded not only that integrated development is "complex to plan, to implement and to evaluate", but also that Canada by contrast to certain other donors, is "quite handicapped" by the absence of a body of researchers who could "blaze new trails" and in other ways contribute to the methodologies and analyses required for more effective planning, implementation, evaluation and innovation.[8] This last observation echoes a related comment in the CIDA *Sectoral Guidelines*: "Because Canada has had little expertise in rural development abroad, actual Canadian experience in integrated rural development is very sparse."[9] Then, after listing those sectors in which Canadians can make a positive contribution, the guidelines point to these limitations:

> Within certain sectors or subsectors, CIDA is already close to using all the readily available Canadian manpower; the same advisers are being reassigned from project to project.
>
> ... While work could be accomplished by creating teams of specialists and consultants out of the academic community for a limited

> number of projects in the rural sectors, it is obvious that any major effort in this field would rapidly dry up the limited pool of Canadian expertise.[10]

Although the situation pointed to in the CIDA *Sectoral Guidelines* has to some degree changed for the better since 1976, the point to note is that Canadian universities have in general failed to produce the personnel demanded by Canada's international development assistance programs. The relevant programs of study have simply not been widely available. This mismatch might be more understandable if Canada were a nation without a rural tradition of its own. Such is not the case, of course, as Canada has been an agrarian society until very recently, with a substantial domestic rural development tradition.

B. RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

Higher education, it is said, reflects the needs, traditions, interests and value of the society which creates and sustains it. As a nation characterized by regional variation, an agrarian past, a populist educational philosophy and infrastructure, a colonial inheritance and more recently by massive immigration, urbanization and industrialization, Canadians might expect to see mirrored in their universities the academic presence of these social and historical forces. For the most part, such is the case. Social science, health science, the humanities and agriculture, to cite four fields, can be said to have grappled with Canadian realities and contradictions. Agricultural science, indeed, has probably been too successful, in that Canada has built up an excessive productive capacity, or at least one out of step with marketing, consumption and exports. The paradox, however - one of several which turn up in our analysis - is that the obvious extrapolation from domestic experience to the international dimension has faltered. Canadian scholars study community organization and participation at home but not overseas; we analyze unemployment or nutrition or soil degradation in Canada but not often in the developing world; we examine the urbanization of our own rural people without studying the parallels elsewhere. The forces of social, political and

rural change are grist for our domestic academic mills but we too often fail to examine those forces in a global context. In general, not only is the concern with rural phenomena largely peripheral or incidental in Canadian universities, but so is the concern with the international. Coupling these observations suggests strongly to us, therefore, that any systematic academic concern with international rural development is doubly marginal in our universities at present. At first, one may be mystified by the paradox of Canadian universities ignoring Third World phenomena with clear parallels to our own history and experience. On reflection, however, several reasons for these contradictions suggest themselves.

One factor is doubtless the long-standing parochialism of our universities, a situation which was the cause of some alarm in the early sixties when the then National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, the forerunner of A.U.C.C., sponsored a study by Hamlin and Lalande of the international dimension of Canada's universities. Their inventory catalogued existing area studies programs in the social sciences and humanities where, unfortunately, it has been assumed (and still is) that international development studies belong.[11] No reference was made to the international dimension of the applied disciplines, like agriculture, forestry, management, education, home economics and the like. "The broad conclusion of this report", said Hamlin, "is that a sound foundation in these fields of study has yet to be realized in Canada".[12] Six years later, in 1970, Norma Walmsley reported that international studies in Canadian universities were *ad hoc* and accidental. At no university represented in her inventory was international rural development or anything approaching it cited as a field of study.[13] Not only were international studies and the university mechanisms required for promoting them peripheral, in the opinion of Hamlin-Lalande and Walmsley, but the rural dimension of such programs as were available was virtually non-existent. It is fair to note that some progress has been recorded since 1970 but in our view it is modest. Lest these developments in Canada be treated out of comparative context, it is instructive to remind ourselves that the Hayter Committee report on international studies in Britain in 1960 observed that although the

> centre of gravity of the world, which up to the time of the Second World War was in western Europe, has now moved outwards, east, west and south. But the British educational system has taken little account of these developments. So far as it considers any area outside the United Kingdom it still seems able only to see western Europe, with an occasional bow to north America and the Commonwealth. Western European languages, civilizations and history dominate the arts faculties of British universities. It seems to the Sub-Committee that this state of affairs is anachronistic and shows an inadequate response to the changes now occurring in the world. This failure in response is not of course peculiar to the universities, but it is the universities which have the strongest obligation to correct it.[14]

This stage of affairs in Britain, a major colonial power and a repository of immense tropical experience, does not, of course, excuse Canadian myopia. Rather it suggests that universities everywhere have to confront the confined vision of traditional disciplines and their frequently narrow worldview.

Looking specifically at Canadian universities in relation to world food needs a decade after Walmsley, Tossell found that of the 347 Canadian academics identified as having Third World experience in food-related disciplines, only thirty-four (under ten per cent) were interested in environmental and social factors, extension and information systems or planning. Those in these three areas reporting twelve months of Third World experience or more numbered only sixteen.[15] Although Tossell did not list rural development as an area of emphasis, these numbers reveal something of the continuing marginality of non-agricultural rural studies in our universities.

As we examined university programs across Canada, it became clear that the prevailing academic climate for international rural development studies is consistent with the foregoing profile of thin and uneven university involvement in international development to date. Our findings are derived from our personal knowledge of the field, our network of academic contacts, telephone interviews with colleagues across Canada, a review of academic calendar material, and from a review of the literature.[16] We do not claim that our analysis is exhaustive but we believe that it presents a fair representation of the current state of affairs. In short, the picture is one of

scattered fragments of interest with but two substantial university commitments to rural development with a Third World focus. The fragments of interest are reflected largely in individual courses offered by departments across the country in rural sociology, development planning and agricultural economics, or in the research and publications of individual scholars. Neither university calendars nor our personal contacts across Canada revealed much that could be labelled rural development studies or even any pronounced rural interests in interdisciplinary centres. We were astonished to find how few departments of sociology offer even a single course in rural sociology and how many anthropology departments eschew the word "rural" completely. This seems as true of large universities as of smaller ones. We had expected to find more interest in rural development in universities possessing faculties of agriculture but with only one exception, such was not the case. The only active programs we were able to identify are located at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia and at the University of Guelph.[17]

1. Research and Publication

For another index of the level of academic interest in international rural development, we scanned two Canadian academic journals explicitly concerned with development. Since there are no Canadian journals dedicated specifically to rural development, we were forced to turn to the area studies and development studies literature. Since 1980, for instance, the *Canadian Journal of African Studies* has published literally only a handful of papers which could be said to fit our conception of rural development. Papers by Jeanneret[18], Freeman[19], Amaratunga and Shute[20], Norcliffe and Freeman[21] and, slightly less germane, one by Schwimmer[22], treat rural issues with some degree of breadth in a more or less interdisciplinary mode. *The Canadian Journal of Development Studies* has emerged as one of the major international development journals in Canada. A review of the twelve issues from 1980 to 1986 revealed several articles of relevance to this study, representing approximately six per cent of the total pages published in the journal to date. These included articles by Foggin and Withane[23] that are clearly linked to specific disciplines but also touch on the general subject matter of

rural development. The work by Lipton, and Honadle *et al.*[24] focus on the core of rural development, while the articles by Rodgers on rural-urban migration[25], by Rondinelli on regional disparities[26] and by Havet on agrarian reform[27] are concerned with particular topics that are integrative and fundamental to understanding the mechanisms by which rural development works.

Of course, a number of other scholars in Canada have contributed to rural development studies, among whom are the following:

McGee and Hainsworth have gained some prominence because of their contribution to scholarship on rural development issues. McGee has focused on rural-urban relationships while Hainsworth has concerned himself with issues raised by village level modernization processes.[28] Apedaile was principal author of a major development plan now being implemented in part by CIDA in Nepal.[29] Webster, at the University of Calgary, has tended to write under the rubric of regional development as has Gertler at the University of Waterloo.[30] At Guelph, outside of the two units specifically referred to below, Bakker, Van Beers and Cebotarev have all made contributions.[31] At the University of Ottawa, the Institute for International Development and Cooperation has served as a focus for seminars, short courses and some writing on rural development and now serves as a base for the publication of the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*. Crener at Ottawa was a co-author of the recent CIDA review of rural development.[32] Havet has contributed three titles to the new series of development studies being published by the University of Ottawa Press.[33] Taylor and Mehmet at Carleton have published and/or edited books with rural development as an important component of their focus.[34] In Quebec, again we find individual scholars making significant contributions at Laval (De Koninck, Bernier) although a recent review of Third World development projects at Laval does not identify rural development as a focus.[35] McGill has had a strong interest in international development through MacDonald College, the Brace Institute and the Centre for Developing Areas Studies. However, their focus has not often included broader rural development issues.

On the east coast, Dalhousie University has a strong environmental studies program which includes many rural

issues in the broader context of Third World development. Finally, the late Don Snowden, of Memorial University's extension program, was well known for his involvement in community development activities in India.

We turn now to a description of the programs at St. Francis Xavier University and the University of Guelph.

2. St. Francis Xavier University

In 1959, St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, established the Coady International Institute to institutionalize, for the purpose of promoting Third World development, the two central themes which had characterized the Antigonish Movement since the twenties - adult education and economic cooperation. The Antigonish Movement grew out of the university's efforts to moderate the impact of the post-World War I depression on the agricultural and fishing communities of eastern Nova Scotia. This movement applied a blend of social animation and leadership training motivated by a view attributing to human beings spiritual and social dignity. The university established an Extension Department in 1928 to link the university and the people, a move described as "the first of its kind on the continent".[36] As early as 1918, the university had begun to respond to criticisms of universities as elite institutions and so, with a boost from Carnegie funds and after a series of rural conferences in Nova Scotia, the university established the Extension Department. Concrete results followed rapidly. The first fishermen's cooperative appeared in 1931 and community and parish study groups soon evolved into credit unions and consumer cooperatives. Government and churches cooperated with the Department in an effort to support this self-help movement designed to attack problems of out-migration, unemployment, low productivity, labour unrest and general social stress typical of the time in Nova Scotia. The efforts of the Antigonish Movement were sufficiently successful that as developing countries attained independence following World War II, they began to show interest in the approaches applied among Nova Scotia's disadvantaged people. The Antigonish concepts and practice of community development and organization, leadership training and adult education seemed applicable to Third World development needs. Hence the establishment

of the Coady International Institute to provide a training program based on the principles of the Antigonish Movement. By 1979, training in Antigonish techniques had been provided to more than 2000 adults from over 100 countries.[37] The development orientation motivating the Coady is a self-reliance model in which basic human needs take priority.[38]

As the seventies wore on, the Coady International Institute evolved a program planning and management stream paralleling its traditional cooperative emphasis and it began to shift much of its in-Canada training to Third World locations. Coady staff are now expected to spend six months of each academic year as resource staff in the Third World programs supported by the Institute. The emphasis in these programs is on capacity-building in such skills as needs assessment, organizational development and integrated rural development. CIDA provides substantial budget support to the Institute, which continues also to train international students at Antigonish in certificate and diploma courses in Social Development, Evaluation Research Methods and Implementation of Development Policy.[39] The Institute has links with the University of Los Andes in Venezuela, Moshi Cooperative College in Tanzania and Zambia's Social Development Centre.[40]

3. The University of Guelph

The University of Guelph was established as a degree-granting university in 1964, combining new colleges of science and arts with the three founding colleges, the Ontario Veterinary College (1862), Ontario Agricultural College (1874) and the Macdonald Institute of home economics (1903). The University has always had a strong link to rural areas in Canada in general and Ontario particularly. These links to rural society in Ontario, combined with a history of providing advisory services to smaller rural communities in Ontario, provided a favourable environment for involvement in international development activities. This involvement grew over the years and was formalized in 1967 when the University Senate officially adopted a statement which would both guide its international activity and establish a university structure enabling it to coordinate such activity.[41]

The University continued to expand its role in rural development throughout the seventies. Domestically this role was focused in part on the Rural Development Outreach Project.[42] At the same time, the university continued to be active in international development and in interdisciplinary projects concerned with conditions in rural areas of the Third World. The Apiculture Project in Kenya (1969-1983) and the Ghana-Guelph Project focusing on the strengthening of the University of Ghana and Ghana's Ministry of Agriculture are two examples of Guelph's involvement in development during this period. The rural reality of the Third World fundamentally affected the Guelph faculty involved in these programs and visibly enriched the teaching program at the University of Guelph.

During this period of intensive involvement in rural development, a group of faculty from a variety of academic departments, primarily but not exclusively in the social sciences, developed a proposal for an international rural development degree program. For a variety of reasons, including the lack of adequate funding, the program was not implemented until 1980, when the University School of Rural Planning and Development was established and rapidly moved into the area of international rural development in its teaching program. This program is strongly linked to the strengths of other units across campus. Many of the international courses in the School are taught by faculty from outside the School. The School played a lead role with the university in organizing an international conference on universities in integrated Third World rural development in 1983.[43] In 1984 the School was retained as the Canadian executing agency for a major regional/rural development project in Sulawesi, Indonesia. Not only is the training of Sulawesi and Jakarta planners a key part of the project, but master's students are involved in the research dimensions of the project and in this way the project reinforces the academic program of the School. In 1986, the School hired an international rural development planner to begin the detailed planning for an expanded international rural development program.

Several spinoffs from the 1983 conference have occurred. The School of Rural Planning and Development, on behalf of the University of Guelph, publishes jointly

with the Agricultural University of Wageningen, an international rural development newsletter, *Rural Development Notes*. The University of Guelph and the Agricultural University of Wageningen have also developed a working agreement for the exchange of students and cooperation on joint research and outreach undertakings.

Within the agricultural college, the then Department of Extension Education was established in 1959 to provide graduate training in communication and extension methods for agriculture and home economics graduates moving into positions requiring human relations and non-formal education skills, both in Canada and abroad. As the Department of Rural Extension Studies since 1985, the department embraces many aspects of rural development and concentrates on all components of programs of non-formal education and human resource development in rural society and remote areas. Most faculty members in the department have international experience and are involved in international projects. The M.Sc. program of the department has long provided training in international development with a focus on human resource development. It cooperates with the School of Rural Planning and Development and other University of Guelph departments in the provision of graduate degree training for both Canadian and Third World students and is active in the linkages established between the University of Guelph and the Agricultural University of Wageningen and the University of the West Indies.

C. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

What, then, does one make of the observations we have recorded? Why in a country in which agriculture and its attendant occupations and skills are still important, and in which rural organizations and community participation have had prominence, is there such an apparent neglect of rural development scholarship, and but two graduate degree programs in rural development and rural human development?

We believe that several factors have led to the current situation. First, rural development is not really a discipline with its own long-established body of theory and Canadian universities seem to have a deeply ingrained

preference for organizing themselves according to disciplines and colleges or faculties. Interdisciplinary centres, institutes and programs are not common, and where they do exist, they seem not to have included rural development on their academic agendas. A substantial number of individual scholars in sociology, geography, economics, adult education and other fields are engaged in rural development scholarship but rarely in programs or centres. They are publishing either in various discipline journals or in development or area studies journals from the methodological and theoretical points of view typical of their disciplines. Given the propensity of academics to reproduce their own kind within the tight frameworks of disciplines, we see little likelihood in the immediate future that Canadian development scholarship will shift substantially to a more interdisciplinary orientation.

Second, although welcome improvements have been registered since 1970, international studies remain somewhat peripheral in Canadian academe. The reason for the persistence of this pattern, first documented by Hamlin/Lalande and later by Walmsley, is a little elusive. It may well relate in part to Canada's geopolitical marginality in the world. British and American academics have probably had different motivations and incentives to engage in cross-cultural or international scholarship, as their nations have loomed large as players on the world stage. Our constitutional division of powers over education is a contributing factor, as national agencies like CIDA claim that they cannot finance scholarship in universities and the provincial authorities typically absolve themselves of any international development responsibility. This dilemma, combined with low priority accorded rural development by the universities themselves, means that virtually no research and development funding is allocated to truly interdisciplinary rural development, apart from the research that is generated within aid projects oriented to rural development.

Third, there are fads in scholarship and though disciplines remain moderately stable, fluctuations occur around their edges, particularly as the fortunes of funding bodies rise and fall. Such fashions are rarely generated within the universities; the universities usually respond to outside forces, as witness the emergence of studies of women in development, literacy, aid or desertification.

Rural development has not yet become a fashionable field of study nor has it attracted much research support. Pluta and Kontak point out that the Coady Institute was "relegated to the not quite academically respectable side of the University".[44] Yet international rural development as a field of practice and scholarship is not completely new, despite the problems we have identified. After all, Gelia Castillo could write as early as 1967 about "old concepts in rural development",[45] and the notion of interrelated rural forces was well known before 1969 when Hunter wrote about the need to include in any study of rural change the inseparable elements of history, beliefs, institutions, education, politics, administration, ambitions and ideals.[46]

Finally, it seems to us that rural has for many Canadians (not only scholars) been synonymous with agricultural. Canada's very first venture in international development cooperation in 1951-1952, as Keith Spicer reminds us, sent food aid in the form of wheat to India under the auspices of the Colombo Plan.[47] This emphasis on food aid (rather than on the promotion of indigenous Third World food production) was formalized in the fifties under a prairie prime minister. John Diefenbaker, and it continues to this day, when 28 per cent of our bilateral and 48 per cent of Canadian multilateral aid takes the form of foodstuffs.[48] Learning about and then promoting integrated rural development, despite the projects introduced by CIDA, has not apparently been seen by our bureaucracy and policy-makers as anything like as important as exporting surplus food commodities.[49] Even domestic government-sponsored rural development has been implemented in the context of the renewable resource sector (forestry, fishing and agriculture), with little attention paid to the unique social characteristics of remote and rural communities engaged in that sector. So long as our universities continue to separate agricultural disciplines from others which can illuminate the rural condition, and as long as rural is seen by social and natural scientists as belonging to the food sector alone, we can expect not only this dichotomy to persist but also the perception that rural is somehow second-class and therefore rural studies second-class studies. In this sense, our academic priorities mirror, once again, our national or collective perceptions of rural life and agriculture as somewhat marginal, backward and depressed, if somehow ruggedly

self-reliant. If there is accuracy in our analysis, it bodes ill for the future of international rural development studies in our universities on anything other than the present fragmented basis, apart from the two institutions whose programs we have described in some detail.

D. DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Despite the relentless trend to global urbanization, it is our view that attention to rural phenomena should have higher priority for academics over at least the balance of this century. Conceptually and practically, attention to rural development has replaced earlier modernization paradigms. There is likely to be a continuing demand from our universities for the sort of broad-gauged personnel whom international and Canadian agencies, governmental and non-governmental, need to deploy in their efforts to contribute to human progress. And the complexity of both global and local issues and problems may well force scholarship to initiate more sustained effort than heretofore to move more freely over disciplinary boundaries and make an organized attempt at more holistic research, writing and teaching. Given the conditions we see in Canadian universities, and the absence of supportive mechanisms on the national scene, this effort will be difficult. If it has been difficult to persuade even social scientists to cooperate with applied social scientists, how much more so will be any attempt to bridge the yawning gaps between social science/humanities on one hand and natural science and applied biology on the other?[50] Yet this we must do if we are to be seriously engaged in international rural development studies. If universities and the agencies which support their work choose otherwise they should recognize that much of our rural tradition, some of our existing scholarly infrastructure and a significant proportion of our Third World experience and partnerships will be sacrificed to a narrow commitment to our conventional disciplines, complete with their blinkers.

We believe that one of the simplest ways to break out of these constraints is to begin by looking at the food system and the range of human activity associated with food and its relationship to the wider physical, biological, political and economic environment. Moreover, since so

many development issues are global and not exclusively "Third World" problems, probing the linkages and parallels between Canadian and tropical experience begins to make greater intellectual and academic sense. This recognition of parallels is clearly the origin of much of the success and achievement to date of both the Coady Institute and the University of Guelph. What seems to be required is an acknowledgement of the University's obligation to, first, take note of its rural surroundings and then to build sound academic responses to that sense of obligation.

The influence of interdisciplinary scholars on development thinking has already been substantial. The recognition of indigenous technologies, the conceptualizing and implementation of Farming Systems Research, the study of communication and knowledge systems, the comprehensive analyses of technology transfer, our knowledge of community development and participatory social change, to name just a few, have all resulted from the willingness of scholars and researchers to step beyond the bounds of their disciplines and to formulate new and modified intellectual paradigms and methods in a rural context, most often in collaboration with scholars, researchers and practitioners from other disciplines.

What, then, ought to be done? First, since rural development has assumed a higher priority in many Third World countries, international development teaching and research in Canadian universities which claims to be relevant to Third World realities should be paying greater attention to rural development as a field of study. Second, rural development scholars and practitioners have a responsibility, in our view, to document field-level experience for the literature. Feedback from the field can contribute to theory-building as well as to improved practice and application. Further, we would like to encourage the formation of more interdisciplinary working groups within and between universities, focusing on international rural development. This step would seem particularly appropriate in universities with existing faculties of agriculture in those surrounded by rural environs and in those institutions already fostering links with partner universities in the developing world or involved in aid projects with rural implications. Individual academics may need to begin by learning the relevant elements of each

other's specialized language so as to permit a comprehensible discussion; there should be comfort in the knowledge that this feat has occasionally been attempted successfully! We would like to encourage area studies associations to be more inclusive of a wider range of discussion and disciplines in their conferences and in the pages of their journals. These initial steps might begin not only to build rural development as a recognized academic field but also to bridge the gap between natural science, and the humanities and social sciences, the two solitudes found now in our universities. All of us in the universities could benefit from these expanded intellectual horizons, as could the wider world community to which we profess to be committed.

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17. To be identified as offering a program, a university had to meet these criteria:

- Reference to the interconnected social, economic and physical attributes of development.
- Specific reference to the impoverished portion of the population in a specific area.
- A specific reference to rural as defined by population size, population density, or economic function.
- Reference to residents of rural areas who are not actively engaged in primary production.

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10. LE RÔLE DES UNIVERSITÉS DANS L'AIDE CANADIENNE AU DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

D'une manière générale, les universités canadiennes acceptent, et se félicitent même, des buts et des grandes orientations de l'Aide publique au développement (APD) canadienne. Néanmoins, même si cela est un fait, nombre de points peuvent, et doivent, être débattus ou à tout le moins soulignés.

Un premier point à souligner est que le développement des ressources humaines est à la base de tous les aspects du développement économique et social, qu'il s'agisse des pays du monde industrialisé ou des pays du Tiers monde. Ce sont les individus, leurs attitudes, leurs compétences, leurs talents et leurs aptitudes diverses qui font la différence entre la stagnation et le développement. Les infrastructures matérielles restent inutiles à défaut d'administrateurs, de compétences, en un mot faute d'individus pour en assurer le fonctionnement.

Un second point à souligner est qu'étant donné que les universités sont surtout concernées par le développement de ressources humaines, il est normal qu'elles soient fort sensibilisées à cet aspect du sous-développement et qu'elles soient désireuses de contribuer dans ce domaine. Le développement des ressources humaines peut se faire soit au Canada, soit dans le Tiers monde. Mais malheureusement, il s'agit d'un domaine où les contributions canadiennes sont des plus réduites; l'APD ne prévoit pas de politiques fort généreuses à l'égard des étudiants du Tiers monde. Cela a entraîné une baisse considérable du nombre de ces étudiants dans les universités du pays. De leur propre initiative, les universités ont essayé de contrebalancer ces politiques peu favorables; ainsi, elles ont aidé à l'intégration des étudiants des PVD et ont mis

sur pied des programmes bien adaptés. Il existe actuellement des centaines de projets et liens divers entre les universités canadiennes et des universités du Tiers monde: des programmes d'enseignement ont été créés, des recherches - fort solides - ont été entreprises, un développement des ressources humaines s'est réalisé, dans les PVD bien sûr, mais aussi au Canada.

Un troisième point important est que l'efficacité de l'APD est un problème crucial: il s'agit d'obtenir, pour chaque dollar dépensé, les meilleurs résultats possibles en termes de développement «réel». Cette efficacité doit déterminer et le choix des projets ou des programmes à appuyer, et les décisions à prendre au sujet de la façon de procéder pour les mettre en oeuvre. Les sommes sont affectées à l'APD et il s'agit de bien les utiliser. Nous considérons qu'il n'existe guère de façon de mieux contribuer à l'efficacité de l'APD qu'en utilisant les capacités de recherche et les compétences dont disposent les universités canadiennes.

La recherche a un rôle important à jouer dans tout projet efficace, que celui-ci consiste à installer une simple égreneuse de maïs ou qu'il s'agisse d'élaborer un modèle économique pour un pays du Tiers monde. Cela constitue le quatrième point que nous voulions souligner. Ce point est important parce qu'en effet si l'on ne veut pas répéter les erreurs du passé ou mal évaluer les possibilités d'un développement futur, il faut nécessairement se baser sur la recherche, et singulièrement sur la recherche universitaire. Or, dans les universités canadiennes, il existe bien des compétences en recherche qui restent inutilisées, et ce dans presque tous les domaines liés au développement. Une telle situation est regrettable.

Un cinquième point qui mérite d'être souligné est qu'il a été amplement prouvé que, même si l'APD vise principalement à aider le Tiers monde, le Canada en bénéficie aussi. Ainsi par exemple, les étudiants canadiens rencontrent sur les campus canadiens des étudiants dont la culture et les valeurs sont différentes. Et il en va de même dans le secteur privé et dans les ONG. Parallèlement, des Canadiens travaillent avec leurs homologues dans les pays du Tiers monde. Tous ces contacts, tous ces liens aident les Canadiens à acquérir une vision et des perspectives internationales, ce qui ne peut être que

favorable tant commercialement, que politiquement, socialement et culturellement.

Il est aujourd'hui bien établi que les universités canadiennes sont assujetties à de fortes contraintes financières; de ce fait, elles ne peuvent affecter des parts importantes de leurs fonds normaux de fonctionnement à l'aide au développement international; elles ne peuvent pas se permettre de continuer d'accepter que leurs allocations, insuffisantes pour leurs frais généraux, doivent servir à favoriser le développement international. Des efforts devraient être fait, surtout de la part de l'ACDI, afin de remédier à cette situation. Cela constitue le sixième point que nous voulions souligner.

Notre septième et dernier point est de fait le plus général et le plus important, à savoir que le but essentiel de l'aide canadienne est, et devrait continuer d'être, l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations les plus démunies vivant dans les pays les plus pauvres. Il ne s'agit donc pas, avant tout, de vendre des produits et des services canadiens, de réaliser des bénéfices ou d'améliorer l'enseignement et la recherche au Canada; plusieurs de ces choses, toutes même parfois, peuvent être compatibles avec une amélioration des conditions de vie des populations les plus démunies dans les pays les plus pauvres, mais elles ne devraient pas l'être par définition.

Les raisons expliquant pourquoi le Canada possède un programme d'Aide publique au développement (APD) ont fait couler beaucoup d'encre.[1] C'est en particulier le cas pour une de ces raisons, à savoir que le plupart des Canadiens ont une vision humanitaire de l'aide au développement, vision humanitaire dont témoigne la générosité avec laquelle la population a réagi lors de diverses situations de crise dans le Tiers monde; ainsi par exemple, le cas des fonds récoltés pour la famine éthiopienne est certainement remarquable. Parallèlement à cet humanitarisme, l'APD a toujours dû aussi répondre à des objectifs précis de politique étrangère, objectifs tant stratégiques, que politiques, commerciaux et mêmes culturels. Tous ces objectifs et ces raisons ont été discutés dans la littérature et nous ne reprendrons pas ici les débats qu'ils ont

suscités. Cependant, nous désirons insister sur une justification de l'APD qui n'a été évoquée que trop rarement: les programmes d'APD permettent que de très nombreux praticiens du développement - tant des pays bénéficiaires que des pays donateurs - travaillent ensemble. De ce fait, c'est grâce à l'APD qu'existent l'ACDI, le CRDI et bien d'autres organismes gouvernementaux. En outre, sans l'APD, le pays ne disposerait pas de la capacité d'enseignement et de recherches orientées vers le développement qu'il possède aujourd'hui; et il en va de même pour divers services connexes, pour les ONG, pour certains instituts universitaires et centres de recherche spécialisés.

A. L'APD CANADIENNE ET LES CONTRIBUTIONS DES UNIVERSITES

Les objectifs essentiels de l'APD canadienne sont à la fois louables, généreux et raisonnables. Ces objectifs ne doivent donc pas être mis en cause. Mais il n'en va pas nécessairement de même pour l'efficacité et l'efficience de l'APD; il semble bien que des progrès pourraient être réalisés dans ces domaines. Etant donné la considérable expérience et les capacités d'analyse des spécialistes universitaires, ceux-ci pourraient grandement contribuer à réaliser ces progrès et les réformes qu'ils impliquent. Des contributions de même type pourraient aussi être réalisées par diverses ONG et par certains centres indépendants de recherche, par l'Institut Nord-Sud par exemple. Il semble qu'il existe au moins deux moyens spécifiques de faciliter ces progrès et réformes, à savoir (1) rendre plus ouvert et davantage consultatif l'ensemble du processus de la planification et de la mise en oeuvre de l'APD, et (2) accorder plus d'importance à l'analyse et à l'évaluation de l'impact des programmes d'aide sur les conditions de vie des populations-cibles. Les universités pourraient contribuer plus étroitement à l'analyse des politiques d'aide, elles pourraient réaliser plus d'études de faisabilité et faire plus souvent des évaluations d'impact. Nous pensons que bien des instituts universitaires et des chercheurs indépendants ont beaucoup à contribuer dans ces domaines et que leurs compétences n'ont été que mal utilisées jusqu'à présent.

LES UNIVERSITES ET L'AIDE AU DEVELOPPEMENT

En plus des contributions que nous venons de considérer, il est certain que les universitaires canadiens continueront à faire de la recherche fondamentale; en ce faisant, ils aident - indirectement, mais parfois aussi fort directement - à la conception de projets de développement. En plus de ces diverses contributions, s'ils étaient encouragés et soutenus, les universitaires pourraient faire davantage encore: ils pourraient aider les organisations qui s'occupent d'éducation au développement.

Ainsi que nous l'avons signalé au début de cette section, l'APD canadienne devrait conserver ses grands objectifs; parmi ceux-ci, l'un des plus louables est certainement de vouloir répondre aux besoins des pays et des populations les plus pauvres. Malheureusement, la mise en oeuvre de projets capables de réaliser cet objectif est des plus difficiles: centrer efficacement les efforts sur les pays les plus pauvres ne pose pas de problèmes majeurs, mais identifier qui, dans ces pays, sont les «pauvres» et quels sont leurs besoins pose d'énormes problèmes tant d'ordre scientifique que politique. Politiquement, il n'est pas facile, sinon malavisé, pour un organisme officiel d'un gouvernement donateur de court-circuiter un gouvernement bénéficiaire et de s'adresser directement à sa population, et cela pose plus de problèmes encore lorsqu'il s'agit de la population «pauvre» de ces pays. Scientifiquement, les problèmes sont complexes, mais - précisément - des professeurs d'université et des étudiants ont réalisé des recherches importantes portant sur les «pauvres» du Tiers monde. L'APD canadienne pourrait et devrait tirer grand profit de leurs compétences; la mise en oeuvre des programmes de lutte contre la pauvreté y gagnerait certainement.

Les ressources dont dispose l'APD sont limitées et il est logique que l'on veuille en tirer un parti maximum. De ce fait, il est normal que l'ACDI concentre ses efforts sur une trentaine de pays et que l'Agence soit consciente du danger que représente un éparpillement de l'aide bilatérale. En outre, l'ACDI oriente ses efforts surtout dans les secteurs de l'énergie, de l'agriculture et des ressources humaines; ce choix est judicieux d'abord parce que ces secteurs constituent des priorités dans bien des PVD, ensuite parce que le Canada jouit de solides atouts technologiques et humains dans ces domaines. Il est important de souligner ici que si ceci est le cas, c'est en grande

partie grâce à l'enseignement et à la recherche qui se font dans les universités du pays.[2]

Le secteur des ressources humaines est à la fois prioritaire et indispensable aux autres secteurs. Le développement de ce secteur est la clé qui mène à un développement économique et social moins dépendant et plus soutenu. Transformer les ressources humaines a souvent des effets plus durables et plus profonds qu'un accroissement du capital matériel. Il est certain que, de par leur nature même, tant les universités, les collèges communautaires que les autres centres d'enseignement ont toujours joué et continueront de jouer un rôle central dans ce développement des ressources humaines.

B. LA CONDITIONNALITE DE L'APD

La question de la conditionnalité de l'APD se situe au coeur du débat sur les réformes visant à rendre l'APD plus efficace. C'est une question extrêmement délicate, car toute tentative de la part des donateurs, même les mieux intentionnés, pour imposer aux bénéficiaires leurs propres valeurs ainsi que leurs attitudes à l'égard du développement risque d'entraîner des incompréhensions profondes et d'endommager, ou même de rompre, les relations entre les gouvernements en cause. Même si cela est le cas, il n'en reste pas moins qu'après des expériences amères de gaspillage, de manque d'efficacité de l'aide et de publicité adverse, les pays donateurs - y inclus le Canada - hésitent de plus en plus de donner carte blanche aux bénéficiaires. En outre, le pays a certainement le droit d'exiger que ses programmes d'APD soient conformes à ses valeurs et à ses politiques. On le constate, le problème est d'importance et il est complexe. Les universités ont de nombreux spécialistes qui sont sensibles à ce problème et qui de surcroît connaissent bien les pays avec lesquels traitent l'ACDI et les autres organismes gouvernementaux. Ceux-ci pourraient, et devraient, utiliser plus souvent les compétences des universitaires, par exemple pour aider à ce que les négociations entre les gouvernements ou leurs agences soient conduites dans un climat de compréhension et de diplomatie. Dans le même ordre d'idée, les universités pourraient jouer un autre rôle encore, celui d'une tierce

partie qui assurerait le contrôle de la mise en oeuvre des projets de développement. Il est bien établi et fort évident que tout projet de développement doit être le résultat d'une bonne planification et d'une collaboration étroite entre le donateur et le bénéficiaire; cela implique au moins un respect mutuel, une sensibilité au contexte culturel et une définition claire des objectifs. En outre, il est indispensable que les parties conviennent d'une évaluation périodique qui vérifiera si les objectifs ont été respectés le plus fidèlement possible compte tenu des circonstances. Evidemment, s'entendre à ce sujet et respecter effectivement cette entente sont deux choses fort différentes! Cependant, si de part et d'autre on était prêt à accepter qu'une tierce partie assure le contrôle (mais sans ingérence) de la mise en oeuvre des projets, les intentions et les actions des deux parties pourraient être cernées de façon plus précise. Les universités pourraient assumer cette fonction de contrôle et nous pensons qu'elles l'assumeraient très efficacement.

La controverse concernant l'aide liée[3] dure maintenant depuis plus de vingt ans. Ceux qui s'opposent à l'aide liée allèguent que la valeur d'une telle aide est gradement amoindrie, tant sur le plan politique, que social, culturel et même économique. En outre, disent-ils, de puissants arguments et des recherches convaincantes - dont certaines études effectuées au sein même de l'administration publique - ont montré qu'une grande partie de l'aide pourrait être «déliée» sans effets nuisibles sur l'économie canadienne. Cependant, les décideurs n'ont pas été convaincus et déclarent que le fait de lier l'aide sert en réalité et les intérêts du bénéficiaire et ceux du donateur. Quoi qu'il en soit, il apparaît clairement que plusieurs firmes canadiennes, sans mentionner les ONG, universités et autres organisations à but non lucratif, en sont venues à dépendre tellement du programme d'APD qu'on pourrait difficilement prévoir un changement radical dans ce domaine. Dans une publication récente, l'Institut Nord-Sud remarquait que

> ...les pays et populations les plus pauvres ainsi que les projets qui leur sont utiles constituent rarement des marchés (attrayants) pour les industries, universités et autres (organisations) canadiennes.[4]

Or, grâce à l'APD et à l'aide liée, tant les industries que les universités et les ONG sont actives dans ces pays. De ce fait, l'industrie privée considère que bien des ONG et des chercheurs universitaires font preuve de pharisaïsme lorsqu'ils affirment que les conditions commerciales sont nécessairement l'antithèse du développement, alors qu'ils perçoivent comme positive - par définition - leur propre variété d'aide liée.

Il est certain que ce débat non seulement se poursuivra, mais qu'il doit se poursuivre; cependant, il s'agirait d'en redéfinir les paramètres. La discussion ne devrait plus être centrée sur l'opposition entre l'aide liée et l'aide non liée, mais plutôt sur l'efficacité et les buts de l'APD. Le problème fondamental deviendrait alors: que faut-il faire pour que l'APD canadienne réponde aux besoins des majorités pauvres des pays les plus pauvres? Un aspect essentiel de ce problème est de pouvoir évaluer plus rigoureusement l'impact de chaque projet et programme sur ces majorités pauvres. Ce changement d'accent ne trancherait pas la question de savoir «dans quelle mesure lier l'aide», mais il rendrait le débat plus concret; il obligerait, pour chaque projet, à un examen empirique des coûts et des effets négatifs et positifs de l'aide liée, et ce en fonction des buts du développement.[5] Nous ne voulons pas impliquer par là que les projets ne sont pas actuellement soumis à une évaluation. Ils le sont: ils doivent «répondre aux besoins des bénéficiaires». Mais il est plus facile de démontrer qu'un projet répond à ce critère que d'évaluer un projet en fonction de son impact sur les majorités pauvres. Advenant une telle réorientation de politique, il serait utile que l'ACDI fasse preuve d'une plus grande ouverture et permette, encourage même, des évaluations par des chercheurs du monde universitaire et autres tiers indépendants; cela contribuerait à la crédibilité et au sérieux d'une telle réorientation.

Lorsque nous recommandons une analyse préalable plus rigoureuse de l'impact de l'APD sur le développement, en particulier son impact sur les conditions de vie des majorités pauvres, nous sommes conscients de ce que certains types de projets bilatéraux liés qui ont été approuvés sans difficulté par le passé ne seraient plus considérés comme de l'«aide». Il en irait de même pour une grande partie de l'«aide» des programmes mixtes de

crédits et de financement;[6] pourtant ce genre de soutien est utile pour la promotion des exportations canadiennes, promotion qui constitue incontestablement un objectif légitime de la politique nationale. Le problème est de déterminer si cette «aide» continuera d'augmenter et si elle devrait être qualifiée d'APD. En d'autres mots, il serait souhaitable de clarifier davantage ce que comprend l'APD canadienne et d'utiliser de meilleurs techniques pour évaluer son impact sur le développement et sur les majorités pauvres du Tiers monde. Les universitaires ont certainement les compétences voulues pour aider aux recherches sur ces questions.

C. L'EXPERIENCE DES AUTRES PAYS ET L'INTEGRATION DES POLITIQUES D'AIDE

Les activités canadiennes de développement international pourraient profiter d'une étude comparative plus systématique de ce que font les autres pays dans le domaine. Pour des raisons évidentes, les données que nous possédons sur d'autres programmes d'APD portent surtout sur les Etats-Unis, le Royaume-Uni et la France. Nous aurions tout avantage à mieux connaître les politiques et programmes des pays scandinaves, des Pays-Bas, de l'Australie et d'autres puissances moyennes. Pour ce faire, on pourrait davantage faire appel aux chercheurs indépendants travaillant dans les universités et ailleurs; leurs contributions pourraient être très marquantes. Ils pourraient entreprendre des recherches comparatives, recherches particulièrement bien appropriées si l'on arrivait à convenir que l'APD canadienne devrait être réorientée, qu'il faudrait surtout améliorer nos capacités d'évaluer l'impact des projets avant et après leur réalisation et qu'il serait nécessaire de mieux assurer le contrôle de la mise en oeuvre de ces projets. Les universitaires pourraient aussi entreprendre des recherches portant sur les moyens d'améliorer la division des responsabilités existant, ou qui devrait exister, entre les pays donateurs.

Considérons maintenant l'ensemble des politiques canadiennes envers les pays du Tiers monde. Ces politiques sont nombreuses et diverses et il y a certainement lieu de souhaiter qu'elles soient intégrées plus efficacement. L'aide au développement, la gestion de la dette des

PVD, les finances internationales, les relations commerciales, politiques et autres sont parfois mal coordonnées, voire en contradiction. Il serait cependant naïf de croire à l'existence de solutions faciles par le biais de structures ou de méthodes. On peut bien entendu améliorer les communications et les arrangements, mais quelle qu'en soit la forme, des conflits d'intérêt subsisteront entre les objectifs proprement nationaux et ceux de la politique étrangère, entre le commerce et l'industrie, entre la politique bureaucratique et les pressions externes. Dans ces conditions, des politiques canadiennes cohérentes restent problématiques, et plus problématiques encore des politiques qui favorisent toutes le développement international à long terme.

Cette cohérence des politiques canadiennes envers les pays du Tiers monde ne peut venir que du Cabinet. Il peut être tout à fait rationnel d'adopter, par exemple, une politique protectionniste à l'égard des industries canadiennes de la chaussure et du textile, tandis que pour d'autres secteurs, les industriels canadiens ou exportateurs de services désireront une promotion dynamique de l'exportation pour leur permettre d'accroître leurs ventes dans les pays en développement, lesquels pourraient à leur tour acheter nos chaussures et textiles canadiens. Les seules autorités qui puissent trancher un tel dilemme sont celles à qui incombe la responsabilité ultime de la politique nationale et qui doivent en répondre devant la population. Quoi qu'il en soit, le processus décisionnel bénéficie d'une critique efficace de la part des partis d'opposition, d'un examen serré par les médias et des recherches faites au sein du gouvernement et ailleurs, recherches qui sont généralement adéquates et parfois même de grande qualité. Les universités contribuent à ces recherches soit en entreprenant de leur propre initiative des études appliquées ou critiques, soit parce qu'elles sont engagées par les décideurs pour le faire. Il est certainement bénéfique que les décideurs recourent à ces consultations, et en ce sens il faut se réjouir des bons rapports qui se sont établis ces dernières années entre l'ACDI et l'AUCC, et ce particulièrement grâce à la Direction de la coopération institutionnelle et des services au développement de l'Agence. Malheureusement, la répartition des fonds au sein de l'ACDI limite les possibilités d'action de cette

Direction et, par là même, restreint les contributions des universités au développement international.

Les universités canadiennes ont épaulé le gouvernement dans le cadre de ses programmes d'aide au développement, mais elles pourraient faire beaucoup plus. Comment y parvenir? Comment permettre aussi, et organiser une plus grande participation des ONG et du secteur privé? En établissant un conseil consultatif ministériel spécial? Un tel organisme, a-t-on dit, devrait s'inspirer du modèle du Conseil d'administration du CRDI. La composition de ce Conseil est originale: il compte vingt personnes, dont six du Tiers monde et quatre d'autres pays donateurs d'APD; le président du CRDI en est le président. Ce modèle est intéressant, mais est-il réaliste? Le CRDI est une organisation fort indépendante du gouvernement, indépendance que n'ont pas et ne peuvent pas avoir l'ACDI et les autres organismes publics de développement international. Le conseil consultatif ministériel dont nous parlions plus haut n'aurait ni le pouvoir, ni l'autonomie du Conseil d'administration du CRDI; en conséquence, il prêterait le flanc aux tentations du favoritisme partisan, il s'empêtrerait dans le même bourbier d'objectifs et intérêts contradictoires que l'on connaît à présent, et il pourrait devenir un autre obstacle bureaucratique au sein d'une structure décisionnelle déjà extrêmement complexe.

L'établissement d'un conseil consultatif d'une telle envergure ne semble pas à conseiller. Il serait probablement préférable d'établir des comités consultatifs spéciaux associés à des projets et programmes spécifiques, comme celui qui a été établi pour le programme Afrique 2000. La Division internationale du l'AUCC et des représentants des universités devraient être invités à participer activement à ces comités consultatifs spéciaux. D'une manière plus générale, il faudrait aussi qu'existe un plus grand nombre d'occasions officieuses de consultation et de partage de l'information. Tous les ans, l'AUCC organise, avec le concours de l'ACDI et du CRDI, des conférences qui réunissent des représentants des universités, de l'ACDI, du CRDI et d'autres organismes. Ces conférences sont précieuses pour les échanges de vues et d'informations, et elles devraient se poursuivre. Il y aurait moyen d'accroître encore cette collaboration en réunissant des groupes

moins nombreux qui participeraient à un briefing mutuel deux ou trois fois par année.

D. QUELS INTERMEDIAIRES ET OUTILS DEVRIONS-NOUS UTILISER?

Nous considérons dans cette section essentiellement trois problèmes, à savoir celui de l'importance relative de l'aide bilatérale et de l'aide multilatérale, celui de l'aide «d'urgence» par rapport à l'aide au développement à plus long terme, et celui des rôles respectifs des secteurs publics et privés dans la mise en oeuvre de projets. Pour ce qui a trait au premier de ces problèmes, il n'y a aucune raison de modifier les proportions existant actuellement entre l'aide bilatérale et l'aide multilatérale canadiennes. Ce sont deux instruments importants d'APD et de soutien apporté à d'autres intérêts canadiens, et l'un de leurs grands avantages consiste à favoriser une collaboration efficace avec d'autres puissances moyennes ayant des politiques et points de vue semblables à ceux du Canada. Pour ce qui est de savoir si le Canada tire suffisamment avantage de ses investissements dans les organismes multilatéraux, la réponse n'est pas facile. Mais quelle que soit cette réponse, elle ne devrait pas conduire à une diminution de nos engagements, mais plutôt à des efforts accrus pour informer les Canadiens des occasions de participation qui s'offrent aux entreprises, aux ONG et aux individus. Pour mentionner un exemple des effets d'«amorçage» des activités de l'ACDI, signalons que l'Institut de développement économique de la Banque mondiale vient d'augmenter les fonds qu'il destine à l'engagement d'experts canadiens; les chercheurs des universités devraient pouvoir bénéficier de cette augmentation.

Pour ce qui a trait au problème de l'aide d'«urgence» par rapport à l'aide au développement à plus long terme, il est encourageant de constater le consensus qui est ressorti de l'expérience éthiopienne récente, consensus qui a confirmé ce que plusieurs experts du développement répétaient depuis quelque temps, à savoir que l'aide alimentaire peut être intégrée dans un plan rationnel de développement. Grâce à des innovations techniques et des changements structurels judicieux dans le secteur agricole,

il est possible de limiter la nécessité d'aides alimentaires d'urgence aux cas d'«urgences véritables», tels les désastres naturels. Au fur et à mesure qu'on intensifiera les efforts en ce sens, le recherche et le développement des ressources humaines deviendront des éléments clés. Bien des universitaires aimeraient que l'on mette leurs compétences à profit et pour l'aide en cas d'urgences, et pour l'aide au développement à plus long terme, et - éventuellement - pour l'intégration de ces deux types d'aide.

Si l'on insiste aujourd'hui davantage sur une aide structurée, c'est que l'on veut s'assurer que l'APD profite à qui elle est censée profiter. Les pays donateurs veulent aussi exiger cette assurance: c'est une condition nécessaire si on veut les persuader de consacrer plus de ressources aux besoins des majorités pauvres. Mais l'aide canadienne est-elle et peut-elle être structurée? Le Canada joue un rôle relativement modeste à l'échelon international et ne peut pas agir dans autant de domaines que les grands pays; ainsi par exemple, le pays n'a pas les moyens d'influencer de manière décisive la balance de paiements des PVD. Cela ne devrait toutefois pas empêcher l'ACDI (1) de chercher autant que possible à intégrer dans des programmes cohérents les projets qu'elle réalise dans ses pays de concentration, et (2) de coopérer avec d'autres pays donateurs d'orientation semblable afin de déterminer les contributions complémentaires que chaque pays peut apporter aux programmes de développement des PVD. Les contributions des universités pourraient être considérables dans ces domaines.

Les projets de développement doivent-ils être mis en oeuvre, voire élaborés, par le secteur public ou par le secteur privé? Le débat est devenu aujourd'hui intense et nous formulerons son essence par la question suivante: est-il dangereux de trop privatiser l'aide? Ceux qui favorisent une plus grande canalisation de l'aide par l'entremise du secteur privé et des ONG font valoir les arguments suivants: accroissement de la rentabilité et de l'efficacité, élaboration de programmes mieux adaptés, plus grande créativité et souplesse. De tels arguments devraient être soumis à un examen critique, projet de développement par projet de développement, comme pour les arguments pour ou contre l'aide liée. Sans doute est-il souvent avantageux de faire appel à des compétences autres que celles existant dans les organismes publics,

mais la privatisation peut aussi ajouter une barrière additionnelle de formalités bureaucratiques. En outre, il est très difficile de comparer ce que coûtent exactement les fonctionnaires et ce que coûtent les services de consultants privés. Il faudrait également étudier d'autres modes de mise en oeuvre de projets, et ce en considérant la compétence et la capacité des systèmes d'administration et de gestion du personnel. Il s'agit aussi d'être certain d'avoir choisi pour chaque projet l'agence privée la plus appropriée; cela est un problème fort complexe et il semble bien qu'à ce point de vue les compétences des universités n'ont pas été pleinement utilisées. Enfin sur un plan général, il faudrait prendre soin d'éviter une parcellisation excessive des efforts, ce qui risquerait d'affaiblir l'efficacité de l'aide canadienne.

Après toutes ces réserves, nous tenons à signaler un domaine où les contributions du secteur privé, avec l'aide des universités, pourrait être particulièrement efficace: le développement des ressources humaines par le placement dans les entreprises. Un certain nombre d'universités et de collèges communautaires canadiens dirigent avec succès d'importants programmes coopératifs de placement d'étudiants dans des compagnies de toutes dimensions. L'ACDI pourrait conclure avec ces établissements des contrats d'utilisation de leurs installations, et cela en vue d'intéresser de petites et moyennes entreprises à fournir à des étudiants du Tiers monde l'occasion d'acquérir une expérience de travail et une formation pratique. Outre les avantages qu'en tireraient normalement les entreprises, le fait que celles-ci acquerraient une plus grande conscience internationale est à l'avantage du Canada à long terme, commercialement bien sûr, mais aussi socialement, politiquement et culturellement.

E. QUE POURRAIENT FAIRE LES UNIVERSITES DANS LE DOMAINE DU DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL?

Les contributions des universités pourraient être particulièrement importantes dans quatre domaines différents: l'analyse de l'impact qu'auront les projets et programmes sur le développement, le contrôle de la mise en oeuvre des projets, l'évaluation de cette mise en oeuvre,

et l'éducation au développement. Toutes ces contributions doivent nécessairement reposer sur la recherche, et particulièrement sur le genre de travaux que réalisent les spécialistes du développement international. Il existe dans les universités canadiennes des professeurs et des étudiants ayant une solide connaissance et une compréhension profonde de chacune des régions du monde, voire de chaque pays. Les médias font souvent appel à leurs compétences, mais, à part quelques notables exceptions, les organismes gouvernementaux font rarement appel à eux. De toute évidence, il se fait au Canada moins d'échanges de ce genre, moins de circulation d'un emploi à un autre et moins de communications régulières, que dans la plupart des autres pays occidentaux. Les universités souhaitent que cette situation change.

Nous n'offrirons pas ici de commentaires au sujet du contrôle de la mise en oeuvre des projets: il s'agit d'un domaine complexe dont les implications politiques sont nombreuses; nous en avons discuté précédemment. Pour ce qui a trait à l'évaluation des projets - et des programmes, l'ACDI a considérablement augmenté les ressources qu'elle y consacre et il n'est probablement pas nécessaire d'y affecter plus de fonds. Ce qui semble par contre nécessaire est de discuter de la manière dont ces fonds sont dépensés. En effet, l'ACDI privilégie les révisions et évaluations confidentielles et internes. Des tierces parties pourraient et devraient effectuer des évaluations indépendantes[7]; de telles études fourniraient de nouveaux points de vue et pourraient proposer des moyens d'améliorer la mise en oeuvre des projets. A titre d'exemples, citons certaines évaluations excellentes faites par l'Institut Nord-Sud et quelques études subventionnées par le CRDI.

Il serait avantageux pour l'APD canadienne que se réalisent un plus grand nombre d'évaluations indépendantes, et que les organismes publics ainsi que les ONG prennent plus souvent l'initiative d'entreprendre une révision de leurs projets. Ces évaluations et révisions devraient être faites par divers types de spécialistes, entre autres par des professeurs d'université, des étudiants de troisième cycle, d'autres chercheurs indépendants, et par des consultants professionnels. Mais cela semble difficile à réaliser: mentionnons à ce propos que l'ACDI et d'autres organismes gouvernementaux refusent à bien des

chercheurs l'accès à de nombreuses données, et que, lorsqu'ils accordent cet accès, ils imposent habituellement des limites strictes à la divulgation de ces données. On peut comprendre que les organismes publics, et certaines ONG, veulent éviter que des faits embarrassants soient révélés, faits dont les médias et certains députés pourraient se servir pour critiquer les politiques d'aide. Mais dans la plupart des cas, ce comportement résulte - plus simplement - de la prudence qui caractérise la fonction publique canadienne. Une telle prudence est certainement de rigueur pour nombre d'activités gouvernementales, mais elle n'est pas opportune si nous voulons de meilleurs moyens d'évaluation, si nous voulons améliorer la performance de l'APD et, enfin, si nous voulons que le public ait une plus grande confiance en cette performance. Nous sommes convaincus que si les organismes publics étaient moins «prudents» et plus ouverts, les révélations sensationnalistes concernant «les échecs et gaspillages scandaleux» se produiraient moins souvent, entre autres parce que la planification et l'évaluation seraient plus adéquates.

Eduquer et motiver le public est une tâche indispensable, difficile et de longue haleine. Il est en effet irréaliste de penser que les Canadiens puissent se passionner jour après jour pour le développement international, et cela même si la réaction de la population aux problèmes de l'Ethiopie a été impressionnante et encourageante. C'est pourquoi l'ACDI a créé un Programme de participation du public. Ce Programme aide l'éducation au développement et a, entre autres, permis que bien des ONG travaillent sur plusieurs fronts afin de maintenir l'intérêt de la population pour les questions du développement. Il se réalise également de nombreuses activités dans les universités, les collèges et les écoles, tant dans les classes que hors-campus; il faudrait aussi que plus de chaires d'études du développement soient créées et financées. En ce qui concerne les enseignements primaire et secondaire, on gagnerait beaucoup à adopter une approche plus systématique à une sensibilisation aux questions de développement international; peut-être devrions-nous souhaiter à cet égard que les ministères provinciaux de l'éducation, les agences de développement international (là où elles existent) et l'ACDI prennent l'initiative d'une collaboration dans ce domaine.

F. QUE FONT LES UNIVERSITES DANS LE DOMAINE DU DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL?

Dans cette section, nous traiterons des diverses activités par lesquelles les universités canadiennes participent actuellement à la coopération au développement. Cet aperçu, qui est loin d'être exhaustif, a surtout pour but de donner une idée de la diversité des contributions et de l'engagement passionné qu'elles suscitent.

La Division internationale de l'AUCC sert d'intermédiaire entre les universités du Tiers monde et les universités canadiennes, assortissant les besoins des unes aux ressources des autres. La Division internationale dispose à l'heure actuelle d'une très vaste base de données sur les projets de développement international menés dans le Tiers monde par les universités canadiennes. Selon ces données, le total des fonds consacrés à ces projets au cours de l'année financière fédérale de 1985-1986 s'élève à un peu plus de 51 millions de dollars. En plus de ce total, il faut aussi tenir compte de toutes les activités d'enseignement et de recherche qui ne font pas partie de projets de développement proprement dits, mais qui s'ajoutent néanmoins à l'effort d'ensemble en contribuant de façon importante au développement des ressources humaines ainsi qu'à l'expansion et à la dissémination des connaissances. Ci-après, nous parlerons d'abord des programmes d'enseignement.

1. Les programmes d'enseignement

Le Canada est l'un des pays préféré des étudiants des PVD qui désirent poursuivre des études supérieures à l'étranger. Notre pays jouit également d'une réputation favorable parmi les planificateurs de ressources humaines de ces pays. Au cours de l'année académique 1984-85, il y avait dans les universités canadiennes 27,300 étudiants de PVD inscrits dans des programmes d'études de premier, deuxième et troisième cycles. Ces étudiants provenaient de pays admissibles à l'APD canadienne; cependant, 10,000 de ces étudiants étaient de Hong Kong, un pays admissible à l'APD, mais où l'ACDI n'a aucun programme. Le nombre des étudiants originaires de PVD est en diminution, mais la demande demeure malgré tout élevée et les universités

souhaiteraient pouvoir les accueillir en plus grand nombre (quoiqu'en réclamant des ressources additionnelles pour quelques disciplines et programmes dont les budgets sont limités). Les universités considèrent que leurs contributions au développement des ressources humaines sont de qualité, et ce dans la majorité des disciplines, qu'il s'agisse des arts libéraux ou des sciences, qu'il s'agisse d'inculquer des techniques fondamentales d'analyse ou de spécialisations très techniques et avancées dans des domaines divers, comme les sciences du sol, le génie mécanique, les études en gestion ou les sciences de la santé. En outre, grâce à son bilinguisme, le pays est capable d'offrir la plupart des programmes d'études dans deux langues internationales.

Les enseignements universitaire et professionnel canadiens contribuent donc au développement des ressources humaines des PVD. Mais ils font plus que cela: ils contribuent aussi au développement des ressources humaines canadiennes oeuvrant dans le domaine du développement international. Cette formation de spécialistes canadiens se fait soit à l'intérieur de disciplines déjà institutionnalisées, soit dans le cadre de programmes multidisciplinaires qui traitent et de l'histoire, et de la géographie, et des cultures, des caractéristiques socio-économiques et politiques, et des relations internationales des PVD.

Il existe des programmes de premier cycle en développement international ou comparatif ou en études sur le Tiers monde dans plusieurs universités, dont les suivantes: Nouveau-Brunswick à Frédéricton, Trent à Peterborough, le Collège Scarborough de l'université de Toronto, Guelph à Guelph et St-Mary's en collaboration avec Dalhousie à Halifax. Aux niveaux des deuxième et troisième cycles, il est possible d'entreprendre des études de nature interdisciplinaire au sein de départements spécialisés (par exemple, aux universités de Toronto et Dalhousie), mais il existe un nombre croissant de programmes spéciaux multidisciplinaires, programmes tels que la maîtrise en coopération de l'université de Sherbrooke, le diplôme en développement international et coopération de l'université d'Ottawa, la maîtrise en gestion de projets de l'université du Québec à Montréal, la maîtrise en administration du développement de l'université Carleton[8] et, également à l'université Carleton, l'option «études du

développement» existant dans le programme de maîtrise en affaires internationales.

2. Les structures universitaires spécialement axées sur le développement

Plusieurs universités ont établi des unités administratives spécialisées qui coordonnent les projets de développement international, les programmes de sensibilisation au développement, et autres activités semblables. On compte parmi ces unités le Centre d'éducation aux affaires et entreprises internationales de l'université de Calgary, le Bureau de la coopération internationale de l'université de Toronto, le Bureau de la coopération internationale de l'université de Montréal, l'Institut de développement international et de coopération de l'université d'Ottawa, le Bureau de la coopération et du développement international de l'université du Québec, McGill International, et l'Institut Pearson pour le développement international de l'université Dalhousie. L'université de Guelph, qui possède déjà un très actif Centre de programmes internationaux, vient d'établir un Bureau de consultants en développement international, organisation sans but lucratif qui vise à promouvoir la compétence de cette université dans le domaine international et à enrichir son enseignement, ses recherches et ses services par l'entremise d'activités internationales. L'université de l'Alberta est également très active et a mis sur pied un Fonds spécial de soutien aux activités de développement international.

3. L'IMPLICATION DES UNIVERSITES DANS LES PROJETS DE DEVELOPPEMENT

La coopération entre les universités canadiennes et les universités et autres organismes des PVD prend généralement la forme de projets spécifiques; il en existe environ 200. Il s'agit essentiellement de projets de développement de ressources humaines, mais il existe également d'autres types de projets, des fournitures de livres et d'équipement divers, par exemple. Nous donnerons ici quelques exemples de ces projets, exemples qui témoignent de leur diversité.

- L'université Dalhousie

Grâce à une subvention de l'ACDI, des fonctionnaires du Zimbabwe ont suivi, à l'université Dalhousie, un programme d'études portant sur la planification du développement et la gestion des projets. Certains représentants officiels du Zimbabwe sont venus au Canada, où ils ont été prêtés à des agences et sociétés du gouvernement canadien. Il y a eu des échanges de professeurs et une aide a été fournie pour monter une bibliothèque.

Toujours à l'université Dalhousie, un Institut d'études sur les ressources et l'environnement travaille en collaboration avec le Ministère indonésien de la population et de l'environnement. Il s'agit d'un projet de développement des ressources humaines, projet qui bénéficie de fonds de l'ACDI. Ce projet comprend des cours sur l'analyse préliminaire de l'impact sur l'environnement, une aide technique aux centres d'études sur l'environnement, ainsi que des rencontres entre les décideurs indonésiens en matière de gestion de l'environnement et leurs homologues canadiens des gouvernements, de l'industrie, des ONG et des universités.

- L'Ecole polytechnique de Montréal

L'Ecole polytechnique de Montréal a établi et aidé depuis sa fondation l'Ecole polytechnique de Thiès, au Sénégal. Il en est déjà sorti plus de 200 ingénieurs. Les édifices du campus ont été parachevés en 1978, et le projet entre maintenant dans sa Phase IV. Le contrat conclu avec l'ACDI comprend l'envoi de professeurs canadiens en génie civil et mécanique, l'administration d'un programme de bourses pour l'envoi d'étudiants sénégalais au Canada, l'achat d'équipement, une recherche appliquée menée en collaboration avec les spécialistes sénégalais, ainsi qu'un soutien suivi accordé aux gestionnaires de l'Ecole polytechnique de Thiès.

- L'université McMaster

Grâce à une subvention de 1,240,000 $ de l'ACDI, l'université McMaster a mis sur pied un programme d'enseignement et d'assistance en sciences infirmières et pour la

sensibilisation des communautés, à l'université Aga Khan, à Karachi, Pakistan.

- L'université Memorial de Terre-Neuve

La Faculté de médecine de cette université à la responsabilité d'élaborer et d'administrer un programme subventionné par l'ACDI. Ce programme s'appelle «Child Health Through Medical Education (CHAMP)»; il comprend une unité sanitaire et des activités de formation dans ce domaine. Le projet a été entrepris en collaboration avec l'Université Makerere à Kampala, Ouganda. Son coût total s'élève à environ 1 million $.

- L'université Queen's de Kingston

L'université Queen's exécute pour l'ACDI un contrat de 6,300,000 $; il s'agit de réaliser la Phase II du projet d'aide au Collège de formation des enseignants du domaine technique, à Naïrobi au Kénya. Le projet consiste à collaborer au programme d'études et au développement des ressources humaines.

- L'université Trent de Peterborough

Le projet Trent - Peterborough - Malawi, subventionné par l'ACDI, est dirigé par l'université Trent en collaboration avec le Collège Sir Sandford Fleming ainsi que les conseils scolaires locaux. Depuis 1980, des équipes de bénévoles ont enseigné à l'université du Malawi et exécuté des tâches diverses; ces équipes ont entre autres donné des cours de formation de maîtres à l'intention d'étudiants adultes; elles ont aussi donné des cours d'introduction de chimie, de biologie et de mathématiques aux jeunes entrant à l'université; finalement, ces équipes ont contribué à la formation d'infirmières ainsi qu'au catalogage des ouvrages de la bibliothèque.

- L'université Laval

La Faculté des sciences de l'éducation administre un programme régional de formation destiné aux étudiants de doctorat; ce programme a été mis sur pied par le Centre inter-africain de recherches et d'études supérieures en

sciences de l'éducation (CIRRSSED) à Lomé, Togo. Les études du CIRRSSED sont centrées sur la planification et la gestion de l'enseignement en Afrique francophone. Le projet est financé conjointement par l'ACDI, le CRDI et la Fondation Ford, l'Université Laval fournissant la plus grande partie des enseignants.

- L'université de Moncton

L'université a reçu, depuis 1981, 1,800,000 $ en subventions de l'ACDI, et ce afin de mettre en oeuvre un important projet de nutrition au Nicaragua.

- L'université du Manitoba

Cette Université exécute un contrat de cinq ans financé par l'ACDI et visant à «zambianiser» l'Ecole des sciences de l'agriculture de l'université de Zambie. Ce contrat prévoit 30 années-personne de travail par des instructeurs canadiens à l'université de Zambie, et 60 années-personne d'études supérieures par des Zambiens dans des universités canadiennes et africaines.

Outre les projets de ce type, plusieurs grands projets de coopération - de nature plus complexe - ont mené à l'établissement de consortia et d'autres structures comprenant plusieurs universités et collèges; le but de ces consortia et structures est surtout de réunir, au Canada, suffisamment de ressources et compétences. Voici quelques exemples de ces grands projets de coopération:

- Le programme OMEASE

L'AUCC et l'Association des collèges communautaires du Canada (ACCC) ont un programme de coopération avec l'Organisation des ministres de l'éducation de l'Asie du Sud-Est, et cela dans le cadre d'un grand programme de développement des ressources humaines. Ce programme de coopération quinquennal est subventionné par l'ACDI et coûtera 5 millions de dollars. Il fait appel à des spécialistes canadiens des établissements d'enseignement supérieur. Il s'agit de participer à l'élaboration de nouveaux programmes d'études, à l'organisation de séminaires de formation, et à la mise sur pied de recherches dans des

domaines tels que la biologie tropicale, l'agriculture, la médecine et l'hygiène publique. Les pays concernés sont l'Indonésie, la Malaisie, les Philippines, Singapour et la Thaïlande.

- Le développement agricole en Chine

L'université de Guelph, l'université de l'Alberta, le Collège Olds ainsi que deux organismes chinois collaborent à la réalisation d'un projet de formation en agriculture qui bénéficie d'une subvention de 6,800,000 $ de l'ACDI. Pendant une période de quatre ans, 50 fonctionnaires chinois étudieront des méthodes agricoles et biologiques, et ce dans le cadre de colloques et de programmes d'enseignement de deuxième et troisième cycles.

- Le Projet canado-chinois de formation en gestion

Divers liens établis entre dix universités canadiennes et huit universités chinoises aident celles-ci à donner à leurs étudiants une formation en gestion et en administration commerciale. Dans le cadre de ce projet, plusieurs universités canadiennes ont envoyé en Chine divers types de matériel, entre autres du matériel audio-visuel et de bibliothèque. Le projet a permis une importante contribution canadienne au processus de consolidation entrepris actuellement dans les universités chinoises. Le programme est subventionné par l'ACDI.

La plupart des projets décrits ci-dessus ont une durée assez limitée, mais leur impact réel à long terme s'étend généralement bien au-delà du projet proprement dit. L'étroite collaboration qui s'établit entre professeurs, étudiants et administrateurs mène souvent à une continuation des échanges et des consultations, lesquels donnent ensuite naissance à de nouveaux projets.

Les universités canadiennes fournissent aussi des spécialistes qui s'acquittent de brèves missions dans les PVD; cela augmente la compétences des professeurs et leurs capacités de recherche et de développement des ressources humaines. Un nombre croissant de professeurs canadiens sont également invités à titre de consultants par différents gouvernements du Tiers monde.

4. LES NOUVELLES TECHNIQUES ET LE TRANSFERT DES TECHNOLOGIES

Il existe bon nombre de recherches universitaires canadiennes ayant mené à des découvertes ou ayant permis la mise au point de nouvelles techniques dont l'impact sur les conditions de vie dans le Tiers monde ont été directes et décisives. Nous ne citerons ici que deux exemples de ce type, mais ils pourraient être facilement multipliés.

- Des étudiants de troisième année en génie mécanique de l'université McGill ont inventé une machine manuelle simple et peu coûteuse pour décortiquer les graines de café. Cette machine aidera les agriculteurs à accroître leurs revenus et leur productivité en leur permettant de traiter eux-mêmes leurs récoltes. La machine est actuellement utilisée en Amérique centrale.

- Il s'est découvert à l'Institut Armand Frappier de l'université du Québec un vaccin contre la méningite septicémique. Ce vaccin est actuellement distribué en Chine sur une grande échelle.

5. LE TELE-ENSEIGNEMENT

Pour des raisons qui tiennent à sa géographie, à ses traditions universitaires de services à la collectivité, et à ses compétences technologiques dans le domaine des communications, le Canada est l'un des pays les plus avancés dans la conception de méthodes de télé-enseignement. Ces méthodes suscitent un intérêt considérable dans les PVD et nous citerons en exemple un projet de développement caractéristique en ce sens. Il s'agit d'un programme coopératif existant entre le British Columbia Open Learning Institute et les universités Sains de Malaisie et Terbuka en Indonésie; l'université Simon Fraser se trouve à la tête de ce projet de 15 à 20 millions de dollars, projet qui fait appel à un consortium d'universités de l'ouest canadien. Le but est d'aider au perfectionnement du personnel et à la rénovation des installations de certains universités.

6. RECHERCHE ET PUBLICATIONS

Dans la présente section, nous avons étudié les diverses contributions que les universités et les chercheurs qui y travaillent apportent au développement international ainsi que la façon dont ces efforts pourraient être accrus et consolidés. Ces contributions sont considérables et leur impact se fait sentir dans nombre de disciplines académiques et programmes professionnels. Ces contributions ont impliqué des recherches de tous types et mené à d'innombrables publications. L'importance du CRDI est, dans ce domaine, des plus considérables. Le CRDI a financé beaucoup de recherches, recherches dont la majeure partie a été effectuée par des experts et spécialistes du Tiers monde, en agriculture, en sciences de l'alimentation et de la nutrition, en sciences de la santé et dans certains domaines des sciences sociales. En outre, au cours des dernières années, la Division des programmes de coopération du CRDI a permis à bien des chercheurs canadiens de collaborer avec leurs collègues des PVD à des recherches nombreuses et d'envergure. Ainsi par exemple, une équipe interdisciplinaire formée de chercheurs de l'université du Manitoba et de l'université Jahangirnagar de Dhaka, Bangladesh, étudie les conséquences socio-économiques des inondations et de l'érosion des rives des cours d'eau.

L'ACDI et le CRDI travaillent de concert avec les universités sur des projets qui visent à un partage de l'information, une formation et la circulation des résultats de la recherche par l'entremise de symposia, d'ateliers et de conférences. La Division internationale de l'AUCC collabore à la réalisation de plusieurs de ces projets. En outre, l'AUCC publie beaucoup dans le domaine: articles, rapports de recherche et analyses de politiques portant sur tous les aspects du développement international et sur le rôle qu'y joue le Canada. L'AUCC publie en particulier le bulletin *Les universités canadiennes et le développement international*; ce bulletin contient de courts articles sur divers projets de développement des universités, des offres de collaboration, des informations concernant des conférences, etc. L'AUCC a également publié *Ressources des universités canadiennes pour le développement international* et *Guide de la Banque mondiale à l'intention des universités canadiennes*. L'Association organise aussi des

conférences qui réunissent des participants du monde universitaire, des agences d'aides nationale et multilatérale et des ONG.

7. QUELQUES INITIATIVES POSSIBLES

Les projets de développement décrits dans les paragraphes précédents montrent que malgré certaines faiblesses de l'APD canadienne et malgré la récession académique de ces dernières années, des contributions remarquables ont été réalisées. Mais plus pourrait être fait. Compte tenu et de ces faiblesses de l'APD canadienne et des possibilités actuelles des universités, il nous semble qu'il est prioritaire que des initiatives nouvelles soient prises pour:

- encourager une participation accrue des universités dans la mise en oeuvre de projets. Cette participation accrue pourrait utilement appuyer et compléter le travail des organismes gouvernementaux, des ONG et des entreprises privées. Cependant, il ne faudrait ni que les universités considèrent l'APD comme une source de revenus pour financer l'ensemble de leurs activités, ni qu'elles utilisent pour la mise en oeuvre de leurs projets des ressources dont elles devraient disposer pour d'autres domaines, ni qu'elles soient en concurrence directe avec le secteur privé pour l'obtention de contrats.

- permettre la formation, au Canada, de plus d'étudiants originaires des PVD. Certes, le but ultime est de rendre les PVD autosuffisants dans le plus de domaines possibles de l'éducation; mais, pour de nombreux petits pays et aussi dans divers domaines hautement spécialisés, l'aide des pays développés restera - longtemps encore - indispensable. Malheureusement, l'APD canadienne ne fait que peu d'efforts en ce sens; de fait, le Canada est - avec l'exception de l'Autriche - le pays de l'OCDE consacrant la proportion la plus faible de son APD à des bourses d'études.

- améliorer les capacités de recherche et d'enseignement spécialisés. Il semble clair que l'insuffisant dialogue

entre praticiens du développement et spécialistes universitaires contribue à affaiblir tant ces capacités de recherche que cet enseignement. En ce sens, il est étonnant de constater que le Canada soit l'un des seuls pays donateurs de l'OCDE n'ayant pas d'institut national d'études du développement international.

- utiliser mieux les avances considérables que le pays possède dans le domaine de l'enseignement à distance.

G. RESUME ET CONCLUSION

Les motivations et l'orientation générale de l'APD canadienne sont raisonnables. Toutefois, il semble que ces motivations et cette orientation ne sont pas toujours respectées, en particulier pour ce qui a trait à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations les plus démunies vivant dans les pays les plus pauvres. En outre, il est nécessaire de s'assurer que les programmes soient les plus efficaces possibles par rapport aux coûts, c'est-à-dire que chaque dollar dépensé produise le maximum possible d'effets en termes de développement. Certaines améliorations pourraient être apportées à l'APD canadienne et nous pensons que la recherche - particulièrement la recherche universitaire - pourrait beaucoup aider tant à l'étude qu'à la mise en oeuvre de ces améliorations. Les universités disposent de spécialistes de tous types; ces spécialistes pourraient - et devraient - être utilisés pour étudier les besoins des populations pauvres des PVD et pour effectuer des analyses de politiques. Il serait aussi souhaitable que les processus de planification et de mise en oeuvre de l'APD soient plus ouverts et plus consultatifs, surtout en ce qui concerne l'analyse préliminaire et l'évaluation des projets et des programmes en fonction de leur impact sur l'amélioration de la condition humaine. Les universitaires ont beaucoup à offrir en termes de connaissances, de compétences interculturelles, d'expérience pertinente et de points de vue critiques.

Le développement des ressources humaines est à la base de tous les aspects du développement social et économique et il constitue le point central des liens existant entre les universités canadiennes et celles du Tiers monde. Il est à la base des divers programmes

canadiens d'enseignement supérieur qui forment des étudiants originaires des PVD et qui préparent des Canadiens qui veulent se consacrer au développement. Le financement et les mécanismes de soutien de ces programmes de soutien devraient être améliorés.

Pour terminer, nous dirons simplement que les contributions accrues que les universités souhaiteraient faire seront très probablement de qualité, et ce tant dans le domaine de la recherche que dans le développement proprement dit. L'intense intérêt que portent aujourd'hui les universités canadiennes au domaine du développement international en est le garant.

NOTES ET REFERENCES

1. Cet article regroupe diverses parties d'un mémoire de l'Association des Universités et Collèges du Canada (AUCC), mémoire présenté, à Ottawa, au Comité permanent des affaires extérieures et du commerce extérieur, en décembre 1986. La version originale anglaise de ce mémoire avait pour titre «Issues in Canada's Official Development Assistance Policies and Program»; sa traduction française s'intitulait «Les questions qui se posent à propos des politiques et programmes canadiens d'assistance au développement». David Morrison est l'auteur de ce mémoire. José Havet a sélectionné les parties du mémoire qui sont inclues dans cet article; il est aussi responsable des nombreuses et considérables modifications apportées à la version française du mémoire; il a aussi rédigé les courts textes de transition ou résumant des parties du mémoire ayant été omies.

2. Tout en reconnaissant qu'il faille éviter d'éparpiller l'APD dans un trop grand nombre de secteurs, il faut mentionner que les universités du pays possèdent des compétences considérables dans d'autres secteurs que l'énergie et l'agriculture, dans la santé et les ressources hydrauliques par exemple. Les spécialistes universitaires pourraient unir leurs compétences à celles d'autres experts canadiens dans ces domaines, et ce afin d'élaborer des projets innovateurs, tels des programmes de médecine préventive et de soins sanitaires destinés aux communautés locales.

3. L'aspect essentiel de l'aide liée canadienne est le suivant: l'octroi de l'aide bilatérale est conditionnel à l'achat, de sources canadiennes, d'au moins 80 pour cent des biens et services nécessaires à la mise en oeuvre des projets de développement.

4. Institut Nord-Sud, «Le Programme Mulroney et le Tiers monde», Ottawa, 1985, p. 8.

5. Voir à ce sujet David R. Morrison, «The Mulroney Government and the Third World», p. 4-6 in Revue d'études canadiennes, vol. 19, no. 4, hiver 1984-85. Ce numéro de la Revue a pour titre Le Canada et le Tiers monde; il contient des articles de G.K. Helleiner et Roger Young, articles qui fournissent également des données intéressantes sur ce même sujet.

6. Il en va de même pour une proposition d'aide aux échanges commerciaux, proposition qui a maintenant été abandonnée.

7. Voir à ce sujet Robert Cassen et al, Does Aid Work?: Report to an Intergovernment Task Force, Joint Ministerial Committee of the Boards of Governors of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, 1986.

8. Ce Programme de maîtrise en administration du développement a été financé dans sa phase initiale par l'ACDI et la Fondation Donner.

JEAN MOISSET

11. L'ÉTUDE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT ET LA MISE EN OEUVRE DE PROJETS : LES CONTRIBUTIONS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

Les fondements de la politique de l'université Laval en matière de coopération internationale se veulent essentiellement philosophiques et éthiques. Ces fondements ont été officiellement avalisés par les autorités universitaires en 1977 et 1978, mais l'université exécutait déjà des contrats de coopération avant ces dates. Dans ses déclarations de 1977 et 1978, l'université exprime clairement sa volonté de se montrer accueillante aux projets de collaboration culturelle et technique et d'encourager en ce sens les initiatives de ses membres. Cependant, des limites assez précises sont prévues à l'engagement de l'université. D'abord, l'université considère que ses initiatives institutionnelles ne doivent aller en aucun cas à l'encontre d'un certain climat de spontanéité dans les contacts et les échanges. De ce fait, l'université Laval entend s'en tenir à un encadrement minimal des activités de développement international. Ensuite, l'université considère que les fondements philosophiques et éthiques de son engagement n'impliquent pas qu'elle doive aller à l'encontre de «la protection de ses intérêts». En conséquence, l'université s'appuie sur les critères suivants pour accepter ou refuser des projets de développement: (1) l'activité principale des projets doit correspondre à la mission et aux objectifs de l'université, (2) les projets doivent contribuer au bien commun et doivent correspondre aux priorités de l'université, (3) l'université doit disposer des ressources pour mettre les projets en oeuvre et (4) la valeur éthique des projets doit être acceptable.

JEAN MOISSET

Les activités concrètes de l'université Laval en rapport avec le développement international peuvent être classés en trois catégories: l'enseignement et la recherche, les projets sur le terrain et les accords interuniversitaires. En ce qui concerne l'enseignement et la recherche, il est intéressant de constater que le nombre d'étudiants étrangers fréquentant l'université a grandement augmenté entre 1975 et 1984, mais que ce nombre a diminué en termes relatifs; il est passé de 5.2% en 1975 à 4.2% en 1984. L'augmentation du nombre d'étudiants gradués a été proportionnellement plus importante que celle des étudiants de premier cycle. Ces étudiants sont distribués dans une grande diversité de programmes; l'université Laval ne possède malheureusement pas de programme d'études en développement international, mais - au sein de nombreux départements - il est possible d'étudier des problèmes du Tiers monde, grâce surtout aux travaux individuels et dans les thèses.

La seconde catérogie d'activités concrètes de l'université est constituée par les projets sur le terrain. Ces projets ne sont pas tous nécessairement différents de l'enseignement et de la recherche discutés antérieurement. Ce qui caractérise ces projets est le fait qu'ils découlent de contrats spécifiques; en conséquence, les activités qu'ils suscitent sont relativement autonomes au sein de l'université. La quantité d'activités résultant de ces contrats fluctue fort d'année en année, mais - en termes généraux - ces activités déclinent depuis 1977-78. A continuation, nous énumèrerons le domaine d'intervention et le (ou les) pays concernés des principaux contrats exécutés par l'université Laval: agriculture et médecine vétérinaire en Haïti, foresterie et géodésie au Maroc, santé aux Comores et au Sénégal, éducation au Togo et au Maroc, problèmes de gestion au Pérou et service social au Liban.

Les accords interuniversitaires constituent un domaine particulièrement dynamique et spontané des activités de développement international de l'université. Les échanges individuels entre professeurs de l'université et leurs homologues des PVD sont extrêmement nombreux et découlent d'ailleurs souvent des activités de développement de l'université. En ce qui concerne les accords institutionnels, dits accords-cadres, l'université en a actuellement avec des universités de douze PVD.

LES CONTRIBUTIONS DE L'UNIVERSITE LAVAL

Un problème très sérieux auquel fait face la coopération au développement international de l'université Laval est celui des contraintes budgétaires de l'université. Etant donné la conjonture défavorable, des administrateurs peuvent être tentés de considérer avant tout les retombées financières des projets. Un autre problème, plus marginal celui-là, est la «tentation touristique» dont peuvent être affectés certains coopérants envoyés sur le terrain. Un dernier problème, de nature institutionnelle et d'importance, est que l'université Laval ne possède pas un bureau ou un centre qui regrouperait d'une manière ou d'une autre et les enseignements et les recherches et les projets ayant trait au développement international.

Cet article sera articulé autour des trois points suivants: (1) les fondements de la politique de l'université Laval[1] en matière de coopération internationale; (2) les activités concrètes impliquant l'U.L. dans le domaine du développement, soit l'enseignement et la recherche, les projets sur le terrain et les accords inter-universitaires; (3) les problèmes et les perspectives.

A. LES FONDEMENTS

Nous pouvons être bref ici, puisqu'il s'agit en fait des principes d'ordre philosophique et éthique sous-jacents à l'engagement de l'U.L. en matière de coopération internationale. Bien qu'importants, ces principes sont par nature très généraux et ne se prêtent pas à des développements ou à des discussions.

C'est au cours de deux séances ordinaires (22 novembre 1977 et 16 mai 1978) que le Conseil de l'U.L. a adopté le document intitulé «L'université Laval et les accords institutionnels de coopération internationale»[2] qui définit les balises qui doivent guider les choix, les orientations et l'action de l'U.L. en matière de coopération internationale. Il nous faut souligner que l'adoption de ce document n'inaugurait pas l'engagement de l'U.L. en matière de coopération internationale, mais venait en quelque sorte canaliser ou encadrer des efforts et des activités

qui remontaient à plusieurs années auparavant. Une étude faite par les services du Vice-Rectorat à l'enseignement et à la recherche indique en effet que, de 1974 à 1977, sur la récupération des coûts indirects découlant des contrats de l'université avec l'Agence canadienne de développement international (ACDI), le montant s'élevait à 393 432 $, soit 9.5% et 4 400 965 $ de valeur de contrats (étude citée par le «Document», p. 8).

Ainsi dès l'abord, précise ce document, «elle (l'université Laval) entend prendre clairement position en faveur de la coopération internationale, spécialement avec les pays en voie de développement» (p. 1). «Cette optique implique qu'elle entend se montrer accueillante aux projets de collaboration culturelle et technique, susciter les initiatives de ses membres en ce sens et, au besoin, conseiller les pouvoirs publics sur les diverses formes que pourrait prendre concrètement la collaboration internationale en matière d'enseignement et de recherche» (p. 2).

Les deux textes cités ici ne laissent aucun doute sur la volonté de l'U.L. de s'impliquer en matière de coopération internationale, et de manière particulière dans les domaines de sa vocation et de sa compétence, soit l'enseignement et la recherche. Mais cet engagement institutionnel ne devrait aller en aucun cas à l'encontre d'un «certain climat de spontanéité dans les contacts et les échanges» que l'université met au nombre «des conditions qui favorisent le développement de la coopération internationale». C'est dans le même esprit qu'«elle entend s'en tenir à un encadrement minimal» (pp. 3-4). Par ailleurs, si humanisme et générosité devront imprégner les actions de l'université, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'elle devra veiller à «la protection de ses intérêts». C'est du reste avec «le respect de sa vocation et de ses priorités» les deux objectifs qu'elle assigne à sa politique en matière de coopération internationale. De là découlent en quasi-droite ligne «les critères sur lesquels l'U.L. s'appuie pour accepter ou refuser des projets de coopération internationale» («Document», p. 13):

- une activité correspondant à sa mission et à ses objectifs;
- le maintien du bien commun et la cohérence avec les priorités de l'université;
- l'état des ressources disponibles;
- la valeur éthique des activités.

Voilà donc l'essentiel des fondements de la politique de l'U.L. en matière de coopération internationale. Nous examinons à présent comment se traduit concrètement cette politique.

B. LES ACTIVITES CONCRETES DE L'U.L. EN RAPPORT AVEC LE DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Pour les fins de l'analyse, nous avons classé ces activités en trois grandes catégories que nous verrons successivement: l'enseignement et la recherche; les accords interuniversitaires; les projets sur le terrain.

1. Enseignement et recherche

Un premier indicateur intéressant à considérer, quand il s'agit d'examiner l'implication de l'U.L. en matière de coopération internationale, est le nombre d'étudiants étrangers et plus spécifiquement en provenance des pays en développement. Le tableau 11.1 est significatif à cet égard.

Si le nombre d'étudiants étrangers a augmenté significativement entre 1974 et 1984, son poids dans l'ensemble de la population étudiante a cependant diminué passant de 5.2% en 1975 à 4.2% en 1984. L'augmentation drastique, survenue au début des années 1980, des frais de scolarité payables par les étudiants en provenance de l'étranger y a certainement été pour quelque chose. Mais on sait que cette mesure n'est pas le fait des universités québécoises en général et de l'U.L. en particulier. Autre élément intéressant à souligner, tandis que le nombre d'étudiants boursiers de l'ACDI diminuait, passant de 75 en 1979-80 à 52 en 1983-84, le nombre d'étudiants boursiers du Service québécois d'accueil des étudiants enregistrait une forte croissance, passant pendant la même période de 2 à 49. Quoiqu'il en soit, nous observons que cette évolution dans l'ensemble a été plus favorable aux étudiants gradués (2e et 3e cycles) qui, entre 1975 et 1984, voyaient leur nombre passer de 409 à 560 (soit un gain de 37%) alors que le nombre de ceux du 1er cycle passait de 592 à 661 (soit un gain de 11,5%). Une observation analogue doit être faite en ce qui concerne les

étudiants en provenance du Tiers Monde dont le poids dans l'ensemble «étudiants étrangers» est passé de 38,9% à 58,8%, entre 1974 et 1984.

Tableau 11.1 L'université Laval et la coopération internationale: évolution du nombre d'étudiants étrangers

	Régions	Années 1974	1984
I	- Tiers Monde dont:	342	719
	- Afrique du Nord et Moyen-Orient	(68)	(322)
	- Afrique sub-saharienne	(78)	(248)
	- Am. latine et Caraïbes	(54)	(99)
	- Asie	(142)	(50)
II	- Am. du Nord (U.S.A.)	78	101
III	- Asie (Japon)	7	9
IV	- Europe (Est et Ouest)	268	249
V	- Divers	184	143
	TOTAL	879	1221

Source: Au fil des événements, université Laval, 8 novembre 1984. Le regroupement par régions est de l'auteur.

Evidemment, les étudiants en provenance du Tiers Monde, comme tous les autres du reste, se distribuent entre une grande diversité de programmes d'études et de recherches, à travers l'ensemble des facultés et départements de l'U.L. Il nous faut souligner ici (et nous y reviendrons) que l'université Laval n'a pas un institut ou une faculté spécialisés dans les problèmes du développement et délivrant un diplôme dans ce domaine. Il est certes clair que des programmes d'études et de recherches en sciences sociales (histoire, anthropologie, sociologie, économie, sciences politiques, etc.), en sciences de l'éducation, en sciences de l'administration, en sciences de l'agriculture et du développement rural, ou encore en sciences de la santé, sans avoir été élaborés en fonction

des problèmes et besoins spécifiques des pays en développement, peuvent néanmoins faire des contributions importantes à la compréhension et à la résolution des problèmes relatifs au sous-développement et au développement. En outre, particulièrement au niveau gradué, les candidats exercent une influence parfois déterminante sur le choix des problématiques étudiées dans les séminaires et les sujets de recherche (thèses).

2. Les projets sur le terrain

Il est peut-être opportun de souligner que cette deuxième catégorie d'activités n'est pas nécessairement différente en nature de la première (enseignement et recherche). Mais comme elles sont relativement autonomes au sein de l'université, découlant de contrats spécifiques avec des organismes de coopération internationale, il convient de les examiner séparément.

La première remarque générale à faire est à l'effet que ces activités, sans être forcément aléatoires, subissent les fluctuations des conjonctures affectant les organismes de coopération et de leurs partenaires eux-mêmes. Ainsi, considérant les contrats avec l'ACDI, de loin les plus importants, on relèvera qu'ils ont enregistré une diminution marquée, passant de 2 650 000 $ en 1977-78 à 1 676 000 $ en 1983-84 (voir tableau 11.2).

Cette baisse ne signifie évidemment pas un moindre engagement de l'U.L. vis-à-vis du développement international, mais est dû principalement au fait que quelques projets d'envergure (foresterie au Zaïre, agriculture à Meknès, géodésie à Rabat, PECANA en Amérique du Sud, projet Ouest Africain de formation) amorcés autour de 1975 et pratiquement achevés aujourd'hui n'ont pas eu des successeurs de même importance. Cela dit, il sera intéressant de signaler brièvement les projets les plus significatifs présentement en cours:

a) La faculté des sciences de l'agriculture et de l'alimentation collabore depuis sept ans environ avec la faculté d'agriculture et de médecine vétérinaire de l'université d'Etat d'Haïti dans le cadre d'un projet visant au soutien de l'enseignement universitaire, à la réalisation d'un programme de recherche appliquée et à la formation de techniciens en agriculture (projet financé conjointement par l'ACDI et le gouvernement haïtien).

Tableau 11.2 L'université Laval et la coopération internationale. Montant des contrats de l'ACDI, 1974-1984

Année	Montant en $
1974-75	870 077
1975-76	901 052
1976-77	2 629 826
1977-78	2 651 992
1978-79	2 546 805
1979-80	1 837 810
1980-81	1 730 688
1981-82	1 345 334
1982-83	1 012 868
1983-84	1 676 649

Source: Au fil des événements. U.L., 8 novembre 1984.

b) La faculté de foresterie et de géodésie a collaboré pendant près de 10 ans avec l'Institut agronomique et vétérinaire Hassan II de Rabat (Maroc) dans le cadre d'un projet de formation d'ingénieurs topographes. Ce projet pratiquement achevé sera remplacé par un nouveau projet visant à former au niveau du 3e cycle des enseignants et des chercheurs en topographie et en foresterie.

c) La faculté de médecine collabore depuis l'indépendance des Comores avec l'école nationale de santé de ce pays au développement d'un réseau de services de santé de base ainsi qu'à la formation de techniciens de la santé communautaire (projet financé par l'ACDI et le gouvernement comorien). Cette même faculté est aussi engagée présentement dans un projet de santé et de bien-être familial au Sénégal où la formation des agents de santé publique est une composante majeure (projet financé conjointement par l'UNICEF et le gouvernement du Sénégal).

d) La faculté des sciences de l'éducation, dans le prolongement du projet Ouest africain de formation qui a été mentionné plus haut, collabore avec l'Institut d'études supérieures en éducation de Lomé (Togo), depuis un peu

plus d'un an. Dans le cadre de ce projet, financé conjointement par l'ACDI, le gouvernement togolais et d'autres organismes de coopération, des professeurs de l'U.L. vont à Lomé pour des séjours limités (deux à trois mois) pendant lesquels ils dispensent des services d'enseignement et de formation à la recherche en éducation. La faculté recevra également des candidats au doctorat dans le cours de réalisation de ce projet. Cette même faculté conjointement avec la faculté des sciences et de génie, vient de s'engager (septembre 1984), aux termes d'un contrat avec l'Ecole normale supérieure de Rabat-Souissi, au Maroc, dans un projet visant quatre objectifs: la formation de formateurs, la formation de chercheurs, le développement institutionnel et des échanges inter-universitaires.

e) La faculté des sciences de l'administration, collabore depuis 1982 avec l'ESAN, école de gestion du Pérou, à la réalisation d'un projet dont le but principal est de développer une certaine expertise dans la gestion des PME (petites et moyennes entreprises), notamment par la formation de professeurs-chercheurs et des cours de perfectionnement aux dirigeants de ces entreprises.

f) La faculté des sciences sociales collabore avec l'université de St-Joseph du Liban depuis de nombreuses années, notamment dans le domaine de l'enseignement du service social. Ce projet donne lieu à l'accueil d'étudiants au niveau gradué en provenance du Liban et à des échanges de professeurs. La faculté des sciences sociales est en outre engagée dans un projet de création d'un Institut du Moyen-Orient qui pourrait avoir des sièges à Beyrouth, Le Caire et Québec. La collaboration de cette faculté est en négociation pour le projet de création d'une école de service social au Gabon et de la mise en oeuvre d'un programme de recyclage et de perfectionnement des travailleurs sociaux du pays.

Au total, cela représente dix projets impliquant neuf pays du Tiers Monde et six facultés de L'U.L. Il nous faut souligner cependant que nous n'avons pris en considération que les projets institutionnels d'une certaine envergure. C'est dire que l'engagement de l'U.L. en matière de développement international «sur le terrain» n'est pas négligeable.

3. Les accords interuniversitaires

Si, comme nous venons de le dire, les projets de terrain impliquant l'U.L. et des organismes de coopération internationale ne sont pas à négliger, ils sont loin d'épuiser l'engagement concret de l'Université dans le domaine du développement. En un sens, ils sont même moins représentatifs de son imagination et de son dynamisme, comparativement aux accords-cadres interuniversitaires. C'est un fait que cette dernière catégorie d'activités fait plus de place à la spontanéité de l'Institution et de ses membres. Mais on imagine aisément qu'il est hors de propos de considérer ici les multiples échanges que peuvent entretenir des membres individuels de l'U.L. avec d'autres individus ou institutions portant sur la problématique du développement.

En ce qui a trait aux accords institutionnels dits accords-cadres entre l'U.L. et d'autres universités, A. Desmartis (*Fil des Événements*, 8 novembre 1984) souligne qu'ils

1) «prévoient, en termes très généraux, des échanges de chercheurs, de professeurs et d'étudiants en vue de favoriser une meilleure connaissance réciproque des pays et des institutions»;
2) «encouragent les projets de recherche conjoints, les ententes relatives aux programmes d'études et la prise en commun de ressources».

Or ils ont enregistré une progression significative au cours des années récentes. Actuellement, l'U.L. (avec onze facultés) compte 18 accords-cadres impliquant des institutions universitaires de 18 pays, dont 12 pays en développement. Le tableau 11.3 donne une vue d'ensemble de la situation relative aux accords-cadres, aux contrats avec l'ACDI et aux échanges d'étudiants.

C. PROBLEMES ET PERSPECTIVES

De manière claire et honnête, l'U.L. laisse entendre que son engagement sur le plan du développement international ne devrait en aucun cas léser ses intérêts qui doivent être protégés. Mais, en période de contraintes

budgétaires, les risques sont grands que ce principe soit interprété par certains administrateurs comme la recherche dans les projets de retombées financières pour l'université. Dans le même ordre d'idées, il est important que l'université voie à ce que les personnes engagées dans ses projets de terrain soient conscientisées et sensibles aux problèmes des pays d'accueil et ne confondent coopération et tourisme. Les problèmes soulevés ici ne sont heureusement que marginaux mais, étant donné qu'ils vont à l'encontre d'une certaine éthique qui doit inspirer l'action de l'université, ils doivent être combattus pour qu'ils ne viennent jamais à prendre de l'importance. Dans cette même perspective, mais à un autre niveau, il semble que l'université, sans vouloir dicter des lignes de conduite aux organismes de coopération internationale, pourrait être plus critique en ce qui concerne le choix des projets et des priorités et user de son influence pour que les principes correspondant à son éthique soient respectés dans les pays où les projets sont réalisés.

Dans l'immédiat et au-delà des problèmes d'ordre éthique, l'U.L. manque d'une structure centrale qui serait responsable de la coordination de l'ensemble des dossiers ayant trait à la coopération avec les pays en développement et qui serait apte à assurer un certain nombre de conditions de base pour le meilleur développement des activités dans ce domaine. Et il ne fait pas de doute que sur le plan de l'enseignement et de la recherche en matière de développement à l'U.L., l'actuelle dispersion des efforts et des activités ne favorise pas la plus grande efficacité et encore moins la visibilité et la reconnaissance des compétences de l'université au double plan national et international. La création d'un institut ou d'un centre dispensant un programme d'études et de recherches en développement menant à un diplôme comblerait en ce sens cette lacune. Il ne s'agit pas de créer des structures pour des structures, ni de rechercher la reconnaissance pour la gloriole, mais de mettre en place des conditions qui permettraient à l'université de jouer un rôle encore plus important et de manière plus efficace dans un domaine que d'aucuns considèrent comme vital pour la survie de l'humanité.

Tableau 11.3 L'université Laval et la coopération internationale. Accords-cadres, contrats de l'ACDI et échanges d'étudiants par faculté et pays

Faculté	Accords-cadres	Contrats ACDI	Échanges d'étudiants	Pays	Objets
- Arts	1			- Brésil	2 accords-cadres
- Droit	1			- Chine	2 accords-cadres
- Foresterie/ géodésie	1				1 contrat ACDI
- Lettres	3	2	1	- Comores	1 contrat ACDI
- Médecine	1	2		- États-Unis	1 accord-cadre
					6 programmes d'échanges d'étudiants
- Médecine dentaire	1			- France	4 accords-cadres
					1 programme d'échanges d'étudiants
- Science de l'administration	1	1	1	- Haïti	1 contrat ACDI
- Science de l'agriculture et de l'alimentation	2	1		- Irlande	1 programme d'échanges d'étudiants
				- Italie	1 accord-cadre
				- Liban	1 contrat ACDI
- Science de l'éducation	2	2		- Maroc	2 contrats ACDI
				- Mexique	3 Accords-cadres
- Science et génie	5			- Ontario	2 accords-cadres
- Sciences sociales	1	1		- Pérou	1 contrat ACDI
- Toutes disciplines	1	1	6	- Sénégal	1 contrat ACDI
				- Suède	1 accord-cadre
				- Togo	1 contrat ACDI
				- Vénézuéla	2 accords-cadres
				- Zaïre	1 contrat ACDI
				- Tous pays	
TOTAL	18*	11	8		

* Un accord-cadre implique 3 Facultés.

Source: Dossiers du Vice-recteur exécutif de l'U.L., 16 octobre 1984, cités dans Le Fil des Événements du 8 novembre 1984.

NOTES

1. «université Laval» sera par la suite désigné par «U.L.».
2. Pour fins de citation, nous nous référons ci-après au «Document».

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