THE CANADIAN CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE:

THE SHAPING OF AN NGO STRATEGY

Department of Political Science
McGill University, Montreal
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"How do you remember? How do you keep the memory of a people alive? That, I think, is the challenge of D & P. It is the same struggle essentially of 20, 30, 40, 50 years ago, or 20, 30, 40, 50 years hence....empowerment, involvement, and democracy." "Solidarity is not a long journey, it is a way of journeying." Bill Smith, SFM.

This work is dedicated to Father Bill Smith, SFM, (1938-1989), and all those whose memory keeps us journeying in solidarity.

Abstract

This work furthers the study of "Non-Governmental Organizations" (NGOs). It examines alternative Third World development strategies employed by them and the internal and external variables that may influence the formation or implementation of NGO strategies. A history of the growth and differentiation of NGO's follows an outline of the major channels for development assistance.

The Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP), a major Religious NGO (RNGO), serves as the focus of this study. Four five-year stages are studied to determine how factors such as government, church, Third World recipients, and staff influenced the evolution of CCODP's development strategy. Case studies from Senegal, India, and Brazil show that CCODP has yet to be able to fully employ its development strategy. The principle hypothesis is that Church teachings and initiatives were more influential than other variables in determining CCODP's development strategy. This proposition was confirmed by this study.

Résumé

Ce document a, comme but, d'augmenter l'étude sur les Organisations non-gouvernementales (ONG). Il étudiera des stratégies alternatives qui sont présentement utilisées et qui concernent le développement du Tiers Monde.

Ce document étudiera également les éléments internes et externes qui peuvent influencer la formation ou l'implementation des stratégies élaboré par le ONG. L'historique du développement du ONG, et les différences existants à l'interieur de l'organisme, suivra un résumé des moyens principaux utilisé pour l'aide développementale.

L'Organisation Catholique Canadienne pour le développement et la paix (OCCDP), un ONG à base religieuse, servira comme point focal de cette étude. Quatre périodes, de cinq ans chacune, sont étudiées afin de pouvoir déterminer comment certains éléments: tels que le gouvernement, l'eglise, les récipiendaires du Tiers-Monde, les employés, peuvent influencer l'evolution des stratégies de développement adopté par le OCCDP. Les situations au Sénégal, en Inde et au Brézil démontrent que l'OCCDP doit encore employer pleinement les stratégies de développement.

L'hypothèse centrale de cette étude sera que les directives et les initiatives de l'église ont exercé davantage d'influencer, comparer à tout autre variables, dans l'élaboration des stratégies en développement adopté par le OCCDP. Ces propos ont été confirmé lors de cette étude.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Global envronmental destruction, the rising tide of violence, and the crippling impact of world debt are some signs of our broken world."1 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have come to play an increasingly important role in addressing issues and concerns that threaten our world today. In fact, according to Hans Singer, "Almost 2,000 NGOs are now mobilizing private financial and human resources in Western countries. These resources are channelled through some six to eight thousand NGOs in more than 110 developing countries."2

Many variables can influence an NGO's understanding and analysis of the world in which it works. NGOs do not function in a void. Each is tempered by a particular array of constraining and liberating factors that affects the way that it, as an NGO, tries to achieve its goals and its strategy of development.

The purpose of this paper is to further the study of NGOs. It will focus on the influences, pressures, and constraints that affect the shaping and implementation of a particular NGO's development strategy. The Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP), a major Canadian NGO, will serve as the frame of reference for this work. Three of the principal recipient countries of CCODP's project monies from 1967 to 1988: Senegal, India, and Brazil will provide case studies by which to examine the implementation of CCODP's development strategy.

In this thesis, the dependent variable will be the "shape" of this Canadian NGO's development strategy. The following major independent variables will be examined for their perceived ability to affect CCODP policy:

1) Government policy and practices with special reference to those of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as they relate to NGOs;
2) Church social teachings and practices from Pope Leo XIII on, with special reference to those of the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops (CCCB) which are pertinent to the development of peoples;

3) the policies and actions of Third World Partner groups (DNGOs) with whom CCODP has had a long term relationship;

4) the agencies and common works of International Co-operation for Development and Solidarity (CIDSE), the umbrella organization for Catholic development institutions in Europe and North America, as well as those of the Canadian NGO groupings in which CCODP participates; and

5) the policies and recommendations made by the members and staff of CCODP.

Each of these variables carries with it an array of economic, political, and moral forces which could potentially influence CCODP. CIDA contributed $8.2 million to CCODP's Development Programme in 1986-87, more than to any other Canadian NGO. Do these funds assure CIDA a voice in determining CCODP's approach to Third World development? The CCCB created CCODP in 1967, the same year that the social encyclical "On the Development of Peoples" (Populorum Progressio) was issued by Pope Paul VI. The national collection which the CCCB established to support CCODP's work, in 1986-87 raised over $7.1 million. This is the largest single collection in the Canadian Catholic church. What role do the Catholic bishops play in the formation of CCODP's development strategy? CCODP is a member-based organization with over 3,000 active members organizing and carrying out the education and fund raising programmes. What influence do they, and their elected representatives to the national policy-making bodies, have on policy formation? Similar questions will be raised with regard to the other variables.

The principal hypothesis for this study will be that for the Church affiliated CCODP, the social teachings and practices of the Church are more influential than any other single variable in determining its development strategy.

RELEVANCE OF THIS WORK

"Aid is perhaps the most visible and obvious expression of whatever North-South dialogue actually exists ... it is done by both government as official development assistance (ODA) and by Non-

Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the latter, at least, allow ordinary individuals to be involved in the process of the dialogue."3 While foreign aid has always been considered within the purview of political studies, the proper placement of NGOs and their strategies for development has been problematic. Once regarded as peripheral to the study of development, the impact of the NGOs can and should no longer be ignored by political scientists.

Only a few landmark studies and their political behaviour exist. Lissner's The Politics of Altruism and Brodhead's Bridges of Hope? are notable examples of efforts to place NGOs squarely in development studies.

Computer data base enquiries (MINISIS), and abstract or periodical searches completed to date indicate the real lack of scholarship in this area. This is also spelled out in Peter Willet's introduction to The Politics of Baby Food4 in which he asks that more attention be given to NGOs as participants in global politics. Ostrander reinforces these remarks by noting the 'general immaturity' in this field of theory.5 A special supplement on NGOs of the journal World Development, was published in 1987 out of a "... growing sense that the evolution and implications of this increasing role for NGOs was not being documented or assessed in a systematic way."6

Commonly accepted beliefs about NGO behaviour such as their flexibility, or their ability to reach the Third World populations who are most in need, are matters that remain largely to be proven. The relationships between government and NGOs are intricate and complex. Incidents such as the drought and famine in Ethiopia, or new CIDA policies, can change the nature of these relations very quickly. This rapidly shifting ground most often results in extemporizing rather than theorizing.

This study of one major NGO's development strategy will add to the body of literature available. As the base of material grows, so will the capacity to make more valuable statements about the whole NGO community. At a minimum, an institutionally based study such as this can capture some of the history of one organization, which will be valuable to present and future decision makers within it, as well as to the broader NGO community, and outside scholars.

RESEARCH METHODS

While library research has provided a broad base of theoretical information and some empirical data upon which to build this study, the primary methods of investigation have been archival research and interviewing.

The interviews for this study were open ended in style. All interviews focused either on the examination of the development strategies of NGOs in general, or on those of CCODP and other specific NGOs in particular. Some written surveys were used where face-to-face or telephone interviews were impractical. Interviews were conducted on three continents during the course of travels on matters not unrelated to the focus of this study. Representatives of eight CIDSE member organizations in Europe, CCODP partner NGOs in several South American countries, a variety of Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) member organization staffs, and CCODP staff and Council members were among those interviewed (see APPENDIX A).

Privileged access to archival materials at the CCODP offices in Toronto and Montreal as well as at the Canadian Religious Conference (CRC) and CCIC offices in Ottawa provided valuable assistance and made me aware of how much more could be done given additional time and resources.

Each of the independent variables presents its own unique data base from which to establish correlations and draw inferences as to its impact on the formation of CCODP's development strategy. This both enriched the commentary and made a comparative analysis of dissimilar data more difficult. However, this will be overcome through an examination of CCODP's statements of its understanding of the causes of underdevelopment and the development strategy that it suggests should be employed to overcome those obstacles. These serve as a frame of reference to assist in establishing the relative importance of the independent variables.

The case studies of Chapter Four rely both on empirical data drawn from archival research as well as analysis of primary interview materials and secondary written sources. These studies allowed us to probe in more

detail the relationship between the rhetoric of the CCODP development strategy and the reality of the actual work of CCODP in the Third World.

A STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

This history of CCODP will be explored in more detail in Chapter Three. However, it is important at this point to lay down the basic outline of this organization's understanding of underdevelopment and the strategy for development that flows from it. It then will be possible to place it on a continuum of our choosing with other development strategies. Furthermore, we then can relate this analysis back briefly to the broad categories of development theory which in part inspire them.

Here then, is a synopsis of the CCODP position, drawing on the core document of the organization, Basic Principles and Orientations approved by its National Council in November of 1982 after a three year consultative process. At the core of the CCODP analysis is a fundamental recognition "...of the poverty and misery of three quarters of humanity"7 and the ever widening gap separating the industrialized countries from the Third World. These are not separate, isolated phenomena. "One must understand that underdevelopment is not an accidental phenomenon but a provoked phenomenon. Underdevelopment is marked by the oppressive domination of an unjust international economic system."8 With further precision the document states that for CCODP "underdevelopment is in great measure caused by rich countries, and it is rich countries which create obstacles to development such as militarization and control of prices and markets."9

The right to development for all peoples "...is as fundamental as the civil, political, and economic rights defined and proclaimed by the United Nations."10 Development is a "global and integrated process" not one, as some other strategies suggest, that is only concerned with, for example, a Third World country's internal institutional rigidities. The process of development for CCODP has at its core the human being. It is aimed "...at persons in their structural context, institutional or communal."11 The text then reminds us that it would be "...false to think that only these (Third World) peoples or their governments are responsible for their development."12

Development for CCODP is a right denied, denied structurally and systematically in large measure through the international economic system. What can be done from the perspective of CCODP? What is its strategy of development? Clearly it rejects "simplistic or false notions" such as "the position which promotes development externally, believing it can be brought about by authoritarian measures internal or external to developing countries; or the idea that development can be realized by massive infusions of financial help from outside; or the position that rejects the whole problem of the Third World and holds the Third World solely responsible for its own development."13

Non-authoritarian in its approach, the strategy sees the people most concerned as "the foremost agents of their own liberation and their own development."14 A priority therefore, is given to the involvement, mobilization, and empowerment of the peoples concerned, their groups, and their representative movements. This empowerment is a process by which people are prepared and encouraged to assume responsibility over their own lives, to become the subjects, not the objects of their own histories. Their development, the document suggests, cannot be understood without the concept of liberation, for any development programme should exist to reduce inequalities, fight discrimination, and liberate humankind from oppression, using just, non-violent methods.15

This work of empowerment for liberation is not something that is exclusive to the Third World. The notion of solidarity runs throughout the text. "The right of peoples of the Third World to development means for all humanity an obligation for a more equitable sharing of wealth and also an obligation of solidarity."16 The participation in and benefit from unjust structures by the citizens of the world's wealthy nations militates against development. This places on those peoples a special obligation of "reparations" towards the affected countries but also towards building "a society where each can live in justice and peace."17

The CCCB when it created CCODP gave it two mandates, "international cooperation in the socio-economic development of poor nations" and to make the operation "a true collective educational activity."18 The understanding of the dual mandate has deepened. "There is an indispensible link between these two obligations which rests on the

interrelationships of the Third World with industrialized countries and on the radical solidarity between groups and peoples."19

This solidarity is to be concretely expressed through parternships between CCODP and Third World groups. "Partnership must avoid establishing between groups a paternalistic relationship of the donor-recipient type, or a simple sponsorship of projects."20 Though CCODP states its lack of experience in this type of partnership with its "...exchange at the level of conscientization and mutual aid in action for development,"21 it proclaims its intention to take this path.

The specific tactics seen as important in implementing this strategy include support for projects where people take into "their own hands their plans for their lives and society,"22 and then secondly, finding "organizations which in the service of local people work for the formation of persons and groups."23 Human rights are an essential prerequisite for integral development. CCODP states that it will give priority to human rights projects that defend "collective rights (e.g. native rights, workers' rights, etc.) rather than individual rights,"24 as well as supporting other non-violent efforts of people to liberate themselves from oppression. These tactical priorities do not exclude emergency relief or rehabilitation work which can be seen as the a priori necessities towards creating the minimum conditions necessary for any development to occur.

Solidarity, partnership, and empowerment are at the centre of what could be characterized as a Social Justice strategy for development enunciated by CCODP. Put very simply, for CCODP without justice there can be no true development, and without development there can be no peace.

STRATEGIES OF DEVELOPMENT

I have chosen the following factors to provide a frame of reference by which to analyze and compare various NGO strategies of development (summarized in TABLE 1.1). Following this section we will be able to relate more precisely the strategies of development to their theoretical underpinnings.

TABLE 1.1

NGO DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

DESIGNED TO INCREASE

	'CONSUMPTION'	'PRODUCTION'	'EMPOWERMENT'
GLOBAL ANALYSIS	SOLELY A THIRD WORLD PROBLEM	MIXED	INTERDEPENDENCE
PROBLEM TARGET	SHORTAGES OF GOODS AND SERVICES	LACK OF TECHNOLOGICAL OR ECONOMIC RESOURCES	NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC & POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS
TYPE OF PROJECTS FUNDED	FOOD AID EMERGENCY RELIEF WELFARE	SELF HELP PROJECTS LOAN FUNDS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT HUMAN RIGHTS CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING
TIME FRAME	IMMEDIATE RELIEF	PROJECT LIFE	MULTIYEAR PROCESS
BENEFICIARY INVOLVEMENT	CONSUMERS	ASSISTANTS	PARTNERS
ADVOCACY POSITIONS	FUND RAISING	MIXED	CHALLENGE PAPTNERS & POLICIES
CONSTITUENCY EDUCATION	PUBLIC RELATIONS FUND RAISING	MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL IMAGE	STARVING PEOPLE	SELF HELP PROJECTS	STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE
DETERMINANTS OF SUCCESS	THIRD WORLD PEOPLE FED, HOUSED, ETC.	THIRD WORLD SUSTAINABLE, SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT	PEOPLE MOBILIZED NORTH & SOUTH SOCIETY TRANSFORMED

Several commentators have provided broad-lined analyses to make basic distinctions between competing development strategies. Francois Houtart, a sociologist from the Catholic University of Louvain, in a 1975 speech to CCODP, presented a continuum for analyzing international projects. He did so after asking the rhetorical question, "To what extent are development projects useful as long as society has not been more radically transformed?"25 His scale, a schema for assessing projets with the capacity to transform society, gives primary import to those projects which give the people themselves increasing power; followed then by projects that are aimed at increasing production; then, by projects which permit an increasing consumption, and then finally, by projects which reinforce the dominant power's ability to increase underdevelopment. In the middle categories projects can be valuable in meeting emergency needs but are often focused too much on a particular concern (food, housing, etc.) or are too narrowly economic without due consideration to the social nature of underdevelopment.26

Other commentators point to this crucial dilemma facing developing nations as well as NGOs "...whether to follow a development strategy emphasizing economic growth, or social justice, or (ideally) some combination of growth with equity."27 Tim Brodhead, the executive director of CCIC, would not seem to be so confident of finding an ideal middle position when he starkly portrays the two strategic development options he sees for NGOs. He insists that the choice between them is very clear though difficult and uncomfortable.

> "A la base de leur réponse, de leur choix, les ONG doivent placer leur vision du développement. Si celui-ci est vu comme un transfert de ressources (technologiques, économiques) dans un ordre international inchangé qui dépend de centres de décisions situés à Tokyo, Bonn, New-York ou Washington, alors notre approche sera une approche de bienfaisance, d'assistance; elle perpétuera des rapports de donateurs à bénéficiaires, où le Sud reste dépendant. Dans un tel cadre, les ONG ne sont-elles plus que des agents d'exécution de projets décidés par d'autres?
> Si par contre le développement est vu comme l'accès à l'auto-suffisance, le partage du pouvoir, l'accès à la table des décisions, les défis sont différents. Si on croit en effet que le développement fait aujourd'hui face

> À des blocages d'ordre institutionnel et politique, l'approche que nous allons adopter sera celle, non d'abord du transfert de ressources, mais plutot du transfert ou partage de pouvoir ("empowerment"). Une telle orientation aura, si nous la retenons, des implications précises. D'abord, celle de la solidarité, avec les ONG du Sud, c'est-à-dire d'une relation où il y a des obligations réciproques, notamment pour les ONG du Nord celles de jouer un role réel dans le changement de leur propres sociétés.28

If NGOs fail to choose an empowerment strategy, Brodhead suggests that in ten years NGOs will no longer exist.

> Il y a une volonté réelle de changement dans le monde: ou nous nous allions à cette volonté de changement, de démocratisation, à cette lutte pour plus d'égalité et de dignité. Ou nous n'avons plus de role à jouer.29

For the purposes of this study, we will thus examine three distinct NGO development strategies i.e. those designed either to increase consumption, or production, or empowerment. An understanding of their basic underlying global analyses provides a first view of the distinctions between these strategies of development.

Where are the problems of the Third World rooted? Are they solely internal to the Third World; institutional and infrastructural underdevelopment, corruption, or traditional value systems? Or, is underdevelopment the result of external factors; colonialism, imperialism, and an unjust economic order? Can the truth be found in some understanding of interdependence, a combination of both external and internal obstacles to change. This "clash of two paradigms, development as 'out there' problems facing others vs. development as interdependence"30 can be best seen in the vision statements of individual NGOs.

Each NGO adopts a global analysis that points to a set of basic problems and then develops strategies that propose to deal with these problems. A 'consumption' strategy identifies the basic problem as a shortage of goods and services. Emergency relief, food aid, curative medical programmes and other international welfare approaches would characterize the type of work undertaken. A 'production' strategy sees

local technologies and economic obstacles as the primary roadblock to development. These can be overcome by funding or technical assistance to agricultural, educational, or health projects. Loans or grants for a key skill or machine are supposed to interrupt the dependency cycle. An 'empowerment' strategy would be more likely to point to an unjust land holding system or other national and international constraints as the most critical problem. Consciousness raising educational programmes, human rights projects, and integrated community development schemes would be among the projects designed to empower people to deal with obstacles to change by this strategy.

An emergency relief effort may take only a matter of weeks or months to complete. Development work is not a short term affair, though most NGO projects still function within a one year time frame. A distinction between development strategies can be made on the basis of the time committed to the development process. "De-projectification therefore, implies first the surrender of that power, and secondly, the substitution of programme for projects and to institute a broader time frame for realizing programme objectives."31 Dr. Elliot, the former director of Christian Aid in Britain went on to say that "...projectifying simply does not respect the integrity of the process. It destroys community as opposed to enhancing it."32

How do the differing development strategies suggest that project beneficiaries be involved? The 'consumption' strategy implies that the people will be recipients or consumers of the offered goods or services. They are not involved in the planning, implementation, or evaluation of these NGO funded projects. For the majority of 'production' strategy projects "community participation in the implementation or construction phase of projects is now something of a commonplace."33 In fully 74% of the fifty-one projects surveyed for the North-South Institute study, beneficiaries were involved in the project's implementation, though often only as voluntary labour with little or no control over the project. Only 36% of the projects of this study had involved local people in the design phase of the work. "Evidence from the field does suggest a correlation between participation of beneficiaries in project design and project

success, both in terms of achievement of stated objectives and the sustainability of projects over the long term."34

When and on what issues are NGOs willing to challenge government? Its advocacy positions are another indicator of the priorities of a NGO.

> "Voluntary agencies are most likely to resort to pressure activities when their own operations or immediate organizational interests are jeopardized (i.e. financial interests, resettlement of refugees). They are somewhat less likely to take up issues affecting the Third World that have no direct bearing on their own operations or immediate organizational interests (i.e. quantity and quality of government aid.) And they are least likely to speak out on issues that touch on the political and ·omic self interest of the high income countries (i.e. international power politics and the enrichment/ impoverishment mechanism)."35

Lissner, in his NGO study from the mid-seventies, saw "only a comparatively small group of agencies that are deliberately trying to explore complimentary ways to engage in the politics of altruism."36 However, Brodhead et al. paint a more encouraging picture. While only two NGOs in 1970, CUSO and a coalition of church groups, appeared before the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs enquiry into Canada-Caribbean relations, by the 1986 Winegard Committee it attracted over fifty submissions from the NGO community37 and an equal number were called to appear in person before the committee.

An NGO's approach to the education of its own constituency provides another lens on the strategy of development to which it ascribes. One commentator laid out three categories to reflect differing NGO approaches to educating the public. The first category is Fundraisers who "...maintain that the overriding purpose of a voluntary agency is to provide social services to the Third World."38 Other activities are ancillary, although expenditures for public relations, promotion, and education activities geared towards increasing agency income, are acceptable. An image characteristic of this approach would be that of starving people. Middle-of-the-roaders, the next category most typical of the 'production' strategy "...acknowledge the importance of an informed and concerned public and are willing to accept a concerted educational effort as long as it does not jeopardize agency income."39 These NGOs

will shy away from any criticism of home country policies or practices. The image they wish to project typically would be that of self-help projects. Lastly are the Educationalists who as a category provide a fundamentally different view. They "...claim that social services in the Third World are only one among many foci in voluntary work."40 These NGOs' analyses see the causes of Third World misery often in First World policies and institutions. These voluntary agencies see it as a basic imperative to work for social change at home. They will invest "...a substantial share of their resources in efforts to influence public opinion and public policy."41 The image these NGOs project is the struggle for justice.

The end goals of these efforts provide one last demarcator between the three strategies of development offered. The 'consumption' strategy hopes to see that the people it has targeted are fed, clothed, housed, or whatever its specific material objective was. A 'production' strategy would wish to see its efforts lead to the self-reliant development of its Third World recipients. The 'project' approach would seek to have its investment trigger sustained development, possibly even provoking a multiplier effect in other communities by just its example. The 'empowerment' strategy would hope that people had been mobilized and that they would be consciously pursuing transformational strategies within their own communities, both in the North and in the South.

The CCODP social justice strategy aspiringly parallels the strategy of development seeking to empower people. Our study in Chapter Three will examine the relative influence of groups on the evolution of this strategy. Then, Chapter Four will provide concrete examples of the practice of this strategy.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Theories of Development and Underdevelopment have had an influence on the way that NGOs have approached their work. The two theoretical themes of central import to this study are those commonly referred to as Modernization theory and Dependency theory.

Arising in the post World War II era, Modernization theory has generated an extensive literature. Rooted in the traditional-modern society dichotomy from Weber to Parsons, it focuses on the transformation

of a "traditional", predominantly agricultural society in the Third World into a modern, industrial, mass-consumption "capitalist" society. The foundation Max Weber laid was based on his studies, albeit limited, of non-European societies. Weber saw material conditions in China and India, for example, as not "...totally unfavorable to the rise of national, bourgeois capitalism,"42 notwithstanding the cultural barriers to change manifest in a "...strong status group equipped with a dominant ideology and with the aid of an ongoing social structure."43 These barriers would have to be blown down by the imperialist assault of Western powers if national, bourgeois capitalism were to be achieved. The path to modernization for colonized peoples would be projected for them by stages-of-growth theories and structural-functionalist44 analyses among other tools.

The stages-of-growth theorist, W.W. Rostow, an influential proponent of Modernization, provided an "...economic historian's way of generalizing the sweep of modern history."45 He laid out five stages through which an economy moved from a traditional society toward a state of modernity exemplified by Western Europe and North America. A. F. K. Organski and other Modernizers placed an almost total faith in the evolutionary inevitability of capitalist development. The 'Big Push' of Rosenstein-Rodan, 'Balanced Growth' of Nurske, or 'Unbalanced Growth' of Hirschman, among other authors provided varied models for achieving economic growth, but none challenged the a fortiori premise of economic growth as the prime remedy to underdevelopment.

Modernization model builders and theorists such as David Apter succeeded the 'stage' theorists. Apter and others broadened the focus from a primarily economic one, "Modernization as a non-economic process originates when a culture embodies an attitude of inquiry about how men make choices; moral (normative), social (structural), and personal (behavioral),"46 but Modernization continued to imply economic growth, industrialization, and urbanization. The essence of Modernization theory for one critical commentator was that "The institutions - and behind the institutions, the thought patterns of people in developing countries - were unsuitable for economic growth towards a highly industrialized society."47 So Modernization was not merely economic growth or social

change, but as well some basic wrenching of people out of their cultural context, and the denial of traditional values and customs. Why would people endure this? One writer suggests that they were "...sustained by hope in new social relations that will bring peace, abundance, dignity, and fraternity, (as) no lesser goals make the agony of Modernization justifiable."48 The question can be properly asked, if these goals are illusory via a Modernization strategy, what then? "Higher rates of growth take on a different significance if they are accompanied by increasing inequalities and impoverishment of the poorest social groups."49 Warnings abound of the potential negative outcomes of rapid economic growth. Kuznet's inverted 'U' relationship points to increasing inequality with economic growth. Another alphabetic indicator is Fierabend's 'U' curve which suggests that rapid growth will also create sharply increased expectations which, if unmet, will lead to instability. S. Huntington, who initially saw political development as the growth of institutions, felt the expanding capacity of institutions would be able to deal with the strains of social mobililization and political participation. His emphasis shifted from a focus on democracy, to one on order and stability. "We have come to realize that these are potentially desirable limits to economic growth. These are also potentially desirable limits to the indefinite expansion of political democracy."50

By the 1970's, Modernization theory coupled with the perceived need to increase attention to equity questions resulted in several new strategies of development. One, the Basic Needs Approach, sought to put greater emphasis on agricultural output, particularly that of food production from the traditional rural sector.51 A principal objective was the adoption of labour intensive technologies to increase employment. A more equitable distribution of social programmes between urban and rural areas was a basic element of this programme along with efforts to increase educational and training opportunities, especially for the poor.52 There was no conflict between growth and a Basic Needs Approach, just a change in emphasis without a significant challenge to the global <u>status quo</u>. The wide acceptance of Modernization theories and strategies such as Basic Needs, was mirrored within the NGO community. NGO projects were (and are) largely focused on the infusion of financial and technical resources as

the way to modernize 'backward' societies. To many it was obvious though, that these approaches, this developmentalism, was impotent in the face of many trials confronting Third World countries.53

Dependency theory arose as a fundamental challenge to NGOs as well as to the Academic community's comparativists in the late 1960's. Andre Gunder Frank rejected Modernization thus:

> "...underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was, and still is, generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself."54

> "How could development take place when our production strategy is influenced by the demands of the world market which is determined almost exclusively by the pattern of production and consumption within capitalist Europe and America?"55

asked one Third World thinker.

Frank's attack on 'structuralist-functionalist' analyses and 'stages-of-growth' formulations which presented capitalism as the historical continuum along which the Third World should have developed, attracted much debate and support. W. Rodney and S. Amin saw capitalist penetration as crucial to understanding the underdevelopment of the Third World. T. Dos Santos stated that while Third World nations may have been undeveloped before western penetration, they were no less underdeveloped afterwards.

Marxists, though, were divided on their reaction to this approach. A time and geography bound Karl Marx had placed little emphasis on the non-European world. Both he and Engels saw the inexorable development of capitalism. This force as described in their Communist Manifesto:

> "...batters down all Chinese walls. It compels all nations on pain of extinction to adopt the bourgeois mode of production. It made the barbarian and the semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West."56

Bill Warren, in his study, Imperialism: The Pioneer of Capitalism, accepts a literalist interpretation of Marx. Warren supported

the view that colonialism was an engine of capitalist development in the Third World, while equally accepting the implicit societal destruction resulting from imperialist expansion.

Others regard Marx as having been "excessively optimistic with regard to the spread of economic development."57 This economic development was key to Marx and others of his school if the desired socialist stage was to be achieved. Theories of Lenin, Luxemburg, and Bukharin optimistically over-estimated, "The power of capitalism to transform the world in its own image."58 This failure resulted, for Dependency theorists, in the progressive impoverishment of the Third World. Marx in commenting on Irish national liberation attempts in the 1860's did recognize the possibility of colonialism stunting development, yielding different capitalist results from those in Western Europe.59

What development strategies are suggested by Dependency theorists given the very pesimistic world order that they describe? Clearly, attempts so far at creating a New International Economic Order (NIEO) would not be satisfactory because they have focused on the upholding of the system, and not the system itself. Under an NIEO schema, Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) would play an even more central role than before, furthering the economic dependence of the Third World.60 It could be said that the NIEO strategy would turn people away from the basic battles, "with their attention focused on the international level, workers become less troublesome opponents for the national bourgeoisies."61

For Frank, the way forward could be to opt out of the exploitative system altogether like China did, following its late 1950's break with the Soviet Union. For him and other 'Dependistas',

> "There is not too much point in asking capitalists to be more humane capitalists. There may be some point in encouraging peasants to organize against capitalism, but only if they will create the social and political space to organize a non-capitalist economy of their own."62

An empowerment strategy of development would share several common points with Dependency theorists; their understanding of the linkages between the north and the south; the injustices built into national and international systems, and the liberating potential that might come from

projects that mobilze peoples to confront the obstacles to their own development. However:

> "Dependency theories of development would in fact call into question the extent to which NGOs seeking alternatives can pursue these approaches in an ultimately creative and meaningful way if they are themselves dependent on the very structures and institutions which serve to perpetuate the 'under-development' of Third World countries."63

In the Chapter Two, we will look at the external and internal factors that are of potential influence on the formation and implementation of an NGO's development strategy. Firstly, though, we will briefly outline a history of NGOs, then situate them among other developmental assistance providers.

Chapter Three focuses directly on CCODP, beginning with a historical overview of its activities from 1967 to 1986. A study of the independent variables listed earlier will allow us to assay their relative impact on the evolution of the CCODP's development strategy.

The fourth chapter involves examining specific country programmes and projects as a way of ascertaining the degree of convergence between the development strategy as stated, and actually implemented. Overall conclusions and points for further consideration will be drawn from the whole study in the fifth and final chapter.

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CHAPTER TWO

People have always come together when need so demands. Voluntary action is a deeply ingrained response in most communities, traditional or modern, irrespective of locale. "Non-governmental organizations in general are voluntary groupings (or agencies) that respond to needs and/or interests in society that government either does not or, perhaps, cannot fulfill."1 Governments can and have defeated this NGO vocation, through a variety of means, thus making NGOs agents, or instruments of their policy. The tension between the NGO and government remains a central concern throughout our consideration of the formation of NGO development strategies.

Thomas Hobbes, 1588-1679, saw social organizations within the state as a threat to it unless subordinated to it. He nevertheless recognized 'lesser corporations' and religion as formidable societal forces and aimed to make them part of the state.2 NGOs have a long history, some tracing their roots back to Hobbes' time such as "Les Soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame" of Montreal. Founded in 1653, they are still active, with women serving in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.3

Alexis de Tocqueville, 1805-1859, in Democracy in America, had a much more positive view of 'public associations'. He drew a link between the vitality of the associations and the vibrancy of the democracy practiced. The more adept people become at a multiplicity of small affairs, the more they "...acquire facility in prosecuting great undertakings in common."4 Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations for many various tasks, among them "...to send missionaries to the antipodes."5 Missionaries, and the societies that support them, have the longest histories of any NGOs. In one study of NGOs, seventy percent of the mission societies were reported to have been founded between 1830 and 1930.6 Many were involved in the process of colonization. "In Africa it is said that traditional imperialism can be summed up in the three M's: missionary, military,

merchant."7 Their history of overseas involvement opened the door through which many others would later follow. One international study tabulating NGOs through to 1970, indicated that just over seventy percent of both Church related and secular NGOs were founded between 1945 and 1970.8

The rapid growth of the NGC community had periodic triggers, e.g. responding to both World Wars. The Save the Children Fund, founded in the aftermath of World War I in 1919, focused on the vanquished of Germany. The two largest NGOs in the U.S.A., the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and CARE, were both spawned by the events of World War II and had war relief as their initial goal. In Canada, fully ninety-three percent of the agencies based in this country were founded following World War II. Of these, seventy-three percent were founded from 1971 to 1985.9 Prior to 1960 nearly half of the Canadian agencies were branches of foreign NGOs. The Canadianization of NGOs as well as their secularization are marked trends in the community since 1960. "Despite the importance of religion and missionary work in the early days, most Canadian development NGOs - seventy-two percent - could be defined as secular."10 This rapid growth in Canada can be attributed to factors such as the increasing global awareness of Canadians. It parallels as well the establishment of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and with it, the NGO programme in 1968. In this initial phase, from the late 1960's through the following decade, CIDA steadily increased its funding to NGOs "...while remaining subordinate and supporting NGOs own priorities."11

Government funding has varied from country to country, but an examination of the private sector fund-raising patterns, as found in TABLE 2.1, show a clear and consistent increase over time for NGOs. The top two charities in Great Britain, for example, Oxfam and Save the Children, raised over 96 million pounds sterling between them in 1986.12 Similar statistics can be cited for NGOs in most Western advanced industrial countries. In Canada NGOs represent over 20 percent of total aid flows.

TABLE 2.1

PRIVATE AND VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE
FOR DEVELOPMENT AND RELIEF ACTIVITIES

	1970(a)	1975(a)	1981(b)	1985(c)
United States	$ 598*	$ 804	$1,018	$1,513
West Germany	78	204	371	424
Canada	52	67	103	171
United Kingdom	34	53	101	169

*Figures cited in millions of U.S. dollars.

(a) Cunningham13 (b) Arnold14 (c) Brodhead15

Financial clout is not the only barometer of the significance of the NGO community within the larger society. "International private development agencies engage virtually millons of individuals directly in their work, as key volunteers, programme participants, and donors."16 One NGO in the U.S.A., CARE, draws on a donor base of over one million individuals.17 CCODP, in a recent campaign of solidarity with the people of Southern Africa, presented the Canadian Minister of External Affairs with over a hundred and twenty thousand names advocating stronger Canadian action against apartheid.18 Whether taking an education and advocacy position or a public relations and information stance, the NGO's impact cannot be without consequence.

> "The history of NGOs indicates that their real contribution must be seen in qualitative terms, namely, their flexibility and speed of response, their ability to influence government and to educate people in rich countries, and to implement, at grass roots level, projects which reach the poorest in developing countries."19

Throughout the world, I believe along with another commentator that, "One sign of the health of a democratic society is the number and variety of NGOs that exist to provide 'texture' to the weave of that society."20 Whether building self reliance within Third World communities through small scale projects or facilitating the organization of support and solidarity groups within the wealthy nations, NGOs

"...appear to be guided by a basic characteristic: they are always oriented to the strengthening of civil society."21

At this moment in history, NGOs are under pressure from many sides. Demands from the Third World increase in the face of multiple and seemingly permanent crises. As well, Official Aid Donors and governments, unable to provide answers, look expectantly upon NGOs to play an increasingly active role in the development process as defined by them. Risks abound for those NGOs such as CCODP who seek to maintain their bottom line version of the development process: 'empowerment'.

PROVIDERS OF INTERNATIONAL AID

Three major channels of development assistance exist: multilateral, bilateral, and NGO. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimated that for 1986 the NGO contributions from the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries "...would be some $3.5 billion and remain close to 10 per cent of the level of Office Development Assistance (ODA)."22 In Canada, according to one study's estimates, the NGO channel controls twice the OECD level of development assistance. (See TABLE 2.2).

TABLE 2.2

CANADIAN AID (Official and Nonofficial) 1984-85

	(Millions)	(Percentage)
Multilateral (U.N., World Bank, etc.)	$690	29%
Bilateral (Government to Government)	$875	37%
NGOs (Private and Government Funds)	$525	22%
Other (IDRC, Petro Canada, Intern'l, etc.)	$290	12%
TOTAL	$2,380	100%

Brodhead et al.23

Multilateral funding channels include United Nations bodies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), where the majority of seats on its policy-making body are filled by representatives from developing countries. The entire UNDP expenditures for the period covered by TABLE 2.2 was less than Canada's multilateral allocations. Another multilateral channel includes institutions such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). The World Bank and similar institutions are governed by the principle of voting rights related to shareholding. Wealthier countries, consequently, control the direction of these fiscally powerful organizations. The World Bank in the comparative period, 1984-85, allocated over $14 billion U.S. in loans and credits24 compared with the more democratically run United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) with an expenditure of $244 million during the same period.

The Bilateral Aid Channel holds the greatest share of funds, and is fraught with the greatest controversy. Paraphrasing Palmerston, the U.S. has no permanent enemies or friends, only permanent interests such as power, wealth, and security.25 Strategic interests in large measure determine the shape of bilateral aid. "A lot of criticism of foreign aid is because the critic thought the objective was to get economic growth and this wasn't the case at all."26 A simple look at the top recipients of the U.S.A.'s Foreign Aid suggests that geo-political concerns far outweigh efforts to alleviate poverty. Israel and Egypt topped the list of 1977 to 1989 total aid recipients with over forty and thirty billion dollars respectively. Three other nations in the top ten, Turkey, Greece and Spain, are NATO members. The Phillipines and South Korea are also among the first ten, and as well key points in the U.S.A.'s global military positioning.27

In Canada, the government's use of bilateral aid programmes is oriented somewhat differently than in the U.S.A. There "Foreign aid programmes are perhaps the main tools of U.S. foreign policy."28 Rather than geared toward the maintenance of political or military alliances, Canada has used its aid dollar to secure access to Third World markets and investment opportunities. Some commentators have argued that the real aid recipients are Canadian businesses,29 because until recently,

"Approximately 80 per cent of Canada's bilateral aid to Third World countries is 'tied' to the purchase of goods, commodities, and services here in Canada."30 Recent modifications of this policy permit local purchases of up to 50% for selected countries.

NGOs, while controlling the lowest percentage of development assistance funds of the three major channels, nonetheless have been increasingly recognized by multilateral and bilateral actors as having a significant and rapidly increasing involvement in the development process. Their size, flexibility, responsiveness, and "...ability to operate much nearer to various vulnerable groups such as rural or urban poor"31 have defined the role of many NGOs.

Measuring these three aid channels on a scale of institutionalization, access to human and financial resources, and concomitantly political influence, it would be logical to assume some division of labour amongst them. "Multilateral agencies would concentrate on macroresource transfers while bilateral agencies would focus on programme lending to selected sectors, and NGOS on individual project activities at the local level."32 However, distinctions have become increasingly blurred between these providers of development assistance.

INFLUENCES ON NGOS

A key factor in this change is the increasing dependency of NGOs on government funds. "The global dependency of NGO programmes on government-provided funds in 1985 reached close to 30% for the DAC countries as a whole, up from less than 10% in the early 1970's."33 This has meant that in the U.S.A., as a result of the New Directions legislation of 1973, many NGOs have "...become heavily dependent on U.S. government monies, making them increasingly indistinguishable from agents of the U.S. government."34 In Canada as well, many NGO activities are being carried out with bilateral funds or under direct contract to CIDA. (See APPENDIX B). In politically difficult situations, Biafra to Tigray and Eritrea, CIDA has supported Canadian NGOs as surrogate aid conduits, just as the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID) has used NGOs in Central Europe, e. g. CRS in Poland. The tendency within NGOs to tilt towards government

policies can accompany the increased dependency on government funds. This was exemplified in the case of the CRS's participation in controversial U.S. food aid programmes in Chile and South Vietnam in the early 1970's, or the Canadian Hunger Foundation's work in El Salvador on behalf of CIDA more recently.

Governments and their overseas funding agencies have the potential to influence NGO policies but that influence is uneven. In countries such as Denmark and the Netherlands, it was felt that even total public funding need not cause a major loss of autonomy, "providing the programming relationship between the public agency and the NGO clearly left discretion as to project selection and design under the control of the NGO."35 Cebemo, a Dutch Catholic agency, is 100 per cent government funded, yet the head of its project department felt that Cebemo had more influence on the Dutch government than vice versa,36 although he offered no hard evidence to support this assertion.

"The NGO communities in the Scandanavian countries, the Netherlands, and Germany have organized powerful lobbying coalitions."37 The advocacy roles of NGOs show that the pressure is not always one way. NGOs in Canada, "...have on occasion had significant impact on policy, particularly aid policy, through their own aid programmes, through their network of supporters, and through their somewhat more informal links with CIDA."38

Committment to advocacy positions is limited in a real way by the time, research capacity, and resource base, both human and material, constraints faced by NGOs. These internal factors, coupled with the nature of their member or support base which are for many NGOs "relatively unstable"39 or entirely lacking, will contribute to the shaping of an NGO's public postures as well as its international work. The "willingness to reflect critically on the 'macro' issues as well as to work for improvement on the 'micro' issues is also a measure of NGOs' independence and their maturity."40

The growth of domestic NGOs (DNGOs) within the Third World has added a new dimension to the discussion of factors influencing NGOs. Recognizing the larger socio-economic context of the Third World framing our discussion of DNGOs, with organizing occuring from every political

spectrum, nonetheless, it is possible ot delineate three categories of DNGOs.'Primary user' DNGOs, "those formed to meet the direct and specific needs of their membership"41; 'secondary' or 'service' DNGOs, those who set up to provide skills, expertise, and services for the 'primary user' DNGOs, and the final level, 'umbrella' DNGOs, whose function parallels those First World organizations such as CCIC, i.e. that of research, coordination, and advocacy. 'Primary user' DNGOs are by far the most common, functioning at a local level with very little leverage vis-à-vis NGO patrons. 'Service' DNGOs might be regional or even national in scope with a diversified funding base allowing them some latitude in negotiations with NGOs. The 'umbrella' DNGOs function at a national and at times, international level. They are most able to demand equality as a basis for relationships with NGOs. As DNGOs of all categories mature, so will their capacity to influence the development strategies pursued by NGOs and other aid providers, possibly bypassing NGOs altogether in favor of other larger scale aid providers.

NGOs are influenced as well by the NGO company they keep. Membership in umbrella organizations, common advocacy positions, and shared funding of Third World projects are among the joint works of the NGO community which could have an influence on an individual NGO's efforts as well.

NGOs can focus their efforts, as these Canadian NGOs, on one country (Jamaica Self Help Organization), on one sector of the population (Help the Aged), on one issue (African Wildlife Husbandry Development Association), or on one type of work (Operation Eyesight International). The specificity of objectives could constrain these organizations, if they were to interpret their mandate rigidly.

Several organizational types can be delineated for NGOs which carry with them the potential for influencing an agency's development strategy. Twenty-four per cent of Canadian NGOs, according to one North-South Institute study, had head offices outside this country.42 Canadian Branches of internationally or U. S. based NGOs, such as Care Canada or Foster Parents' Plan of Canada, are obviously markedly influenced by the degree of autonomy granted by the parent body in such key areas as project selection, monitoring, and evaluation. Head offices are usually

responsible for Third World operations. Priorities for branches of international NGOs "are rooted in the donor societies from which they derive their support and income",43 one could also argue their primary income. This prioritization has obvious political implications as excerpts from an interview with Thomas Kines, former National Director of Care Canada, suggests:

> "The U.S. branch of CARE is most sensitive to what the U.S. government wants. When we meet in New York to discuss worldwide CARE projects, sometimes when we seem to agree that CARE should not pursue some projects on technical grounds, the New York directors say, "Wait a minute. AID wants us in there. Get AID on the phone right now and let's talk to them about this. When this happens I get angry since CARE USA claims to be nonpolitical."44

Screening a promotional film of World Vision, the top NGO fund raiser in Canada, revealed the disturbing prejudices as regarded the Central American politics of its parent in the U.S.A.45 which it carried to Canada.

Other Canadian NGOs share some of these potential problems as well. They are Canadian branches of International organizations or programmes within National organizations that were not originally intended for Third World work at all. Organizations such as the Canadian Red Cross or the Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada "have become increasingly involved in development problems."46 They along with other such NGOs as the YM-YWCA's of Canada and the Boy Scouts of Canada, direct part of their activities toward the Third World. Motivated by whatever reason to assume a Third World programming role, nonetheless the priorities of these NGOs remain elsewhere.

National NGOs, such as MATCH and Inter-Pares, were created in Canada specifically to assist Third World peoples. They share with other NGOs pressures not only from government funders but also must answer to their own support base:

> "They depend on right-of-center money, while acknowledging the need to apply the funds to left-of-center objectives; there is hardly a major development agency that in one form or another does not face the starkness of this contradiction."47

CHURCH NGOS

A final organizational category would be those NGOs which are either of, or, from the Churches. This broad category of Church run or affiliated organizations still accounts for nearly a third of Canadian NGOs. For clarity's sake, it would be worth our effort to subdivide this category into three more specific classifications. Firstly, the Evangelical or proselytizing NGOs (ENGOs) who function along the lines of the traditional mission societies. Their main purpose is to win converts to their particular religious persuasion. They may see the provision of food, clothing, and other relief supplies or health and educational services as "an essential part of pre-mission, a point of entry into the communities that they seek to evangelize."48 One Canadian ENGO's policy statement stated that they will "...encourage and support the development of the local church in its capability to worship, fellowship, share the Good News, serve the poor and disciple its members. (As facilitators of the development process they will employ) those who claim Jesus Christ as Lord and whose lives bear testimony to that Lordship"49 No mention is made of how or why underdevelopment occurs other than on theological grounds such as 'alienation from their Creator' or as the 'effect of sin'. "Evangelicals thought the process of conversion itself would overcome the lethargy and fatalism they believed they observed among heathen villages of India and Africa."50

The key objective of this ENGO's development ministry "is to provide the best development ministry to the neediest people at the least cost in a way which will attract the most appropriate donors."51 The ENGO strategy of development would most clearly be approximated by a 'consumption' strategy.

It may seem overly crude to represent relief and service efforts as lures to attract converts, but this caritative, evangelizing perspective is the main distinction between the ENGOs and the next category of church related NGOs, Mission NGOs (MNGOs). These MNGOs see their development activities as an integral part of their work and are moving away from seeing them as just another tool for attracting converts.

"One can detect a marked shift from the mid-1960's onwards from traditional caritative activities of providing schools, and hospitals, and orphanages and old people's homes to projects that reflected perfectly the modernization paradigm."52

MNGO's development work would still see mission defined projects, implemented with foreign expertise and resources. Vocational schools to train students for modern trades, model farms to modernize an assumedly backward peasantry, and new economic tools like credit unions and cooperatives to bring prosperity through discipline within everyone's grasp characterize the MNGO's pursuit of a production strategy of development.

Of 2,899 Canadian Catholic missionaries accounted for in a 1989 study, 37.9 percent were engaged in pastoral work, 41.5 percent were working in health and education, and 7.8 percent were involved in other social activities (12.8 were classified as 'other').53 A key question beyond the range of that study would be the kind of education or health care supported. Freirean 'conscientization' or community based preventative health care would mark their practitioner's transition from a production strategy of development toward one based on empowerment.

Four elements in particular mark out a Religious NGO (RNGO) from the ENGOs and MNGOs. Firstly, RNGOs "are committed to viewing poverty and underdevelopment in structural terms."54 Liberation Theology55 arising from Latin America in the late 1960's has presented a great challenge to the churches to identify with the oppressed. An analysis is evoked of unjust social structures whose study is key to understanding the reality of underdeveloped societies.56

Secondly, seeing the current economic and political systems as the seat of underdevelopment "should lead the religious community to see the dispossessed as the key actors in the development process."57 "A deepened conciousness of their situation leads men to apprehend that situation as a historical reality susceptible of transformation."58 The aim of conscientization, the work of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, is to put in motion a transformative process through which oppressed peoples through their own efforts "...cease to be the object of blind

forces and/or other people's wills."59 RNGOs are able to support efforts aimed at empowerment but these are not 'their' efforts.

"A structural view of poverty and a basic commitment to the key role of the poor leads to a third distinctive element in the development activities of Religious NGOs: a commitment to global education."60 Implied in the RNGO's approach to this task is a strong critique of the global structures that in the past have enriched donor countries at the expense of the global majority and a vision of the social transformations in favour of the dispossessed that are necessary.

Understanding, in the Freirean sense, must lead to action. As a final distinctive characteristic, RNGOs assume a special obligation for advocacy, seeking to challenge public and corporation policy, nationally or internationally, when necessary. Being a RNGO obviously places constraints on its organizational behavior, acceptance of certain funding sources, and the kinds of projects supported.

FINAL NOTES

Having in Chapter Two situated NGOs among aid givers, having clarified some of the pressures and constraints both external and internal on NGOs, and having given special attention to RNGOs, I believe we are now ready to examine one RNGO in some detail. From the information available, we will hope to glean in Chapter Three, an understanding of how CCODP's strategy of development, that was outlined in Chapter One, has evolved.

It will be important, though, in the close examination of one RNGO not to lose sight of the overall reality in which it functions. "In 1987, after factoring in aid received, the so-called developing countries exported more than $27 billion to the developed world mostly in the form of interest payments."61 NGOs will not alone redress the basic inequalities, the injustices which are renting the global fabric apart. Real limits on the possibilities for NGOs exist. NGOs "are admired partly because they are small. If very large sums of money were available, the projects they finance would probably depart from the principles which gave them their particular value in the first place. The voluntary organizations are no substitute for government aid."62

If governments and inter-governmental bodies alone can marshall the resources or make the macro economic changes necessary to respond to the multiple crises we face then possibly the most meaningful role for NGOs should be as advocates for change before them. "Within a few years it is probable that the decade of the NGOs will be declared over, and perhaps a failure. The responsibility lies with the NGO community itself to take advantage of the present opportunity by engaging the major donors constructively and, if necessary, in battle to help create the space for poor populations and their organizations to effect meaningful change within their societies."63

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45. The film titled "Soft Rain of Terror", assigns all the difficulties in Central America to Marxist influence, naively accepting the public stance of the U.S.A.'s foreign policy.

46. Arnold, G., op. cit., p. 96.

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52. Elliot, C., op. cit., p. 33.

53. Canadian Catholic Missionaries - Statistics 1989, Canadian Religious Conference, p. 24.

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55. Liberation theology is an approach to interpreting the Gospels, demanding that Christianity be a force actively working to liberate the great majority from poverty and oppression.

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CHAPTER THREE

Individuals and institutions have had varied roles in shaping CCODP. This chapter looks at the more than 20 years of CCODP history in an effort to understand the relative influences of key variables such as Church and government on CCODP's evolving development strategy.

This inquiry will be divided into a study of four 5 year stages of CCODP's history. They will be called: the 'formative' stage from 1967-1971; the 'experimentation' period from 1972 to 1976; the 'consolidation of the institution' from 1977 to 1981, and finally, the 'growth of the movement' from 1982 to 1986. An inquiry into the relevant aspects of the histories of other salient institutions will assist in the analysis of CCODP's approach to development and in understanding how these have affected the criteria it uses to evaluate projects through to other practicalities such as funding constraints and the choice of countries and sectors as recipients of project grants.

A preliminary study is necessary of the key Church and government variables. The history particularly of Catholic Social Teachings (CST) and government efforts proved an essential foundation upon which to build our continuing study.

FOUNDATIONS

Papal, as well as episcopal social teachings of the Church provide us with a guide to the ways in which the whole Church sees itself engaged in and with the world. These teachings form the keystone to understanding the policies of the RNGOs linked to the Roman Catholic Church.

CSTs are rooted in Biblical texts, writings of Church "Fathers" such as Augustine (d. 430 AD) and in the political and social works of later scholastic philosophers and theologians such as Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). The current era of CSTs can be dated from the publication of Rerum Novarum ("On the Condition of Labour") by Pope Leo XIII (d. 1903) in 1891. This social encyclical[1] was "...the first major step by the Vatican towards putting the Church on the side of the poor and working class."[2]

It stated that, "the Church's position on social morality and the principles of justice and charity ... should regulate the relationship of capital and labour."[3] The type of changes that this encyclical envisioned to the socio-economic order were top-down. In the final analysis if changes threatened the existing social order, then Christians would be expected to put up with the injustices.

The political theology of a following encyclical writer, Pope Pius XI (d. 1939) more strongly challenged the dominant capitalist economic model than Leo XIII had. As well Pius XI suggested in one of his later encyclicals[4] that in extreme cases resistance and rebellion against an unjust regime could be justified. Incremental adjustments to CST occurred through the papacy of Pius XII (d. 1958) but basically the doctrine that evolved offered "...solid religious legitimation to the 'free enterprise' model of society."[5]

Fundamental changes to CSTs occurred during the reign of Pius XII's successor, John XXIII (d. 1963). During his short papacy, the decolonization process gained strong momentum, revealing more clearly than ever before the great gap that had been created between rich and poor, North and South in our world.

Early in 1959, John XXIII announced his intention to convene the Second Vatican Council. Formally opened on October 11, 1962, over 92 years after the close of the previous Council, "Vatican II was the first major official event in which the Church actualized itself precisely as a world Church."[6] During the Council's deliberations in 1963, John XXIII issued his encyclical Mater et Magistra ("Christianity and Social Progress"). It stands as a turning point in CST, as profound, suggested one commentator, as when Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire in the 4th Century.[7] This document marks the beginning of process in which the Church came to have new allies and new opponents. "Before Mater et Magistra, Catholic Social Teaching dealt chiefly with conditions within countries.... The breakthrough came when Mater et Magistra emphasized the need for justice between countries."[8] This thrust was amplified by the Vatican Council. It was clear from its deliberations that "...the locus of God's redemption is not simply the Church but human history itself."[9] Gaudium et Spes (the "Pastoral Constitution on the Modern World") released

in 1965 by the Vatican Council verified this "...new openess to the world {and renewed the promotion of} ...justice as integral to evangelization."[10] It called for an agency of the Universal Church to be set up "...for the promotion of justice for the poor, {stimulating the} Catholic community to foster progress in needy regions and social justice on the international scene."[11] This appeal is recognized in the goals of many Catholic RNGOs in Western European and North American countries and presaged CCODP's role.

Following the closing of Vatican II in December 1965, John XXIII's successor, Pope Paul VI (d. 1978), forcefully focused CST on the Third world. The encyclical Populorum Progressio ("On the Development of Peoples"),published at Easter 1967,

> "...engagea l'Eglise dans la prise en compte expresse des carences du développement des pays du Sud de la planête. {And for the first time} le Magistère de Rome attirait l'attention des fidèles et du monde sur l'injustice de cet état de choses, l'inégalite s'acroissont dans la répartion des moyens de subsistance destinés a l'origine a tous les hommes."[12]

A Church opened to the modern world by John XXIII focused under Paul VI on the injustices afflicting the Third World. By virtue of this encouragement "Les théologies chrétiennes sur le Tièrs-Monde s'étaient largement épanouies, notamment en Amerique Latine."[13]

CSTs were in part responsible for the emergence and growth of the Catholic Action (CA) movement in Canada and elsewhere. Defined by Pius XI as "...the participation of the Catholic laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy,"[14] CA has taken many forms throughout this century. But predominantly, "...it is in lay associations that the work will be most successful since the work is social in nature." [15] The avowed goal of CA "...étaient de restorer l'ordre social chrétien tel que décrit dans les enycyliques sociales de Léon XIII et de Pie XI."[16] Initially this meant for the CA associations founded in the first decades of this century often an "...intransigéante face au communisme ...{with the CA groups} véhiculent ainsi une concéption corporatiste de l'ordre social, copiée directemente de Rerum Novarum et Quadragesimo Anno".[17]

Canada, but particularly Quebec, was influenced by the CA movement. Catholic trade unions in Quebec formed the Canadian Catholic

Confederation of Labour in 1921, becoming in 1960 the Confederation of National Trade Unions. The Co-operative movement in Quebec and the Antigonish movement in the Atlantic provinces found Church leadership and support. Youth was engaged through a variety of groups. In Quebec, the "Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique (JEC) and the "Jeunesse Rurale Catholique" (JRC) were both founded in the 1930's. One youth sector organization, active both in English and French Canada, was the Young Christian Workers (YCW or JOC in French). Founded in Belgium in 1925 by Msgr. J Cardijn, in 1932, "la JOC canadienne se construit comme une replique exacte de la JOC bèlge."[18]

The whole of the CA movement appears to be marked by two characteristics salient to our discussion of CCODP. "Pour la première fois, naisssient dans l'apostolat des organismes a direction laique."[19] This lay leadership approached directly the question of formation of the masses, youth, worker, student, etc., outside of the purview of the traditional educational structures of the Church such as the parochial school systems.[20] Speaking of the YCW's flexible "see" judge" "act" methodology, Pius XII said in 1957, "...ses contacts immediats avec la realité ouvrière lui permettent de tracer en chaque cas un plan d'action complet répondant aux exigences des situations." [21]

A lay leadership engaged in social issues affecting the community often outdistanced the more conservative clerical leadership. This tension was amplified by the radical transformations in Quebec society during the Quiet Revolution. "In the late sixties, the specialized Catholic Action organizations ...JOC, JEC, JRC, and MTC (Movement des travailleurs chrétiennes) ...became increasingly politicized. This development worried the Quebec bishops."[22] The funding for national level CA organizations was cut in favour of supposedly local diocesan social justice work. And so, without the national support, particularly for the formation program, the movement largely ground to a halt.[23] The leadership of CA organizations such as the JOC integrated themselves into other social justice institutions, trade unions, co-operatives, and for a few key people, the newly founded CCODP.

Canadian foreign assistance was marked in the immediate post World War II period by support for the new agencies of the United Nations and

assistance to Commonwealth countries. There are some similarities in motivation with the early CA movement, namely the sharing of an anti-communist political agenda. The decolonization process politically necessitated support "...to keep the newly independent countries in line and prevent them from falling into the socialist camp."[24] The Colombo Plan, adopted in 1950, was set in this pattern. Originally assisting India, Pakistan and the then, Ceylon, the membership soon widened to many other South East Asian countries.[25] Canada contributed only $25 million in 1951-52, but by 1960 some additional $325 millions had been allocated to the Colombo Plan by Canada. Another sixth or roughly $70 million of the external assistance total went to other Third World countries during this same period. A pattern of priorization of Canadian aid recipient countries was set that persists to this day (See TABLE 3.1).

Both External Affairs and the Department of Trade and Commerce had responsibilities in the allocation of Colombo Plan and Commonwealth Assistance funds. This fact highlights the commercial or economic as well, as political interest of Canada in Third World affairs.

In 1960, the external assistance functions of Trade and Commerce were transferred to a new External Aid Office (EAO) under External Affairs.[26] In the following year, the first Canadian assistance went to Francophone Africa, again in part for political motives, i.e. to prevent the Quebec government from establishing an international presence there.[27] Throughout this period, most of the non-commodity aid was devoted to infrastructural development. For example, the construction of electric power projects was particlarly favoured"[28] by Canadian aid disbursers. This is very much in line with the dominant Modernization theory of this time. Infrastructure was lacking for the struggling Third World economies, and it was believed that simply providing capital and technological assistance would provide the panacea, as well as ensuring the maximization of political and economic leverage.

The Canadian public were growing in awareness of and concern for the plight of the Third World during this time period. In 1962, 55% of Quebecers found aid levels "about right" or "too low", while only 9% opposed aid outright. In the following year, 63% were found in the first category and only 3 % in the latter.[29] Humanitarian motives, rather than

TOP TEN RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

TABLE 3.1

CIDA BILATERAL FUND
CCODP REGULAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
(% OF TOTAL)

YEAR	1971-72			1976-77			1981-82			1986-87		
CIDA	%	D&P	%	CIDA	%	D&P	%	CIDA	%	D&P	%	CIDA	%	D&P	%
INDIA	35 8	BRAZIL	11.1	INDIA	17.1	INDIA	10.0	BANGLADESH	11 7	PERU	8.5	BANGLADESH	12.9	BRAZIL	9.5
PAKISTAN	8.6	HAITI	8.1	PAKISTAN	13 2	BRAZIL	4.2	PAKISTAN	7.5	CHILE	7.0	INDIA	6.0	PERU	7.5
NIGERIA	4.3	NIGERIA	7.5	AFGHANISTAN	7.8	CHILE	3.7	SRI LANKA	6.3	BRAZIL	5.5	PAKISTAN	4 6	CHILE	7.1
EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY	4.0	PERU	7.3	INDONESIA	4 7	COLOMBIA	3.3	INDIA	5.6	NICARAGUA	5.2	TANZANIA	4 5	NICARAGUA	4.9
GHANA	3.5	BOLIVIA	4.0	SRI LANKA	3.9	TANZANIA	3 1	INDONESIA	4.1	INDIA	3 8	INDONESIA	4 3	INDIA	3.4
NIGER	2 5	CAMEROON	2.9	TANZANIA	3.1	MEXICO	3 0	EGYPT	3.9	ZIMBABWE	3.5	SADCC	3.3	RSAFRICA	3.3
SRI LANKA	2.3	MEXICO	2.7	TUNISIA	3.0	ETHIOPIA	2.5	TANZANIA	3.8	COLOMBIA	2.4	SRI LANKA	3.1	BANGLADESH	3.1
TANZANIA	2.1	V. VOLTA	2 4	GHANA	2.6	GUATEMALA	2.4	JAMAICA	2.6	BANGLADESH	2 2	SENEGAL	3.1	MEXICO	2.9
TUNISIA	2 1	INDIA	2 4	ZAMBIA	2 5	BOLIVIA	2.3	ZAIRE	2.2	TANZANIA	1.9	JAMAICA	2.9	HAITI	2.7
SENEGAL	1.9	CHILE	2.3	EGYPT	2.1	PERU	2.2	SENEGAL	2.0	MEXICO	1.8	NIGER	2.9	KENYA	2.2

TOTAL FUNDS ($000)

297,780.0	4,232.3	477,730.0	5,802.1	666,350.0	8,703.1	967,020.0	10,564.8

% OF TOTAL FUNDS (CUMULATIVE)

65.2	50.7	58.0	33.7	47.7	41.8	47.6	46.6

economic or political goals,can be ascribed to a growing Canadian consensus in support of Canadian aid to Third World countries. This was stimulated in part by opening to the world through the missionary presence of more than 6,000 Canadian Catholic Missionaries alone, and also volunteer sending organizations such as CUSO, founded in 1962. As pointed out in Chapter Two, the rapid post war growth of Canadian NGOs can be taken as another sign of the widening concern of the public here. Within the Catholic RNGO network, all but three of the current CIDSE members had been founded by 1966. These offered a challenge and working models of the Church's response to the Third World to Canadian bishops.

The Canadian bishops' Labour Day message in 1965, titled "Solidarity in the Distribution of the World's Goods", marked a new opening to the world by the Canadian Church. Focused on the problem of world hunger, it not only measured a response in terms of charity, but also considered the negative impact of other forces such as militarization and world trade. These bishops in 1966 were just back from participating at the Vatican Council. "The five years that the Canadian bishops were in Rome talking to the bishops from Third World countries had a process (in it) practically of conversion."[30] This powerful five year conversion process provided the impetus for what was to follow.

ANALYSIS: PRE-1967

The Canadian bishops spoke clearly on governmental aid in their March 14, 1968 statement, "On Development and Peace". "...our Canadian effort has never been sufficient".[31] Government played little role in the lead up period to CCODP's founding except in the large sense of contributing to the developing national will to assist Third World countries.

CSTs, particularly those in the Vatican II years and immediately prior to 1967, had a major impact on the creation of CCODP. The extremity of Third World poverty and the necessity of an organized Church response to "...rendre 'temoignage' da la solidarité des chrétiens vis-à-vis de nos frères du Tiers-Monde"[32] can be recognized clearly in them.

The working document to create a National Development Fund, accepted by the bishops in October 1966, drew on the available models of RNGOs such as German Misereor, as much for points of reference, as for points of departure. One national organization would focus on "développement communautaire". The new body would not be in competition with the missionary efforts of the Church but be complementary to them. Education was to be a basic mandate "...viser à ce que toute la communauté chrétienne soit profondément engagée."[33] And the new structure should be one where bishops, clergy and laity work together in a post-conciliar spirit. "Une exemple vivant et éloquent de 'l'ouverture' de l'eglise au laicat et du nouvel esprit de co-opération qui l'anime."[34]

The involvement of the laity, focus on education of the public, and engagement with social problems pointed to by the October document seem to draw on the experience of the CA movement. Ironically, on the day after the document that would lead to the founding of CCODP eight months later was approved by the Bishops' Assembly, the same body recommended that the role of the national CA bodies be reduced to "...un simple organisme de co-ordination au profit des diocèses qu'on veut voir devenir les lieus de pensée des movements."[35] A politicized lay movement that focused on domestic social justice concerns was being reined in at exactly the same time that a Third World focused movement, employing many similar tools, was being created. These two events highlight the opportunities and constraints faced by the RNGO which was emerging, CCODP.

THE FORMATIVE STAGE: 1967-1971

The first meeting of the Board of Governors of what was to become CCODP, was held at the headquarters of the then Canadian Catholic Conference in Ottawa on June 8, 1967. This first board, composed of sixteen lay men, one lay woman (mainly business and professional people), and two bishops, was appointed by an ad hoc Episcopal committee chaired by Archbishop Joseph-Aurèle Ploudre. The Archbishop at the first meeting "...exhorted the Board of Governors, while weighing the heavy responsibilities of the task, to model their efforts on the teachings of Populorum Progressio."[36] A. M. Monnin, now Chief Justice of Manitoba, was

elected the first president (1967-1973). He recalled that the new Governors "...were influenced by the Pope's encyclical and we attempted to respond to it and ask our co-religionists to do likewise."[37] By its second meeting in November, 1967, a name had been chosen, as well as an Executive Director, Romeo Malone.

Plans rapidly took shape for the first Lenten collection in 1968 . A Pastoral letter in March of that same year, "On Development and Peace" from the Bishops of Canada commended this new organization to Canadian Catholics. Praising Canadian missionary efforts to date, it dedicated CCODP to a complementary goal of "...the socio-economic development of needy nations."[38] This goal was framed in the sharpest possible terms, "{N}o account will be taken of the religious beliefs or ideologies of the people to whom aid is given. The only consideration will be the intrinsic value of the projects, their conformity with criteria of priority, and the evaluation of their human and social effectiveness."[39] This organization was being called on to engage Catholics across Canada not only in supporting this development work financially, but also politically. It "...urg{ed} all Canadians to approve governmental generosity in foreign aid programmes {and educationally} search out and train leaders to serve the underdeveloped world."[40] The 1968 Share Lent campaign collected $1,352,846.00.

Questions arose immediately on how to allocate the fund to Third World peoples. They brought about a variety of answers. Archbishop Pocock suggested that CCODP pour all its money into one area of Peru to "...show the world what the church can do in development."[41] The Catholic Relief Services (CRS) offered to send CCODP all the projects it wanted. Both of these courses were rejected. A less dramatic "... approach was imposed on us. When people heard about Development and Peace, well of course, projects came from everywhere."[42] The people who first heard about CCODP were Canadian missionaries. In 1971, 6,141 Canadian missionaries were serving in 90 countries world wide.[43] In many instances these men and women provided the entry of CCODP into the Third World countries in which they were living. "In the first years it was where the Canadian missionaries were, that's where D & P was."[44] Brazil, Chile and Peru were

among the top countries in 1971 for Canadian missionaries as well as CCODP projects. (See TABLE 3.2).

CCODP joined other Catholic RNGOs in CIDSE in May, 1968. Within CIDSE in the next few years, no agreement would be found on fundamental questions such as "...the concept of developement, our relations with the Third World, {or} the political aspects covering the questioning of the structures of domination for our countries."[45] What CIDSE did provide, particularly for CCODP's executive director, Romeo Maione, was a series of models. "I'm not an ideologue. I look at models." [46] These provided the parameters for further questioning.

> "I know that we didn't want to go the 'charity' {route}, that was finished, no dignity. I see what it does in the Third World countries; it makes them beggars, it makes them prostitutes. We don't go that way, we go this way.... {We} never used terms like empowerment, but we were saying they were responsible for their own development."[47]

As CCODP grappled with its response to the mandate of the bishops, articulate Third World voices were providing the needed rationale for an 'empowerment' strategy of development. Dom Helder Camera, the bishop of Recife in the poverty wracked northeast of Brazil, attended CCODP's Third Board meeting in May 1968. His voice would be heard often in Canada,along with other Brazilian bishops over the next two decades. They would be joined by other Latin American bishops later that year at Medellin, Colombia to take "...the single most decisive step towards an option for the poor to date. "[48] Two important ideas in the evolution of CST emerged from the Medellin Conference: "<u>liberation</u> instead of development, liberation from oppressors, domsetic and foreign; <u>participation</u>, in power, government, opportunity for individuals, groups peoples, to choose their own way to a modest sufficiency, free from domestic exploitation or the dominance of international capital."[49]

Liberation theology burgeoned, spreading rapidly throughout the Church. It incorporated into its approach elements of 'Dependency' theory which also had many threads from the Latin American experience as seen in Chapter One. Dependency theory provides a tool for the analysis of the injustice and the social sin that affects all societies, not only Latin America.

TABLE 3.2

CANADIAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES TO THE THIRD WORLD BY COUNTRY (top 10) AND AS % OF TOTAL

1971			1977			1981			1987		
Country	# of missionaries	%	Country	# of missionaries	%	Country	# of missionaries	%	Country	# of missionaries	%
1. Haiti	371	6.5	1. Haiti	460	11.5	1. Haiti	412	12.7	1. Haiti	400	13.0
2. Peru	370	6.5	2. Peru	326	8.2	2. Peru	281	8.4	2. Peru	297	9.6
3. Cameroon	249	4.4	3. Cameroon	188	4.7	3. Brazil	167	5.0	3. Brazil	176	5.7
4. Malawi	243	4.3	4. Brazil	186	4.6	4. Cameroon	157	4.7	4. Cameroon	134	4.4
5. Brazil	226	4.0	5. Malawi	160	4.0	5. Malawi	139	4.1	5. Malawi	119	3.9
6. Lesotho	196	3.4	6. Lesotho	147	3.7	6. Philippines	112	3.4	6. Zambia	96	3.1
7. Philippines	173	3.0	7. Philippines	143	3.6	7. Lesotho	108	3.2	7. Honduras	90	2.9
8. Zambia	163	2.9	8. Honduras	122	3.1	8. Zambia	100	3.0	8. Zaire	87	2.8
9. Chile	133	2.3	9. Zambia	121	3.0	9. Honduras	100	3.0	9. Philippines	82	2.7
10.Madagascar	131	2.3	10.Zaire	110	2.8	10.Zaire	86	2.6	10.Chile	78	2.5
Total %		39.6			49.2			50.1			50.6
Total(100%)	5,688			3,993			3,333			3,079	

The pastoral statements and other teachings of the Canadian bishops through the 1970's and 1980's were markedly influenced by Liberation theology. However, the results of a top down organizing effort without any national co-ordination by the bishops in Canada, suggest "... that only a minority of Catholics in the United States and Canada will be willing to follow the social teaching of their Bishops."[50] This sharply contrasts with the experience in Latin America.

In Latin America, via the varied experiences of the Basic Christian Communities (BCC) movement, the new ideas of Liberation theology and Social Justice were put into action, "...through the practice of solving a local community's problems."[51] While native clergy and religious, along with foreign missionaries, were the catalysts for the growth of these Base Christian Communities, at the heart of this movement and of Liberation Theology, is the tenet that people are the subjects of history. One result of the emergence and spread of BCCs was that the people involved "...are now standing on their own feet using their own abilities and making more and more decisions for themselves."[52] These grassroots networks of groups evolving in Latin America provided a pratical example of what CCODP hoped to achieve and a concrete place for them to begin.

CIDA, created in 1968, began almost immediately reaching out to the NGO community. Its first president,Maurice Strong, "...wished to tap the resource of experience and expertise that resides in the NGO sector and to broaden the scope of Canada's development effort."[53] As well a second role was recognized for NGOs, "...reaching out into large and small communities across Canada, they can bring the cause of international development to Canadians of all walks of life."[54]

CCODP received its first grant in 1970. It was also recognized as the channel for the Catholic groups without Canadian NGO status. As General Spry explained to the Board in September 1971, "...in practice CIDA will be able to finance a) 50% of big projects, b) 75% of small projects , and c) a part of the CCODP programme of education and formation."[55] The last point echoed the formation of the Public Participation Programme by CIDA in 1971. CCODP's percentage of the CIDA NGO allocation in 1970-71 was 7.7% and in '71-'72 was 16.7%. These large

early NGO grants underscore the importance with which CCODP was seen by Government. The Board of CCODP however, was wary of the possible entanglements represented by government financing.

> "(CIDA)... est pret a nous donner 75/25: nous pour le moment, on ne veut pas accepter; la raison pour laquelle on ne veut pas accepter, c'est que l'on veut pas etre dans la situation ou l'on devienne une agence de distribution de l'argent gouvernemental. On veut êtres nous-mêmes. C'est pourquoi on dit au gouvernement: '50/50, mais pas plus!'"[56]

The growth of the member base of the organization was at first predictably slow. The first provincial meetings were held in 1969. An education programme would be key to developing that member base as well as realizing the true mandate of CCODP. "{It} {d}oesn't matter how much money we are going to give, unless we change the economic structures of our world, I mean, nothing is going to happen. So that's when we put in the education {programme}."[57] Again, Europe, particularly the Dutch, provided some useful experiences as a model.

The Canadian bishops closely monitored the evolution of CCODP and were reportedly, "...satisfied that CCODP was executing its mandate properly."[58] Two bishops, as members of the Board of Governors, were involved step by step in the early critical policy deliberations. As well, the CCCB was further integrated in 1971 when a joint emergency relief committee was struck. It was to be responsible for decisions on the allocation of up to twenty percent of the budget set aside for disasters and emergency situations.

1971 was another key year in the recent development of Catholic Social Teachings. "A Call to Action" (Octogesima Adviens), and "Justice in the World" were published. "A Call to Action", an apostolic letter from Pope Paul VI to Maurice Cardinal Roy of Canada (then president of the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace) shifted the focus of earlier social teachings from mainly economic concerns to the underlying political questions. "It consciously addresses itself to some of the political problems involved in choosing and implementing an equitable order in society."[59]

National and international structural injustices give rise according to "Justice in the World", "... to great numbers of marginal

persons, ill-fed, inhumanely housed, illiterate and deprived of political power as well as of the suitable means of acquiring responsibility and moral dignity."[60] This document from the Third Assembly of the International Synod of Bishops, influenced by the conference at Medellin, called particular attention to one central problem at the "...heart of the structural injustices of today's world: lack of participation by people in determining their own destiny."[61] The programmes for development based on Modernization theory paid little heed to the question of popular participation. Dependency theory has been of significance in the generation of a new historical awareness of the real life of poor people in less developed countries within the Church. It has sparked the conviction in Church activists that "...there are alternatives in the process of development, if only people can empower themselves to find them."[62]

ANALYSIS: 1967-1971

The Church continued to play a powerful nurturing role throughout this period. Created in 1967 by the Canadian bishops, affirmed by the pastoral letter of 1968, financed by a CCC approved National Lenten campaign, and monitored through the active participation of two bishops on the Board of Governors, the Church's relation to CCODP cannot be described in any other terms than intimate and supportive.

CSTs strongly affirmed the embryonic development strategy of CCODP. People centered, empowerment oriented, justice focused, and conscious of structural inequities the broad outlines of CCODP's work were well in tune with the statements coming from the papacy, synod and conference levels of the Church. In September of 1971, as the bishops of Canada prepared for the Synod, they called on the Church

> "...at all levels to support popular educational movements that are in accord with the Gospel for the development and liberation of deprived peoples, especially in the Third World. The Synod should also recognize that integral development includes the right of each people to shape its own destiny."[63]

A month later in Rome, Archbishop J. A. Plourde, Cardinal Flahiff, and Bishop A. Carter, in their addresses to the International Synod,

linked local justice issues to those of the international level, the Church to the world. "Social justice in the Church, in Canada and in the world will remain a major and constant concern of this conference."[64] These statements and teachings secured CCODP's place in the Canadian Church.[65]

The Government of Canada, and its major agent of offical development assistance (ODA), CIDA, were still wedded to the Modernization paradigm. Nascent NGO matching grant programmes and other forms of assistance were, during this period, still at a relatively insignificant level. The institutional weight of the Canadian Catholic Church behind CCODP lessened any threat of cooption by funding priorities. This fact lead Romeo Maione to say, "You could take 90% of funds from the government (and still) you couldn't be controlled."[66] In any event, the board of CCODP placed a cap of 50% on government funding. Country priorities, types of projects supported, even the way projects were formulated by Third World people themselves, varied markedly from CIDA's approach. Little influence can be detected.

Both CIDSE and CCIC were organized during this period. The contact with other RNGOs and NGOs assisted CCODP in a variety of indirect ways.

Canadian Catholic missionaries basically defined the development programme of CCODP during this period. The top countries for Canadian missionary presence were consistently funded. (See TABLE 3.3). From the beginning of the programme through May 1971, $5,369,821.00 were sent to Third World projects. 81.3% of that sum went to the support of missionary projects, only 2.2% of those dollars to non-Canadian Catholic missionaries.[67] The Missionaires Oblats and the Pères Blancs d'Afrique together commanded over a quarter of the entire budget for projects (26.8%). These two religious orders ranked first and third respectively, on the number of missionaries overseas. All funded projects met the development criteria which were in part "...donner priorité aux projets s'attquant aux causes du problème, et encourageant la paricipation acitive de la population locale à son propre."[68]

Missionaries made another significant contribution to CCODP. Returned missionaries formed by their long Third World experiences are one of the two significant staff groups within CCODP. (See TABLE 3.4).

TABLE 3.3

PERCENT OF CANADIAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES OVERSEAS BY REGION 1971

Africa	Asia (incl. Oceania)	Latin America	Total
43.8%	21.8%	34.4%	100%1

Source: Canadian Catholic Missionaries, Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa, 1971.

PERCENT OF CCODP REGULAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM EXPENDITURES BY REGION (excluding International) 1970-1971

Africa	Asia (incl. Oceania)	Latin America	Total
43.1%	11.3%	45.6%	100%2

Source: Twenty Years of Co-operation in International Development, CCODOP, Nov. 1986.

TABLE 3.4

STAFF FORMATION (General Management)

	1967-71	'72-'76	'77-'81	'82-'86	'87-'89
Catholic Action YCW JOC	R. Maoine, E.D.* T. Johnston, Assoc. A. Paul	R. Maione (73)** J. Champagne, E.D. T. Johnston A. Paul Denise Gauthier	J. Champagne T. Johnston M. Flynn	J. Champagne T. Johnston M. Flynn	J. Champagne (88) T. Johnston M. Flynn R. Levoc
Missionary Priest Sister Lay	Andre Tremblay	A. Tremblay N. Soucy	M. Rousseau, R. Lacoste R. Morin A. Tremblay (77) D. Thibeault	M. Rousseau R. Lacoste (84) D. Thibeault	G. Lachance, E.D. T. Bouchard, M. Rousseau D. Thibeault (89)
Other		A. Ste. Maire	F. Bergamin A. Ste. Marie	F. Bergamin	F. Bergamin
% /study period	75% CA	62.5% CA	30% CA	42.8% CA	44.4% CA

* E. D. = Executive Director ** (...) date of termination of employment

The other group was formed by their participation in the Catholic Action Movement, particualrly the YCW and the JOC. Romeo Maione, CCODP's first executive director (1967-1973) had been the international president of JOC. Tom Johnston, the associate director since 1968, was the Canadian president of the YCW. Both brought with them the CA commitment to prepare people to live and work by Gospel values on order to transform society. The pioneering work of the first five years was extremely important. Not only the structure but also the basic principles of the organization were laid down. "A major contribution of personalilties like Romeo Maione and Jacques Champagne were precisely to imprint on the organization its lay character."[69] Church, and the staff formed by it, were the key variables during this period for the formation of CCODP's development strategy.

EXPERIMENTATION: 1972-1976

A firm foundation had been laid for CCODP, particularly by the Canadian Church hierarchy and the new organization's staff. This next five year period is marked by the major experimentation that took place as the staff assumed a critical role in forming institutional responses to the 'empowerment' strategy to which the organization was ascribing. From 135 projects funded in CCODP's first year, the organization's capacity grew to 331 projects in 1971-1972. The responsive programme was open to requests from any part of the Third World. CCODP, which supported local initiatives in 41 countries by 1969, was responding to groups in 56 countries by 1972-1973. From a two position department in 1970, the staff component of the Project Department had grown to 11 positions by the end of this period. The budget for projects almost tripled over these five years from $2.7 million in 1970-71 to $ 7.3 million in 1975-76. CIDA thus, assumed an increasingly significant funding role. The expanded institutional capacity that resulted permitted staff to seek options now rather than follow the strictly responsive nature of the project funding programme to date.

Contradictions within CIDSE, centering around the concepts of development and partnership, precipitated new CCODP initiatives following 1972. The problem centered around the differing concepts of development

and partnership. The type of partnership that CIDSE's larger European members such as Misereor envisioned was "...to get the CIDSE members to accept one partner in a Third World country."[70] Romeo Malone opposed this position basically because there was no balance in the power equation. The Third World groups would be overwhelmed by the funding agencies from the North. Another option saw Third World RNGOs joining CIDSE, but the outcome would essentially be the same for the few who were able to pursue this option. "The churches in the poor countries are still effectively excluded from the decision-making process."[71] Thus provoked, two agencies, CCODP and CCFD of France, issued their 'Blakenberg Declaration' at the May 1972 meeting of CIDSE agencies in the Belgian city of that name. For these agencies it was essential to break paternalistic donor-recipient relationships that could increase dependency and oppression. For,

> "...the Church, who wants to take on the task of 'liberator', must continually look at herself and her actions to see that her generosity does not create even more dependency. It is for this reason in our opinion that we must find, in a spirit of urgency and priority, more fraternal ways of transferring funds."[72]

(For full text of the 'Blakenberg Declaration' see APPENDIX C)

This Declaration, accepted by the CCODP Board as a policy paper, signalled a fundamental challenge to the concept of partnership for RNGOs. There was a recognition that Third World partners "...should have more say, not only more say in the use of our resources, but also more say in the orientation of our organizations."[73] One almost immediate result of this position taken by CCODP was their joining with Australian Catholic Relief (ACR) to create a multilateral fund for self-help projects within Asia. In September 1973, in Sydney Australia, a founding meeting was held for what was to become the Asian Partnership for Human Development (APHD). Initially envisioned to be a consultative body, recommending projects to ACR and CCODP for final approval, the first four Asian member representatives from Church agencies demanded at this meeting "...that the committee seek authority from the national bodies of ACR and CCODP to make final decisions without reference to Canada and Australia."[74] This recommendation was accepted by both of the funding agencies. APHD will be

further discussed in Chapter Four along with another early model of shared decision making in India.

Trocaire of Ireland, and Cooperacion al Desarrollo of Spain joined CCODP and CCFD in looking for additional ways of promoting a concept of partnership which shared power and decision-making like the APHD. Several opportunities presented themselves in Latin America. Brazil was a likely country from a variety of perspectives; it had been a priority country from the point of view of projects funded from the inception of CCODP's history; the Catholic Action Movements were strong there, and the "Church at a certain time has launched several key organizations like the CPT (Pastoral Land Commission)"[75] there. However, the deterioration of the political situation under a military dictatorship "...would have exposed the {CA} leadership to repression."[76] So, Brazil was ruled out. Central America, from Mexico to Panama was chosen for the next experiment. The head of CCODP's Project Department, along with another RNGO staff person, travelled throughout the region and contacted what they regarded to be key grassroots organizations. In September of 1975, the group of four CIDSE RNGOs, which would expand to six with the addition of the Dutch 'Vastenaktie' and the Belgian 'Entraide et Fraternité', met in Guatemala with the representatives of invited groups. A structure that came to be known as the Central America 'Instancia' was struck with several goals: 1. to evaluate and study the various projects presented to the six development agencies involved in this experiment; 2. to provide support for different grassroots groups involved in the fight against underdevelopment, enabling each group to better orient its actions. Support would also be needed to promote the co-ordination of all efforts realized in the area.[77] 3. "The regional committee is also to be used as a <u>defense</u> {emphasis added} for the various grassroots groups against involvement by development agencies which, in bilateral actions with the former, which are more or less structured, and weak, and risk imposing conditions and orientations which do not take into account the realities of the situations at hand.[78] 4. To actively co-operate in the education efforts of Canadians in Canada involved in similar battles against underdevelopment.[79] Several landmark developments were incorporated into the Central American 'Instancia', particularly the 'common front' against

RNGOs and NGOs imposing their agendas on the local DNGOs, the commitment to work in solidarity with the educationalists in the North, and the co-operation among DNGOs.

A similar discussion was held in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1975 with Caribbean agencies, but CCODP did not wish to overextend its capacity to follow the on-going experiments in Asia and Central America. Therefore, it chose not to do more than open the discussion.

These events were very much in keeping with the dramatic changes of the last decade in CSTs. The impact on the Church in Latin America of these profound changes in Social Teaching, carried rapidly forward by the spread of Liberation Theology has been the historic reversal of its role "...from firm supporter of established political-economic authority to proclaimed ally of the destitute."[80] This solidarity with the poor marked a convergence, even strategic alliance with 'national-popular' movements in Latin America.

> "De son côté, Luis CORVALAN, secrétaire général du PC chilien, écrira de son exile: "Dans ces conditions, la religion perd son caractère d'opium du peuple et, bien au contraire, on pourrait dire - dans la mesure ou l'Église s'engage en faveur de l'être humain - qu'au lieu d'être aliénante, elle est un facteur supplémentaire d'inspiration dans la lutte pour la paix, la liberté et la justice."[81]

Secularism and materialism rather than the immiseration as witnessed in the Third World, were challenging the Canadian Catholic Church. A Church in Canada committed to the Social Justice thematic proposed by Vatican II developed its own preferential option for the poor as witnessed in the CCCB's Labour Day messages throughout the 1970's.

"Il faut reconnâitre dans l'aide à apporter le danger de masquer les vrais problèmes et d'en retarder la solution."[82] CCODP in its first years had adopted a strategy of development that sought to attack the causes of underdevelopment. It agreed with Caribbean bishops when they declared "...que dans la mesure du possible, cette aide soit sollicitée seulement quand elle augemente l'auto-suffisance du peuple que reçoit."[83]

One of CCODP's first major country evaluations was mandated for Haiti by the executive committee in May 1973. Haiti, in CCODP's first five years received 11.1% of the $5.4 million destined for Latin America and

the Caribbean."[84] "Ces fonds avaient été canalisés à Haiti surtout à travers les communautés missionaires."[85] The study found that fully 80% of the projects presented from Haiti, "...n'entrent pas ou que très faiblement dans le critères établis par l'OCCDP (CCODP) pour l'approbation des projets."[86] There were and are more Canadian missionaries to Haiti than any other single Third World country. (See TABLE 3.2) A confrontation had developed over the funding of Haitian projects with this large block of mainly Quebec missionaries. Jacques Champagne, then executive director of CCODP, characterized this as a 'very difficult' situation for the organization. The study undertaken by Fr. Bill Smith, S.F.M., former director of the Missions Office of the Canadian Catholic Conference, and later project officer for CCODP, provided the classic way to 'defuse' the crisis. The study found "...a whole lot of poorly conceived projects"[87] and among its recommendations was a call for much more on-going and evaluative contact between CCODP and Haitian project leaders. This was one of the events that marked the decline of direct Canadian missionary influence over CCODP. Another of course, was the sharp decline in the actual number of Canadian missionaries in the Third World, in 1977 down to 70% of the 1971 total. Along with this trend came the relative decline in projects accepted by CCODP from Canadian missionaries, as outlined in TABLE 3.5 below.

TABLE 3.5

APPROVED PROJECTS SUBMITTED BY CANADIAN MISSIONARIES

Year	1968-1970	1972-1973	1976-1977
% of total submitted	45%	28%	14.6%

Source : CCODP[88]

This, however, was counter-balanced by the growth in other Church related projects. In 1976-1977, roughly 70% of the projects accepted by CCODP were directly related to the Church; 14% from Canadian missionaries; 14% from non-Canadian missionaries, and 42% submitted by the Third World Church, whether by a single pastor or a national movement under the auspices of the Church.89 One comentator suggested that during this period we were witnessing the growth of the institutional development capacity of the local churches. Canadian missionaries were either integrating themselves into the local churches, or were directing them towards CCODP.90

At the same time as the impact of Canadian missionaries was waning on CCODP, that of government was expanding. "The growing competence of Canadian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and their demonstrated ability to mount substantial programmes justify increased financial contributions from government."91 There were well over a hundred recognized NGOs in Canada by 1972, many of whose growth was facilitated by the availability of government funding. The NGO Division of CIDA was during the 1970's "...virtually the sole source of official financial support, operating with much greater flexibility than other CIDA programmes.92

Romeo Malone left CCODP in 1973 to assume the directorship of the NGO Division a position which he occupied for the next dozen years. During the period 1972-1976, and until 1981, while government increased its funding through CIDA, it did not attempt to impose its priorities on NGOs, basically remaining supportive of each NGO's strategy of development. The pattern of country priorities of the NGO community bore little resemblance to CIDA's funding patterns as can be seen by comparing TABLES 3.6 and 3.1. The most significant provincial matching grant programmes emulating the federal example were created at this time. These followed the establishment of the Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta Councils of Interantional Co-operation as common provincial voices for NGOs.

CIDA's support went beyond project assistance to significant aid fro NGO development education efforts through its Public Participation Programme (PPP). A variety of programmes and projects resulted. CCODP's own regional animation programme expanded rapidly with this aid. Coalitions and Taskforces formed around critical issues and concerns and

TABLE 3.6

TOP TEN CANADIAN NGO COUNTRY FUNDING PRIORITIES BY $ (000)

Country 1974-75	$	Projects	Country 1980-81	CIDA & Prov.	Projects	Country 1987-88	$ Project (not available)
UPPER VOLTA	2,998	65	INDIA	6,917	237	INDIA	6,170
INDIA	2,907	246	HAITI	4,620	90	HAITI	4,110
HAITI	2,241	211	INDONESIA	3,780	40	ETHIOPIA	3,510
S. KOREA	1,870	52	COLOMBIA	3,528	36	BANGLADESH	3,150
BANGLADESH	1,795	72	PERU	3,495	73	PERU	2,990
ETHIOPIA	1,567	61	BOLIVIA	3,329	24	RSA	2,750
INDONESIA	1,416	39	NICARAGUA	3,070	50	NEPAL	2,690
S. VIETNAM	1,258	37	KENYA	2,779	49	NICARAGUA	2,530
COLOMBIA	1,186	61	JORDAN	2,758	6	BRAZIL	2,520
BRAZIL	1,053	74	HONDURAS	2,737	29	BOLIVIA	2,500

Column 1 - CCIC Report NGO - Canadian Priorities 1974-75

Column 2 - CIDA Figures 1980-81

Column 3 - CIDA Report Table M 1987-88

Coalitions and task forces were formed around critical issues and concerns, and these coalitions were now partially funded by CIDA. CCODP, along with other major Canadian RNGOs such as the Anglican Primate's World Relief and Development Fund, jointly funded key efforts such as the Inter Church Committee for World Development Education, also known as Ten Days for World Development. One of its architects envisioned it as a tool to present a common front to a media reluctant to hear of the World Development concerns of one RNGO or NGO."[93] Another interpretation is that the coalitions were set up to do "...constituency education by proxy,"[94] thus avoiding 'flack' by raising difficult political issues through the coalition.

PLURA, an inter-Church association to promote social justice in Canada, was funded partially by CCODP. It was, at least in part, an effort to counter the criticism raised about CCODP's Third World focus and about its lack of action in relation to domestic injustices. This work of course, received no CIDA funds.

The goals of CIDA support for NGO development education work included, increasing public understanding of and support for Canada aid programmes in general and CIDA's efforts in particular. However, NGO educational programmes often were most interested in "...pointing out ways in which the Canadian government and corporations supported the very structures which perpetuated underdevelopment and poverty."[95] This basic contradiction persists.

The keynote address by Dr. Francois Houtart of Louvain, at the International Seminar held in May 1975 at McGill University was titled "Underdevelopment, an Induced Phenomenon". It precised this critique of Developed Capitalist countries as responsible for provoking Third World underdevelopment. Rooted in the colonial era "...the domination relations of the post colonial era hardly make it possible to reverse the trend."[96] towards underdevelopment. Professor Houtart concluded, "We find ourselves in the structured relationship which Pope Paul VI called in his encyclical Populorum Progressio· 'the imperialism of money'"[97] Dr. Houtart's comments in part pushed the evolution of CCODP strategy of development forward. One project officer said that this analysis "...became for us a sort of Bible."[98]

This articulation of CCODP analysis of underdevelopment and strategy for development did not occur without reaction. Tension existed within the organization as well as reaction from without. One veteran project officer recalled that during the mid-1970's, "It was quite obvious that education (staff) was falling behind where we were and that there was tension between the way we articulated things and where education was." [99]

Under the direction of Nelson Soucy the project department in 1975-76 had moved quickly "...to elaborate and articulate those first (work) plans"[100] to the extent of closing down the office one day a week to take time for staff formation and reflection. The education departments were not the only ones left behind, "(t)he National Council had to demand information of the project office, (there was a) reluctance to give information."[101]

Both CCODP's education and development programmes came under political attack from outside the organization. A group called "Christians Against Terrorism" launched an anti-CCODP campaign in the Toronto and Hamilton area in 1974 charging that CCODP was involved in "radical partisan politics" as well "politically supports and encourages terrorist groups in Southern Africa."[102] The official Church responded positively to check this minor localized challenge. In April, 1976, however, this certainly was not the case when Bishop Arrieta of San Jose addressed a letter to the Episcopal Conferences in all of the CIDSE Group of Six countries. He attacked the Central American 'Instancia' for inviting grassroot groups from the region who were "non seulement très politisés et extremistés, ouvèrtement ou sourvoisement confrontés aux hierarchies réspectives."[103] The letter further alleged that the Group of Six were seeking "...(à) inculquer une concéption du développement, profondément marquée par les perspectives politiques de modification radicale des structures."[104] Though overall an historic reversal of the Catholic Church's role in Latin America (from an ally of the <u>status quo</u>, a few rich and many poor, to an active defender of the oppressed [105]) had been set in continental motion by Medellin Conference, results of this event suggest a reaction to these changes was afoot. The Bishop went on to point out the dangers he saw to the local church authority represented by this initiative, "nous préoccupe serieusement à cause des consequences nefastes"[106] within six months the

entire group supporting this innovation in partnership took the decision to terminate the Central American 'Instancia.'

ANALYSIS: 1972-1976

RNGOs played a very significant role in CCODP's development strategy. Highlighted by the dramatic Blakenberg Declaration of CCODP and CCFD which signalled a major opening to Third World partners. The founding of APHD by the ACR and CCODP set a major concrete precedent for partnership along with with Central America 'Instancia'. Canadian RNGO's formation of GATT-fly, the commodity research group, Ten Days for World Development and other ecumenical coalitions demanded a significant committment of staff and financial resources. Most of the RNGO's initiatives were staff led. In CCODP the members through the board, and elsewhere, continued to play a secondary role. This was both positive and negative; positive in the development of new tools with which to more effectively address the needs of Third World peoples, and negative to the degree that changes outpaced some of the agency's, the constituency's or the Third World partners' understanding and capacity to respond.

The collapse of the Central America 'Instancia' underscored the continuing central power of the Church in the shaping of an RNGO's development strategy. For Archbishop M. McGrath of Panama "the heart of the problem is that the bishops of the area, as such, had no information."[187] Without at least the tacit approval of the bishops of the area, the project was stymied. Despite the fact that the formal role of missionaries in CCODP's policy evolution had sharply declined (though not without struggle as the Haiti Evaluation suggests), the overall % of funds going generally to the Church from CCODP remained high.

Government funding to NGOs through CIDA was expanding. This allowed NGOs and RNGOs also to expand their project funding capacity and infrastructure. The government essentially remained non-interventionist in relation to the NGO community in spite of having fundamentally different goals from RNGOs such as CCODP.

During this period staff and the Church together represented the dominant forces shaping CCODP.

CONSOLIDATION: 1977-1981

The rapid growth characterizing the preceding five years was replaced by an emphasis on stability and consolidation of the past achievements. The staffing of the Projects Department remained relatively stable with the notable exception of a change in directorship. The projects received, 800, and those accepted, 400, remained roughly the same throughout this period. The non-emergency Development Programme budget was $6,079,543 in 1976-77 and $6,701,463 in 1979-80. However, in 1980-81 this budget jumped 53% over the previous year with a concomitant increase of 48% in the same period for the CIDA contribution. In fact,during this period, income from CIDA increased from 33% to 49% of CCODP's total revenue. CCODP remained active in approximately 58 Third World countries.[108]

With the full cost of the commitments of Medellin (to side with the poor) becoming apparent, reaction to the Church's social justice stances set in. Though moderate in Canada, they were sharp in Latin America. The secretariat of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM) "..had become notably more conservative".[109] Key bishops sought to reverse, or at least halt the momentum of Medellin at the Third General Conference of CELAM at Puebla, Mexico, in 1979. However, in the final document from Puebla, it's clear that that did not happen. "We affirm the need for conversion on the part of the whole Church to a preferential option for the poor, an option aimed at their integral liberation."[110]

The trip to Mexico for the Puebla conference was the new pope's first major opportunity to establish his positions. John Paul II continued to encourage "the Latin American Church to take a strong prophetic stance on questions of injustice, but John Paul also spoke out quite sharply against the danger of seeing Christ as a political revolutionary."[111] His first two encyclicals[112] and other major addresses including one to the United Nations confirmed "a vision of integral humanism in which the spiritual is not opposed to the material in which social justice is of major importance -- the pope challenged and criticised, in a very radical way, the current mode of 'development'

seeing it as a cause of injustice, poverty, alienation, destruction of traditional culture and ecological disaster".[113] Pope John Paul's statements, ambivalent at times, at least accorded a halting affirmation to the direction that CSTs had taken since 1959.

The CSTs of Canadian bishops, who claim to speak to a large segment of the Canadian Population (see TABLE 3.7), were strongly supportive through this period. In a 1977 pastoral letter to CCODP on the

TABLE 3.7

CATHOLIC POPULATION IN CANADA

	1971	1981	1988
Catholics	9,974,895	11,402,610	11,375,914*
Cdn Population	21,568,311	24,343,180	25,787,100
% Catholic	46.2%	46.8%	44.1%

Data: Statistics Canada, except as noted.
*Directory 1989, CCCB, Ottawa.

occasion of its tenth anniversary, the growing gap between the rich and poor in the Third World and also in Canada was reaffirmed. "It is painfully clear that there are real obstacles to development which are deeply rooted in the economic and social structures of our time."[114] This analysis of structural roots to underdevelopment led Bishop E. Carter to suggest that "CCODP could make a significant contribution toward the creation of a New International Economic Order based on justice".[115] The basic task remained clear, "Through CCODP, therefore, we have a responsibility, first to challenge economic structures which cause poverty and underdevelopment and, secondly, to increase the capacity of the poor and the oppressed in their struggle for a just social order."[116] This

simple concise statement re-mandated the basic education and solidarity roles of CCODP.

In "A Society to be Transformed", published later in 1977 Canadian bishops 'expressed' "...in the strongest possible way our continued support for the growing number of Christians engaged in struggles for justice".[117] As well in 1981, Bishop Remi De Roo as chairperson of the Episcopal Commission restated the call for a NIEO in a letter to the Prime Minister. "It is essential that effective steps be taken now to break the systematic cycle of poverty, dependency, and repression that conditions the lives of millions throughout the Third World. This requires models of development designed by and for the peoples of these countries."[118] The solid basis of CST was supported by the participation of one French and one English Canadian bishop on CCODP's governing council. Six of the eleven bishops who have served on that body had also been presidents of either the Canadian Catholic Conference (CCC) or its successor the CCCB,[119] underlining the central importance of CCODP to the whole of the Canadian Church.

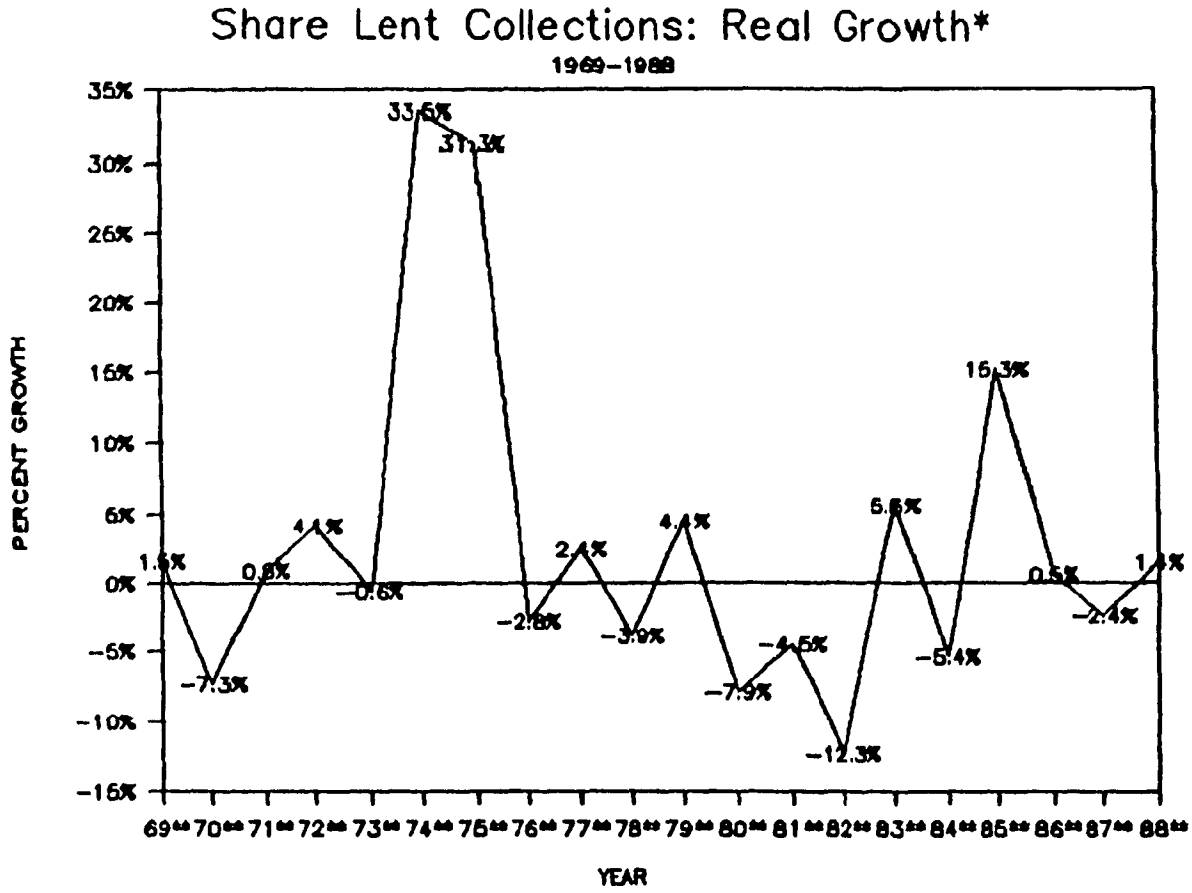
This strong basis of official support of the Canadian Church was not mirrored in the Share Lent collections, which experienced an average 1.9% decline when corrected for inflation (See GRAPH 3.1).

On the other hand, CIDA's support for the regular development programme increased an average of 19% a year from '77-78 to '80-81. Overall, with a modest growth (2.3%) in other revenue, the regular programme grew at an average of 6% in a '78-79 to '80-81. Thus, this growth can obviously be attributed to increased CIDA funding that more than offset the decline in Share Lent revenue.

Beyond increased funding for CCODP, other changes were being perceived in CIDA's approach to NGOs and development in general. Under CIDA's president Marcel Masse a "basic needs" approach was becoming central to official assistance efforts.

> "Based on three decades of experience and growing insight, Canada's assistance policy has matured from a simple pursuit of economic growth for growth's sake, through deepening awareness of the social dimension, to a more complete vision that takes into account the <u>cultural</u> roots of development."[120]

GRAPH 3.1



* less inflation factor.

NGOs had long been engaged in integral human development. NGOs were being seen in a new light by CIDA as well as Development Theory. The "{d}isillusionment with some recipient governments' delivery capacity, plus CIDA's growing inability to manage projects directly"[121] made NGOs an attractive alternative for government planners. Through the late 1970's and into the 1980's there was a quiet erosion of the notion of NGO independence as the CIDA bureaucracy claimed more control over various aspects of NGO's work. Bluntly exposing one possible future

NGO-Government scenario, the federal government in response to the 'boat people' refugee crisis of 1978-79 created its own NGO. This government organized NGO (GONGO), The Canadian Foundation for Refugees, was headed by two government named co-presidents, Cardinal E. Leger and Roland Mitchener.[122] Funded, housed, and staffed by the government, it existed to serve government policy objectives. Extreme as this example was, it did provide a forewarning of attempts to use NGOs as CIDA aid delivery channels. Already by this time CIDA was encouraging NGO acceptance of contracts for "government identified" projects. As various concerns such as 'concentrated bilateralism' and total agency 'country focus' took hold in CIDA, NGOs were pressed to conform to these new priorities.[123] The "... 'country focus' introduced in CIDA in 1980 set a precedent in government-NGO cooperation, by enabling voluntary agencies to fulfill understandings between governments."[124] The powerful lure of nine-to-one matching grants had the impact of encouraging NGOs to "...take on the functions of quasi-governmental agencies for policy implementation."[125] In the next section we will see how CCODP responded to the 'country focus' programme. An interventionist role for government was becoming clear during this period and already by 1978 when CIDA entered into a global grant agreement[126] with CCODP, this organization was the largest single NGO recipient of CIDA funds.[127]

"Many governors said we are going too fast for a majority of Canada's Catholic population".[128] While referring to the education programme specifically, the comment could have been applied to the projects department of the Central America 'Instancia' period . Nelson Soucy, the director of the project department, was fired in March, 1977. Administrative inadequacies were cited as the cause.[129] A former priest with African experience was brought in as the next project department head. Rene Lacoste's African experience can in part be seen as a management effort to balance the prevalent Latin American focus and analysis. The department was reined in. Gone were the formation meetings as well as the collegial approach to resolving department issues.[130] The staff, despite the diminuition of its voice and role, pushed at this time for the unionization of employees. The creative tension that existed between project and education staffs, former missionaries and CA formed

employees, was in part turned inward rather than directed outward toward experimentation in the Third World as in the former period.

The international initiatives of the previous period in Asia, i.e. a limited assistance programme under CIDSE in Vietnam and Laos after the war's end in 1975, and the APHD, grew. An emergency aid programme to Kampuchea after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979 evolved into a joint regional CIDSE development assistance programme in 1980. Alone a RGNO could not handle the difficult political questions arising from Indochinese work. One commentator suggested that umbrella efforts such as the CIDSE Indochina programme, now coordinated by Trocaire of Ireland, allowed RNGOs to work in sensitive (as far as home supporters are concerned) areas and avoid the possible negative political or fund-raising impact.

Funding to Indochina highlights an evolving trend within CCODP, political developments more than the previously important location of Canadian missionaries was key to determining a change in the funding pattern to countries. The coup in Chile in 1973 prompted a major effort toward an embattled church and its organization by 1974-75. Independence was won in Mozambique and Zimbabwe; in Nicaragua the Somoza dictatorship fell. These countries and kinds of situations now became the focus of funding efforts. (See TABLE 3.8). The decision about the timing of the response rested largely with staff and its sensitivity to factors such as pressure from Chilean refugees arriving in Canada after the military coup, or media attention focused on the Nicaraguan revolution.

The APHD launched with the direct support and participation of episcopal conferences grew from the six founding members to twenty-one by the early 1980's.[131] Its Church sanctioned growth would not be without its problems which we will see in the next section. As well, though 'families of agencies' still existed in CIDSE, (only six CIDSE agencies were members of APHD) for example, the glaring gaps began to close. One sign of this can be seen in the election of Jacques Champagne, CCODP's executive director, and Bishop B. Hubert, a CCODP board member as CIDSE's president and ecclesiastical moderator respectively.

The consolidation of CCODP, finally, is affirmed in this period by a three year consultative process leading up to the acceptance of a new

TABLE 3.8

CCODP

COUNTRY FUNDING: MINI PROFILES

Nicaragua		Chile	
1976-1977	$ 52,000	1972-1973	$ 76,600
77-78	77,000	73-74	80,400
78-79	127,000	74-75	391,600
79-80	326,800	75-76	231,300
80-81	568,300	76-77	216,000
Mozambique		**Zimbabwe**	
1974-1975	$ 0	1976-1977	$ 20,000
75-76	0	77-78	61,000
76-77	30,100	78-79	60,000
77-78	51,700	79-80	138,700
78-79	97,000	80-81	488,900

Source: CCODP[132]

constitution in 1981 and the document entitled "Basic Principles and Orientation" in 1982. Archbishop Plourde played a role on the committee drafting the revised constitution. The critical role of local bishops was carefully spelled out. This along with key decisions such as accepting a 'local group' strategy of member mobilization passed the scrutiny of a plenary session of the CCCB and the National Council (formerly Board of Governors) of CCODP. The constitution marked for one interested observer "the beginning of the end of the opposition of bishops to D & P".[133] The "Basic Principles and Orientation" laid out very specifically as seen in Chapter One, CCODP's strategy of development.

ANALYSIS: 1977-1981

Reacting to the Houtart thesis on the causes and remedies for underdevelopment, one CCODP governor feared that "there is a tendency to support, directly or indirectly, the Marxist form of socialism"[134] a reaction to the deepening politicization of CCODP set in. The Soucy firing and other organizational changes can be seen as part of a retrenchment process. But though a radical image rooted in the events of the mid-1970's persists to this day among conservative Church people, CCODP was not denied the basic support of CSTs which continued to affirm the fundamentals of CCODP's strategy of development. The problems and fears of the Canadian bishops were confronted directly, and the resulting affirmation of the pastoral letter in 1977 and the success of the constitution and "Basic Principles and Orientations" consultations grounded CCODP more solidly than ever within the Church.

While the Church persisted as the key variable, CIDA's presence was looming larger. Along with increased funding came an increased desire to utilize the NGOs as basically contractors for government services. CCODP's lagging financial picture left it more open to the possibility of voluntary cooption. However, CIDA also felt pressure from CCODP. Government officials were lobbied unsuccessfully to resume aid to Vietnam at the war's end, and CCODP, with other NGOs in CCIC, participated in a campaign that did win official development assistance for Nicaragua. One measure of CCODP's independence of government attempts at manipulation has been its persistence in fully funding projects to countries or sectors (such as human rights) that CIDA refused to match.

GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT: 1982-1986

The CA movement seeks to prepare people to live the gospel and transform the world. CCODP drawing on that tradition challenged Canadian Catholics to take concrete actions on behalf of the peoples of the Third World. Slowly the analysis that underpinned CCODP's empowerment strategy of development was internalized by a growing number of CCODP's member base. New demands for participation in decision making and new forms of

solidarity were heard as this philosophy of the organization was taken to heart.

CCODP's development programme experienced a number of major challenges during this period. The 'country-focus' programme which will be discussed later provided an obvious opportunity for increased government funding but at what cost to organizational independence? The Ethiopian crisis severely taxed an unprepared staff as will be pointed out. The regular development programme grew from 430 approved projects in 1981-82 by over sixty percent to 702 projects in 1985-86. Five project officers, three for Latin America and two for Africa/Asia, faced a rapidly expanding number of projects received from the Third World (see TABLE 3.9) with a budget that was relatively static. CIDA's regular contribution with the exception of one year remained unchanged at roughly $6.5 million. Having to apply to an ever increasing alternate government funding sources also multiplied the demands on the Project Department staff, as did efforts more to effectively evaluate the work of the Third World partners funded by CCODP.

TABLE 3.9

CCODP PROJECTS RECEIVED AND APPROVED

Projects	81-82	82-83	83-84	84-85	85-86	86-87	87-88
Received	822	841	1,050	1,250	1,357	1,438	1,728
Approved	430	494	537	612	702	638	624

During his Canadian visit in 1984, Pope John Paul II stated that the ethical principles against which a society is to be measured are clear, "The needs of the poor must take priority over the desire of the rich, the rights of the workers over the maximization of profits, the preservation of the environment over uncontrolled industrial expansion and production to meet social needs over the production for military

purposes."[135] The main tenets of liberation theology were eloquently confirmed here in Canada, while on the other hand in 1984 Vatican authorities were attacking prominent liberation theologists such as Gustavo Guiterrez of Peru and Leonardo Boff of Brazil.[136] The foundation of CSTs laid down in the 1960's and 1970's, was added to but only incrementally in the 1980's. The attack on liberation theology continued in various forms from proponents being removed from teaching positions to the murder of Church workers who had taken an option for the poor in Central America. This created concern,"...and even frustration among the people of God who were enthused by a Church that is born of the people as a preferential option for the poor,"[137] particularly in Latin America. Canadian Catholics met CSTs with characteristic indifference, though Canadian Catholic Bishops, in statements like "Ethical Reflections on the Economy", continued to link Canadian concerns and those of the Third World They called Christians "...to become involved in struggles for economic justice and to participate in building a new society based on gospel principles."[138] Other issues such as a call for South African sanctions were echoed by CCODP's own educational efforts.

Canadian missionaries still accounted for roughly fourteen percent (14%) of projects submitted to CCODP, of these "more than 80% were financially supported by the organization."[139] Overall Church and church affiliated groups accounted for sixty-four percent (64%) of the total projects funded, down only six percent (6%) since 1976-77. (See TABLE 3.10).

Regional differences however in Church-related projects were stark. In two small samples, 100 projects drawn from 1988 submissions, 66 in Africa had been submitted by Church or Church affiliated groups while in Latin America it was 33. 34 in Africa came from non-Church organizations; the figure in Latin America was 67. One supposition is that in Latin America the institutional development of DNGOs has proceeded at a far greater rate than in Africa, allowing CCODP to more rapidly identify a wider range of partner DNGOs with similar understandings of development.

TABLE 3.10

DISTRIBUTION OF CCODP PROJECTS ACCORDING TO GROUPS RESPONSIBLE
(Regular Development Program: 1983-1986)[140]

Type of group responsible	# of projects	%
1. Official organizations of the Church, Bishops' conf., Dioceses, Parishes, Missions; national or international Catholic organizations	673	39.5%
2. Christian groups tied to the Church.	420	24.6%
3. Other groups or organizations not tied with the Church (but where Christians are engaged).	613	35.9%

It was African Church groups, namely the Caritas-Senegal[141] and the Frères du Sacré Coeur whose CCODP funded programmes along with those of the Office Africain pour le Développement et la Coopération (OPADEC), who proved that these DNGOs had the capacity to expand their work under CIDA's 'country focus' approach. Seeking to build on CCODP's partnerships and support for integrated rural development, CIDA invited CCODP in 1982 "...to collaborate with Senegalese organizations in three large projects to develop new villages and agricultural lands on the banks of the Gambia River, establish cooperative farms in dry areas, and facilitate the farmers' adoption of new technologies and farming systems."[142] CIDA's offer was accepted on an experimental three year basis with a number of significant conditions attached. In particular it was requested that the NGO Division of CIDA instead of the Bilateral Division, administer the nine-to-one grant (not contract,) and that the 'country focus' programme not in any way affect the regular development programme of CCODP. With more autonomy guaranteed, CCODP proceeded to implement this programme not, however, without the intense scrutiny of the National Council which discussed its implications for fully a year and a half. CIDA asked CCODP at this time, in addition to assume responsibility for a programme in the Podor region of Senegal. The four million dollar grant offered would not

demand the normal counterpart fund from CCODP essentially giving CCODP $200,000 or 5% of the total just to administer the programme.

Rene Lacoste, then project director, explained CCODP's attitude toward the grant proposal,thus, "For Podor, we haven't any partners in that area, we have no experience of projects in that area, we don't know anybody so we cannot accept that money."[143] He want on to say, "If we started that, we would be trapped into accepting CIDA money for anything they want."[144] The Canadian Hunger Foundation (CHF) accepted the same offer within months. Although CHF didn't respond to this author's written inquiry on the incident, I was told that the Podor project was a total failure. Rene Lacoste, now with Cardinal Leger and his endeavors, concluded, "I can spend four million next week but if you want to make sustainable development, that is a different matter."[145] Though unwilling in this instance to pursue the 'country focus' funds, the staff following a National Council decision in March 1984, quickly considered its prospects. Partners in Peru, Colombia, Nicaragua, and then Upper Volta were alerted to the possibilities. In Senegal a Phase II began in 1985 to the three 'country focus' programmes there.

Throughout this period, the shift became more and more pronounced as CIDA and government, outside of the Special Programmes branch came to regard NGOs and DNGOs simply as contracting agencies delivering CIDA programmes. This perception is reinforced by the increasing financial dependency of NGOs on government funds. "By 1986 government provided over half of total NGO resources and its share was growing."[146]

A proliferation of alternate government funding channels aggravated both tendencies, dependence on government funds and dictation by government of NGO priorities. In the 1970's NGOs came together for form coalitions for specific tasks then lobbied governments for recognition and funding e.g. ICFID or MCIC. The trend during this period 1982-86 was now reversed. Government planners were now determining the priorities: women and development, environment, or universal vaccination campaigns, and then tailoring funding mechanisms to insure the work was done. As well, particular countries or regions were also being singled out. The Negros Rural Development Fund in the Philippines was created in 1986 and was a controversial example of this trend. NGO coalitions have

also proliferated partially in response to government initiatives such as the 1981 South Asia Partnership (SAP), which is closely modeled on the APHD, or Partnership Africa Canada (PAC), formed to allocate government monies in 1986 following the famines.

"More and more there is a mixture of the two things, CIDA is offering money but the NGOs are organizing themselves to use that money."[147] These common NGO fronts such as Solidarité Sahel Canada, created in 1985 to improve Canadian and Sahelian NGO cooperation are a way to influence CIDA policy. The need for more NGO-CIDA cooperation was highlighted in a recommendation of the Commons' Senate Committee on Canada's international relations. It stated that NGOs, "...both voluntary and business should be involved to the maximum extent possible in the planning and execution of Canada's official development assistance programmes."[148]

CCODP entered into its first three year global funding agreement with CIDA in 1985. Cutting through the bureaucracy a bit more, as well as facilitating NGO planning, it can be seen as another sign of growing dependency.

CCODP staff held leadership positions in CIDSE and APHD during this period. In both instances, they played important roles in helping these organizations weather their storms. At the 3rd General Assembly of the APHD, a crisis erupted around staff problems, project reporting and evaluation, and on the application of APHD staff's concept of development.[149] One observer described the RNGO-DNGO dynamic thus, "When the crisis happened, the Asians said 'Well, if that's the way you want it, we will just work with the Australians and the Canadians'. The Europeans were caught with the can on their tail because the moral power had shifted."[150]

Major blocks continued to exist to full cooperation among CIDSE members. Overall budget, the role of education, and the concept of partnership demarcated the divisions between agencies. However, a common concern was relations with the Vatican. A difficult Vatican-CIDSE controversy centered around the question of whether the approval of local Third World bishops was necessary in order for Catholic RNGOs to fund in their diocese.[151] Many of the CIDSE member agencies had bishop or clerically

headed boards. Some such as Misereor of Germany had insisted on contact with local bishops or bishops' conferences particularly on sensitive political issues such as funding for Brazil's Pastoral Land Commission that strongly calls for land reform.

Another concern was the precise nature of CIDSE's relationship to the Vatican. In the case of a formal Catholic organization, the Vatican appoints a General Secretary and an ecclesiastical moderator. Consensus among members was for independence but close cooperation, so CIDSE stayed a 'working group'. The rationale was provided by Bishop B. Hubert who, as CIDSE's ecclesiastical advisor, authored a critical paper titled "La CIDSE dans la mission du Peuple de Dieu" in December 1983. As with government, RNGOs must walk a fine line in order to maximize their potential dollars or legitimacy, without sacrificing their independence.

The response of RNGOs to disasters may vary. CCODP has a standing agreement with the CCCB to carry out special fund raising appeals for victims of a particularly serious disaster. Since the beginning of CCODP there have been only eight such appeals.[192] Before 1984, the largest response from Canadian Catholics had been to the Sahel drought in 1973-74, when over a million dollars was collected. This event, as in the following, focused attention on the work of CCODP and spurred growth. In 1984-85 in response to the Ethiopian tragedy, over $10.2 million dollars were raised, the largest single RNGO collection in Canada for the drought. CCODP has a development strategy but not one for emergencies. Nothing in the organization's history prepared it for this massive public response. Having early in the campaign pledged to send all the monies collected, the administration found itself sorely understaffed. Fortunately, in Africa and internationally, CCODP was able to rely on partners such as CRDA in Ethiopia and CAFOD for CIDSE. New CIDA-NGO, NGO-DNGO, and NGO-NGO relationships evolved as a result of this disaster's demand for international cooperation.

This period is marked as well by country programme evaluations. Evaluations were undertaken in Nicaragua, Peru, Mexico, South Africa and Namibia, and Rwanda in 1985 and 1986. No one model guided these studies. In South Africa, two people made a discreet visit to the people in whom CCODP has the confidence to evaluate requests from groups new to CCODP.

In this instance there was little or no dialogue with partner groups. Another in Peru, involved extensive dialogue and reflection ending in a seminar involving 23 representatives of Peruvian partner groups and representatives of CCODP's staff and National Council. Through this later experience CCODP sought to evaluate its work alongside Peruvians and together arrive at a set of criteria for future funding. CCODP was, as it had in 1972 at Blakenberg, trying to find ways to effect true partnership.

No one model prevailed either in building the base of CCODP among Canadian Catholics. The movement's gradual growth can be inferred from the distribution figures of the two major CCODP publications, Solidarité and Global Village Voice. In 1978-79, a year after their inception, circulation figures were 12,700 and 22,000 respectively. By 1984-85 they had reached 24,000 and 45,000. Fall action campaigns usually have an action component which can be measured such as the letter-writing campaign in 1979-80 to support the Mothers of May Square in Argentina. Action campaigns are less reliable as an indicator of public support because of the varied nature of the actions requested, still an estimated 80,000 cards of protest to South Africa in 1978-79 increased to well over 120,000 letters to Minister of External Affairs, Joe Clark, in 1988-89.

ANALYSIS: 1982-1986

The voice of Third World partners and members of CCODP's base in Canada were beginning to be heard. Neither were strong enough to pose a counterweight to the Church or government. The staff which had innovated, experimented, then consolidated CCODP's strategy of development now had to learn how to let the member base in Canada and Third World partners take the vision forward. "The staff which did everything - no longer can do everything, [it] must bring in the volunteer leadership. The staff must listen."[183] At least one CIDSE member (most CIDSE members have no active member base) is seeing how it can evolve its own base out of the various Catholic organizations that are represented on its board.[184] Buttressing an RNGO with a strong member base and a network of true partner groups might be the strategy necessary if RNGO independence is to be maintained.

The single greatest danger to the pursuit of an independent strategy of development in this period came obviously from Government. CCODP's staff won, as had been usual for its initiatives, hasty approval of its well-marshalled arguments for a three year 'country focus' programme trial in Senegal. CCODP's early acceptance of 'country focus' had been encouraged by some CIDA officials, according to one observer, so that we could be used as an institutional battering ram to win more independence for NGOs under this programme.[155] Another participant commented that "There were many different understandings of 'country focus'"[156] and general confusion within CIDA on this issue. Splits between the education and project department staffs fed into a long debate at the National Council level, which then reconsidered increased participation under this CIDA initiative. With the brief exception of Haiti from 1986 to 1988, no other 'country focus' programmes were entered into in spite of initial project department eagerness. The view prevailed that NGOs seeking government or corporate sector contracts were drifting toward "..other goals which {it is} arguable, are oriented more to the wealthier elements in Third World society."[157]

Whether 80% or 95% of NGOs are willing to be CIDA's contractors as two observers candidly stated, the fact remains that a significant proportion of the NGO community appears ready to follow where CIDA leads.[158] This causes concern about the viability of the common NGO structures such as CCIC. RNGOs have the ability to say no and may need to mandate their own structures such as the Interchurch Fund for Interntional Development (ICFID) to present a clear, more independent critique of government policies such as the proliferation of CIDA funding channels. Some NGOs see the expanding number of funding channels as a sort of protection against government cutbacks.[159] CCODP, which participates in several, including Solidarité Sahel Canada, PAC, and Cooperation Canada Mozambique, sees them as an extra burden on an already stretched staff.

The growing negative potential of government to influence was balanced by a basic support by the Church for CCODP as it entered its 20th year in 1987.

EPILOGUE: 1987-1989

While a more complete examination of these years is beyond the scope of this study, a few key events should be noted.

Sharing our Future, the Mulroney Government's 1987 statement of its ODA strategy to the end of the century, says that the NGO focus on helping the poorest of the poor is in keeping with its new aid strategy of Human Resource Development.[160] It talks of 'partnership' but was using NGOs as aid delivery agents. Other points on the NGO agenda, women, environment, and human rights have been coopted by CIDA. In many ways "CIDA has caught up to where NGOs have fallen behind."[161] CIDA's decentralization plans further challenge NGOs by possibly by-passing them in setting up direct Government-DNGO funding links. What impact would Direct Government Funds (DGF) have on DNGOs? Several questions must be asked, specifically, if DNGOs are dedicated to significant social change can, they truly expect a foreign government 'partner' to commit itself to "high risk social change that threatens local power structures?"[162] Strengthening the bonds of solidarity between NGOs and DNGOs is one way counter DGF. "The most important job of solidarity is to help people of the Third World form their own movements. These movements will then meet ours on the international forum."[163] That, for one observer, is where true partnership, unassailable by DGF is to be found.

The 1987 encyclical, Sollicitudo Rei Socialis ("On Social Concerns") by John Paul II, continued to affirm the CST bases upon which CCODP is built. During that 20th anniversary year for CCODP, the CCCB demanded an independent study of CCODP's educational material. These materials were found to be theologically and pedagogically sound. However, particularly on the anglophone side, a significant minority of the members had felt that some of CCODP's resource materials were not acceptable possibly because "...they did not know enough about the social teachings of the Church to realize that what they saw as a 'leftist bent' in the CCODP materials, in fact came from the social teachings of the Church."[164] Bishop J. Mahoney of Saskatoon felt that CCODP's "education 'megabucks' have not been effective, (with) a kind of propaganda that was passed off as education."[165] He said people "...hammered over the head by

ideology, not only didn't educate but created a malaise difficult to overcome."[166] His reaction was not typical of Canadian bishops.

A full day was spent at the annual meeting of the CCCB in September, 1987 confronting head on the divisive issues between CCODP and the bishops. The result of the study and the contact with the bishops has been a positive open relationship exemplified by the Pastoral Letter of the CCCB on CCODP of December, 1987. (See APPENDIX D).

Internationally the significance of the Church was unfortunately reinforced by two negative examples. Mision Alfa, the countrywide literacy program of Haiti, was funded by a consortium of NGOs and RNGOs led by CCODP with 'country' focus funds from CIDA. The Bishops' support was crucial to its success. It was withdrawn and the program collapsed. In Brazil another key program the CPT came under fire from a key donor, Misereor. Some conservative Brazilian bishops had carried complaints to their German counterparts and nearly undermined the entire program in 1989. A compromise was arrived at that maintained the crucial German funding but the impact of the Church was underscored.

CIDSE is still struggling to realize its basic potential. Communication and coordination are still at only beginning levels though all the agencies that this author visited are expressing common frustration at the enormity of the similar tasks before them. "The demands of NGOs on DNGOs are increasing and they are complaining"[167] yet the CIDSE RNGOs seem unable, except in a few notable instances such as the Indochina program, to effectively cooperate. One CIDSE study designed to help coordinate the agencies' response to the root causes of hunger in Africa following the famine of 1984-85, looked at agency administrative procedures. He found that a partner organization "applying to all CIDSE organizations could be low spirited when receiving a frightening 1.3 kilos of documents."[168] These needs are paralleled by CCIC's NGOs.

Within CCODP attempts have been made to address concerns following the important 20th anniversary seminar in November 1987. A three year strategic plan for the projects department, that had been adopted by the National Council, focused on the development of partnership, closer integration of Projects and Education work, and the overall improvement of the development work. These tasks are being given increasingly to a new

group of CCODP employees, people who have been formed through their experience on National Council or its committees or as regular volunteers via the educational program. This shared analysis will help CCODP face the years ahead.

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7. Dorr, D., op. cit., p. 263.

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30. Interview with Romeo Maione, April 22, 1989.

31. Sheridan, E. F., op. cit., p. 143.

32. Canadian Catholic Conference, Fonds national d'aide aux pays en voie de développement, 13 Octobre, 1966, p. 1.

33. Ibid, p. 3.

34. Ibid, p. 3.

35. Clement, G., op. cit., p. 288.

36. Minutes of the Canadaide Board of Governors meeting, June 8, 1967, p. 2.

37. Monin, A. D., survey response, August 14, 1989.

38. Sheridan, E. F., s.j., op. cit., p. 144.

39. Ibid, p. 147.

40. Ibid, p. 146.

41. R. Maione interview, op. cit.

42. Ibid.

43. Statistics 1971 Canadian Catholic Missionaries, Canadian Religious Conference, 1971.

44. Interview with R. Malone, op. cit.

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46. Interview with R. Malone, op. cit.

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100. Ibid.

101. Interview with Molly Boucher, former CCODP president.

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103. letter from Bishop R. Arrieta, President of SEDAC, the Bishops' Conference of Central America, to Bishop E. Carter, President, CCCB, April 4, 1976, p. 1.

104. Ibid, p. 1.

105. Gurton, M., op. cit., p.67.

106. letter from Bishop Arietta, op. cit., p. 2.

107. letter from Bishop McGrath of Pananma to Jacques Champagne, CCODP, June 19, 1976, p. 1.

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109. Sheridan, E. F., op. cit., p. 29.

110. Gully, R. L., op. cit., CAFOD, 1988, p. 3.

111. Dorr, D., op. cit., p. 259.

112. Dives in Misericordia ("On the Mercy of Grace"), 1980, and Laborem Exercens ("On Human Work"), 1981.

113. Dorr, D., op. cit., p. 259.

114. Sheridan, E. F., op. cit., p. 323.

115. Ibid, p. 324.

116. Ibid, p. 325.

117. Ibid, p. 332.

118. Ibid, p. 365.

119. Canadian Catholic Bishops serving on the CCODP Board in sequence.
French: Ploudre*, Ouellet*, Hubert*, Drainville, Hamlyn.
English: Pocock*, Wilhelm, A. Carter*, E. Carter*, O'Byrne.
* Past presidents of CCC/CCCB.

120. CIDA, CIDA's Year in Review, 1980-1981, p. 3.

121. CCIC, The Political Scene, May, 1989. p. 2.

122. CCIC, "La Fondation Canadienne pour les Refugiés", no. 1981, p. 3.

123. Cram, G., "Voluntary Agencies and their Relationship to Government", address, Nov. 13, 1981, Fort Qu'Appelle, SK.

124. CIDA, "Partners in Tomorrow", op. cit., p.11.

125. Rudner, M., " The Evolving Framework of Canadian Development Assistance Policy", in Tomlin, B. et al, Canada Among Nations-1984, J. Lorimer & co., p. 139.

126. A CIDA global grant permitted on-going yearly support rather than project by project scrutiny and acceptance or rejection.

127. There were more highly funded Non-Governmental Institutions such as CUSO, but not NGOs.

128. CCODP, Minutes of the Board of Governors, June 18, 1977, p. 8.

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130. Interview with Bill Smith, op. cit.

131. APHD: countries where member organizations are located:
Australia* Bangladesh Belgium Canada* England
France Hong Kong India Indonesia* Ireland
Japan Korea Macou Malaysia New Zealand
Philippines* Sri Lanka* Taiwan Thailand and
Office of Human Development, and Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences. Source: APHD, "Working for a Just Society", 1985.
* founding members.

132. CCODP, Internal memo, "Donnes sur les projets", 1988.

133. Interview with James Gomes, education department animateur, June 20, 1989.

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139. CCODP, "Canada's Bishops Urge 'Concerted and Effective Action'", Global Village Voice, Vol 10., No. 1, Fall 1985, p. 3.

140. CCODP, 20 Years of Interantional Co-operation, op. cit., p. 11.

141. Caritas-Senegal is a national Catholic charity part of the Caritas International's network which is primarily involved in Third World emergency relief and charity work, but also progressively in development efforts.

142. CIDA, Partners in Tomorrow, op. cit., p. 26.

143. Interview with René Lacoste, former project director.

144. Ibid.

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147. Interview with Jacques Champagne, op. cit.

148. Simard, J. M., and Hockin, T., Independence and Internationalism, Queen's Printer, 1986, p. 151.

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150. Interview R. Maione, op. cit.

151. Interview with Mike Flynn, Director of English Education department, July, 11, 1989.

152. Nigeria/Biafra 1968-1970, Bangladesh 1971-1974, Sahel 1973-1975, Guatemala 1975-1976, Refugees from Indochina 1979-1980, Cambodia 1979-1980, Lebannon 1981-1984, and Ethiopia, 1984-1985.

153. Interview with John Gomes, op. cit.

154. Interview with Jean Marc-Lumelle, CCFD, Paris, September 9, 1988.

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158. Interviews with Rene Lacoste and Michael Rousseau, CCODP staff.

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162. undated ICFID memo "Questions for Southern NGOs to Consider Involving Direct ForeignGovernment Funding".

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164. Jackson, E. T., and Assoc., The Education Programmes and Materials of the CCODP, Sept., 1987, p. 34.

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166. Ibid.

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CHAPTER FOUR

The development strategy of CCODP was elaborated on in Chapter One and situated among other NGO strategies. In Chapter Two, the evolution and differentiation of NGO's was explored along with the factors and constraints influencing their behaviour, all in the context of other development assistance providers. And finally, in Chapter Three a close study was made of the factors that influenced the particular development of CCODP's approach to the Third World. This chapter offers a brief examination of the actual work of CCODP in three countries: Brazil, Senegal and India. The basic question to be answered is what is the relationship between CCODP's strategy of development as enunciated in its "Basic Principles and Orientations" and the reality of its work in the Third World.

Over the twenty-one year funding history of CCODP, 1968-88, India, Brazil and Senegal have led their respective continents in the cummulative totals of funds disbursed for development projects by CCODP as can be seen in TABLE 4.1.

TABLE 4.1

TOP FIVE COUNTRIES BY CCODP DEVELOPMENT FUNDS DISBURSED (1968-88)

	Total Development Funds ($000)		
1. Brazil	10,088.3	4. Chile	7,131.6
2. Peru	8,759.7	5. India	5,998.2
3. Senegal	7,280.9 *		

*This figure includes CIDA 'country focus' program funds.

Source: M. Rousseau, Données sur les Projets CCODP, 1988

It is the author's hope that by examining the countries that received the most funding from CCODP in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, wider observations about the organization's adherence to its own development strategy will be able to be made.

Though more thoroughly dealt with in Chapter One, it is worthwhile to again briefly restate the key concepts of that strategy, empowerment, solidarity and partnership. Empowerment places human beings at the centre of the development equation. They are the primary agents of their own liberation. Fundamental to the realization of the goal of empowerment would be the support for projects that increase a group's ability to overcome the causes of its oppression. Basic human rights are an essential pre-condition for this further development to take place. Their defense and promotion would be a goal for solidarity: "Solidarity is not a long journey, solidarity is a way of journeying."1 This concept implies a clear identification with the oppressed and their struggles for liberation. Solidarity with the Third World is rooted in an understanding of "...common responsibility and with a particular responsibility of rich countries in the face of situations of underdevelopment."2 Partnership is mutual and grows out of the recognition of our interdependence. It aims at building on a common analysis of the issues of development, active participatory mechanisms where real partnership in decision making and management can be put into practice. "By increasingly sharing power with people who have been denied power, we make them powerful, and then more people are able to join in transforming our world."3 Ultimately, this solidarity must go beyond the structures to build direct links between peoples who "...have lived similar experiences and problems whose causes and solutions are analogous."4

Built on these points the following questions can help establish the degree of convergence between the stated goals of CCODP's development strategy and the actual results globally, or at least in the specific

cases of Senegal, India and Brazil. To what degree are the recipients of CCODP grants involved in the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of their projects? The more they are involved the more the criteria of empowerment is fulfilled. What kind of projects are funded? The more the projects are engaged in addressing the cause of oppression before them and not a NGO's imposed agenda, the more satisfied the solidarity criteria will be. Also, the development process is a multi-year process. The more CCODP supports multi-year projects the greater is its desire to stand with Third World peoples. CCODP has two mandates: education in Canada as well as support for Third World projects. How have the Third World 'partners' of CCODP supported the Canadian work? The degree to which they have participated in the form of speaker tours, exchange programmes, and on-going communication marks the stage of the partnership. A further question can be added to the overall list: Are Church and Government involved in the development programme in a given country? Involvement of either of these two major actors, whether from the local or the international level, could have a serious impact on other aspects of the strategies of development.

GENERAL PROGRAMME

CCODP funds projects in an average of sixty countries a year. From the outset of its organization CCODP has had no permanent overseas staff. It has maintained an open responsive programme. This means that the formulation of projects and their implementation are solely in the hands of those groups or individuals responsible for them. Those Third World groups or individuals are possibly the main beneficiaries of the projects as well, but while no data has been collected on this question, it is known that only fourteen percent of the projects are coming from Canadian missionaries and roughly the same figure from other foreign missionaries. Globally then over 70% of projects are without fear of contradiction, designed and implemented by Third World. This compares to only 36% of beneficiaries involved in active participation during the design state in a survey from the North-South Institute.5 The

implementation stage should be higher than the 74% of the North-South study,6 again for the basic reason that CCODP has no overseas staff and so relies exclusively on local people to resource the programmes. The evaluation process is on a project by project basis mainly in the hands of those concerned. CCODP has attempted to do wider country evaluations and has had structured meetings with local partner groups. These gatherings are usually facilitated by local peoples, as was the case in Peru with DESCO in 1986. In the North-South study, only 26% of the beneficiaries of NGO grants were involved in evaluations of their projects.7 Overall CCODP acquits itself well in this category of empowerment.

Solidarity means supporting the Third World peoples' projects over the long term. Varied continental profiles of the categories into which the funded projects are divided suggest that CCODP is not following its own agenda and promoting a particular 'style' of development (see TABLE 4.2)

TABLE 4.2

PROJECT PERCENTAGES FROM REGULAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME ALLOCATED BY CATEGORY AND CONTINENT (1983-1986)

AFRICA		AMERICA		ASIA	
COMMUNITY DEV.	29.1%	EDUCATION	39.7%	COMMUNITY DEV.	41.8%
HEALTH	27.9%	COMMUNITY DEV.	22.0%	DELEG'D FUNDS	17.7%
AGRICULTURE	18.0%	AGRICULTURE	16.0%	EDUCATION	15.5%
EDUCATION	14.3%	HEALTH	8.4%	AGRICULTURE	12.2%
ECONOMIC ACTIV.	6.5%	RESEARCH, ETC.	5.5%	HEALTH	5.2%
HUMAN RIGHTS	3.0%	ECONOMIC ACTIV.	4.6%	RESEARCH	3.1%
RESEARCH, ETC.	1.2%	HUMAN RIGHTS	3.8%	HUMAN RIGHTS	2.4%
		ECONOMIC ACTIV.	2.1%		

SOURCE: M. Rousseau, Données sur les Projets, 1988.

Most development problems cannot be solved in the space of one year. CCODP has been reluctant to make multi-year commitments, though from a small sample (100) Latin American projects from 1986, 29% were requests for renewal of previous one year projects, and another 10% were requests for multi-year budgets. 61% were simply project funding for one year only. Theoretically, on the basis of this obviously limited study, up to 40% of the projects could have been multi-year projects. The 1986-88 statistics for multi-year funding show a dismal, though improving picture (3.8% in 1986 to 8.9% in 1988) in CCODP's capacity to accompany partners over the long haul of development (see TABLE 4.3). Over the three-year period examined, only 6.1% of the projects were funded for more than one year.

TABLE 4.3

MULTI-YEAR FUNDING ALL PROJECTS
1986-88

	No. of Years				Multi-Year
	1	2	3	Total	%
1986	717	19	9	745	3.8%
1987	631	29	14	674	6.4%
1988	493	30	18	541	8.9%
Total	1,841	78	41	1,960	6.1%
%	93.1%	4.0%	2.1%	100 %	

Source: Louise Boulay, CCODP

The primary responsibility for development rests with those most effected. However, CCODP also has a responsibility to educate Canadian Catholics, as well as others. A true partnership would establish mutual aid between those involved, and that is indeed what is seen. Every year since its inception CCODP has invited Third World representatives to participate in its national education programmes such as the Fall Action and Share Lent. However, the form of partnership is heavily mediated by the staff and seems to rarely result in long-term networking of Third World groups with counterparts here. Issue and country priorities for the French and English Education Departments shift on average every two years thus militating against regular and on-going participation by the varied partner groups unless a change in approach to the education task is adopted.

Government, both Canadian and Third World, have had very little impact on the implementation of CCODP's strategy of development to date. CCODP does not participate in the funding of government projects in the Third World. The Canadian government has only occasionally, by way of evaluation, visited CCODP-funded projects. However, changes at CIDA suggest the beginning of a period of more active monitoring of NGO work. Officers from the Bilateral Division of CIDA who have regained some aspects of the administration of the 'country focus' programme from the NGO Division, have become more interventionist contrary to previous agreements. There is real concern about the potential impact of efforts now underway to decentralize a percentage of the staff from the Hull headquarters to overseas postings. Many NGO's, including CCODP with no overseas personnel could have less contact than CIDA with their Third World partners.

A veteran NGO staff person offered another gauge of independence from Canadian government intrusion into the development programme of an NGO; would the NGO have funded the programme or projects without government monies?8 CIDA limits the use of its funds under the three year global agreement with CCODP to certain kinds of projects. It also has a small number of countries on an excluded list such as Cuba and Vietnam. Human rights projects, along with several other categories are not eligible for CIDA's three-to-one dollar matching grants. Therefore,

projects in these categories have to be funded at 100% by the NGO. The degree to which an NGO persists in funding unmatched programmes can be seen as a measure of its independence from CIDA.

From the global programme statistics for 1986-88 there is a perceptible decline in the number of projects without CIDA monies from 33.3% of projects in 1986 to 26.2% in 1988 (see TABLE 4.4). If one factors in the abnormally high dollar amounts going to emergency relief work in 1986, due to the 1984 African famine, then the percentage of monies allocated to CCODP-only-funded projects declines a little less sharply from 22.5% of total project funds in 1986 to 18.5% in 1988. The long-term trend is unclear but in the short term it should be a cause for guarded concern.

TABLE 4.4

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CCODP PROJECTS WITH AND WITHOUT CIDA FUNDS

	1986	1987	1988
WITHOUT CIDA FUNDS	248 (33.3%)	208 (30.9%)	142 (26.2%)
WITH CIDA FUNDS	497 (66.7%)	466 (69.1%)	399 (73.8%)
ALL	745	674	541

Source: Louise Boulay, CCODP.

The Church is involved in a variety of ways as we have already seen in the operationalization of the CCODP development strategy. One way not yet discussed is the role of the evaluator. In Latin America particularly, a network of evaluators has evolved. These people, or institutions, largely from the Church have the confidence of CCODP to make recommendations about whether projects should be funded or not by CCODP. When a new group makes contact with CCODP often the evaluator in the country is asked to assist CCODP in evaluating its capacity to carry out the work it intends to do and their reliability in doing so. One incident in Uruguay demonstrated the gate-keeping role real or imagined of the evaluator. As a potential applicant, the Canadian Redemptorist Fathers

knowing who the evaluator was, felt they would not successfully secure project funding because of what they perceived as the ideological biases of the evaluators chosen by the CCODP.9 This event underscores again the heterogeneous nature of the Church and the careful diplomacy that is necessary to promote CCODP's analysis and strategy of development even among Church bodies and groups.

The same tests will be used in our brief look at CCODP's work in Senegal, India and Brazil.

SENEGAL

This country, lying in the broad semi-arid belt of the Sahel, is 80% rural. It has been afflicted by natural disasters such as the famine of 1973-75; human conflicts such as the ethnic conflict between the Senegalese and Mauritanians, as well as the ongoing disasters of structurally maintained underdevelopment. Over the years CCODP has contributed to many projects under its regular development programme. These totaled $1.5 million from 1968 to 1988, for an average of $76,655 per year. This has meant that an average of five or six projects have been funded per year. Both in terms of the number of projects approved, and the dollars allocated, the Senegal programme was relatively modest by CCODP's African standards. This changed dramatically in 1981 with the introduction of the 'country focus' programme by CIDA. CCODP was offered the opportunity by CIDA to participate in this programme. It is beyond the scope of this study to speculate on the reasons for this offer, but political as well as pragmatic reasons have been cited. CCODP has had a history of cooperation with several Senegalese partners whom they believed had the capacity to carry out larger-scaled programming. With approval from the CCODP National Council in November, 1981, the Project Department entered into a study and planning stage during which time they "...took part in the discussion of the pros and cons of such a programme with the Senegalese partner."10 By March, 1982, three major projects had been approved by CCODP. Ndondol with Caritas-Senegal, Tambacounda with the Office Africain pour le développement et la coopération (OFADEC) and at Cara with the Centre d'animation travaux d'Affiniam. René Lacoste had

asked the partners in Ndondol and Tambacounda to reintegrate fourteen projects that were all integrated but had been split apart to make them more readily fundable by NGO's."11

The newly defined programme went to CIDA, along with a list of conditions designed to protect CCODP's autonomy. The conditions were accepted, and CCODP received the matching funds on a 9 to 1 ratio under the 'country focus' programme. The Senegalese programme jumped from $185.2 thousand in 1980-81 to $915.4 thousand in 1981-82 with the infusion of CIDA money. Projects reports stated typically that the three projects under this programme "...are progressing normally and without any major problems."12 The Tambacounda project is now under a continuing bilateral agreement with CIDA that runs to 1982. Ndondol and Cara are being phased out. The group involved will be able however, to apply for the regular development programme grants.

An analysis of the Senegal programmme begins with an understanding of the role of the Senegalese in the planning, implementation and evaluation of their projects. The initiative in the country focus programme emanates from Ottawa, not Daka,r even though Senegalese people were involved in the discussions. Clearly all the basic choices had been made outside the country. Not all of the outside decisions were the best ones. A North-South Institute study referring to the Ndondol project of Caritas-Senegal stated, "All indications are that its foundations were rather weak."13

A more interventionalist attitude evolved, not inappropriately, with the larger scale demands of the 'country focus' programme. "One of our roles in solidarity is to train them to do better,"14 stated one former CCODP project officer for Senegal. That untypical role for the thinly staffed project department yielded results. "The Brothers of the Sacred Heart certainly appear to have learned their lesson, for with the help of CCODP they have introduced many changes."15 This work appears to leave much to be desired from the empowerment perspective which draws heavily on the Latin American rooted analysis of dependency and underdevelopment.

The integrated rural development schemes cannot be viewed from a Latin American perspective. One "...cannot just take what we are doing in

Latin America and export that into Africa."16 Supporting an African focus on agriculture might be the most appropriate path to solidarity with this continent, but that discussion is beyond this paper's scope. Clearly one condition of solidarity was satisfied, all these programmes are multi-year.

The partnership bond between OFADEC, CARA-AFINIAM, and CCODP are well developed. The Fall Action programme of 1985-86 included a letter writing campaign in support of OFADEC and Senegalese rural development. Speakers from Senegal have regularly participated in CCODP's educational campaign in Canada. However, here again there is a real lack of continuity as in the last two years no Senegalese partners have been invited to participate in the Canadian campaign. Maintaining and developing the concept of partnership necessitates regular and on-going contacts.

The role of the Church in Senegalese projects has been very central. The government role has largely been secondary, but in the second phase of the 'country focus' programme officials from the bilateral division of CIDA are becoming much more interventionist. CCODP has maintained that the relationship is RNGO-DNGO and is rigorously protecting that against intrusion from CIDA.

INDIA

The second most populous country in the world, India's challenge has resulted in some of its most interesting innovations. Initially CCODP "...had no strategy on the country they were trying to help. They were trying to divide funds equally between the three continents."17 CCODP was deluged with requestS from Latin America and Asia was largely neglected. In TABLE 3.2 it can be noted that only one Asian country, the Philippines, was among the top ten countries in which Canadian Catholic missionaries served. At a level of only 8.87% of the regular development budget in 1971-72, Asia was clearly neglected. Of that 8.87%, India commanded 27.8%. India's share of continental funds rose to a high of 50.2% in 1976-77, but has since remained at about 30% of the Asian

disbursement. The overall Asian share of development was at 13.5% in 1986-87, the average for the entire period.

CCODP helped trigger a series of RNGO innovations in 1972 with the co-sponsoring of the Blankenbeq Declaration. Key to CCODP's development strategy in Asia was the creation in 1973 of the predecessor of the Asian Partnership for Human Developments (APHD). The "...whole idea was modelled on the Asian Development Bank but with a changed balance of power - all had one vote."18 Initially India was not a member of APHD. It regularly submitted of 30 to 40 projects a year to CCODP. CCODP established a block grant programme especially for India, to be administered by Caritas-India, the largely assistantial aid and charity arm of the Catholic Church in India. From 1973 through 1978 Caritas-India had a mechanism in place to decide on the allocation of up to $100,000 of CCODP's development budget. Their decisions were then ratified by CCODP's Project Review Committee. In 1979, at the Second General assembly of APHD, the process of integration was begun. It allowed non-Asian members to maintain their special relationships into 1981 while negotiations went on to "...provide for the integration of projects from India and their evaluation into the structure and procedures of the APHD."19 Since then Indian projects have been supported by CCODP via APHD.

The model presented by APHD, and before that by the Indian Block grant, involved Asians at all stages of the project cycle. APHD, at least in theory, is close to the empowerment ideal. It provided Asians with the opportunity to develop the power to counter the agendas of outside NGOs. A broad range of sectors are represented in APHD's funding profile including 13.1% in 1985 for Solidarity.20 This category included Human Rights projects, a key measure for CCODP of an organization's desire to address the root causes of underdevelopment. APHD is attempting to decentralize its work of project selection, and has created an APHD Block Grant to Caritas India as earlier CCODP had done. APHD in an evaluation of this endeavour "...found it useful given the size and population of the country and its problems."21 The possibility of meaningful solidarity with the Third World peoples is increased by innovations such as this.

Partnership between the APHD and CCODP exists, but with the exception of active CCODP education and action programmes focused on the

Philippines, direct interaction between them has been minimal, clearly there is potential for improvement here.

The role of government in our examination of India and APHD is almost never mentioned, except questions of human rights violations. NGO and DNGO cooperation through structures such as APHD provide a buffer agains. his type of intrusion. Church, though, as a variable in determining the development strategy of the APHD is key. Church structures were involved from the very outset, avoiding the kind of disastrous repercussions seen in the mid 1970's in Central America. The involvement of the Caritas network is a positive advance. Usually focused on charitable work, their participation signals a willingness to address the larger more fundamental development questions.

BRAZIL

This South American country is the largest single recipient worldwide of CCODP development funds (see TABLE 4.1). Throughout the twenty-one year history of CCODP, Brazil has been consistently among the top three beneficiaries receiving an average of $500,000 per year, just as it had been among the principal countries for Canadian Catholic missionaries (see TABLE 3.2). Key staff people such as Project Department director, Michel Rousseau, and project officers such as Bill Smith, to whom this study is dedicated, and Chester Gabriel, spent years in Brazil. They, along with many of the other Catholic missionaries, were influenced by their contact with a progressive Brazilian church and the harsh reality of underdevelopment.

The CCODP development programme there has largely been a responsive one with a few notable exceptions such as the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT). CIDSE member agencies in a coordinated fashion assumed financial responsibility for the CPT, a central church institution supporting the peasant and rural justice movements. The Brazilian Church for the last thirty years or more has, even in the face of harsh military dictatorships, provided the opportunity for popular movements to exist. Some commentators see the Brazilian Church "...withdrawing or shifting to the right, but now the unions and popular movements are strong enough to

go it alone."22 After extensive conversations in Brazil the staff of the Projects Department indicated three priority groups with whom CCODP should work: the peasant movement and its organizations; the popular urban movements, and the worker and labour movement.23 The funding patterns for Brazil in 1986 and 1987 suggest these guidelines are being adhered to with a third of the funds disbursed in each year going to the land reform category, as well as to community training and organization.

The Brazil programme for CCODP is almost totally responsive. Brazilians are involved in every stage of the project cycle. Many support groups (assessorias) have been set up to serve the popular movement with specialized, animation or communication skills as well as other technical services. As in other Latin American countries, CCODP finds itself funding an increasingly higher percentage of these service organizations. A comparison with Peru is probably valid here. In Peru "58.7% de los proyectos fueron por ONGD's, 21.4% por organizaciones de base, y 11% por instancios eclesisticos."24 The empowerment potential of these groups is obviously a function of their commitment to the base.

Solidarity is also measured by the committment to long-term funding. Multi-year Brazilian projects approved by CCODP exhibit a slow expansion from 6.5% of the total in 1986, to projects of more than one year amounting to 11.7% in 1988.

If participation in CCODP's education campaign is a barometer of partnership then Brazil sets the standard. Very close ties have developed over the years between CCODP and Brazilian Bishops and others. This has not developed into on-going education in Canada but it has the potential to do so.

The role government plays in CCODP's work here is again minimal. Because CCODP "...is practically the sole (Canadian) agency with significant commitment,"25 in Brazil, CIDA in fact, seems to be more flexible in what projects it will co-finance there.

The Church remains a significant institution for CCODP. Important elections of bishops to Brazil's Episcopal Conference take place in 1990. These will determine the degree to which the Church will continue to support the institutions struggling for social justice such as

the CPT. RNGO's might very well be affected as well, in the limits that could be placed on their activities.

CONCLUSIONS

The application of CCODP's development strategy is not uniform. Mechanisms such as APHD for shared decision making are still wanting in Africa and Latin America. After twenty-one years of programming in Brazil that CCODP can still say "We must study the possibilities of regionalizing and perhaps of creating local committees who would take part in the decision"26 is sad. The development of real on-going links between grass-root movements in the Third World and local groups in Canada still remains a far-off dream in spite of the $2.7 million being spent on the education of the Canadian Catholic population each year.

Multi-year funding is just one measure of CCODP's commitment to work with the people of the Third World. There are other measures such as the funding of human rights projects and work in politically sensitive areas such as Vietnam where no government match of funds is permitted. By these measures, it is clear that CCODP has a long way to go to realize its development strategy of empowerment, solidarity and partnership.

1. Interview with Bill Smith, op. cit.
2. CCODP "Basic Principles and Orientations" op. cit, p. 12.
3. CCODP President's Report, Nov. 11, 1989, p. 1.
4. CCODP "Basic Principles and Orientations," op. cit., p. 12.
5. Brodhead et al., op. cit., p. 123.
6. Ibid, p. 123.
7. Ibid, p. 123.
8. Interview George Cram, op. cit.
9. Interview with Redemptorist's Fathers, September 22, 1986, Montevideo, Uruguay.
10. CCODP, Information, No. 28, Aug. 1982, p. 2.
11. Interview, René Lacoste.
12. CCODP "Summary Information on Various Country Focus Programs" EXE C-2, Nov. 1986, p. 1.
13. R. Lavergne, Canadian Development Assistance to Senegal: An Independent Study. North-South Institute, 1987, Ottawa, p. 125.
14. Interview Fr. Jean Lacoursière, Aug. 10, 1989.
15. R. Lavergne, op. cit., p. 125.
16. Interview, Renè Lacoste, op. cit..
17. Interview, Tom Johnston, op. cit.
18. Interview, R. Malone, op. cit.
19. T. Johnston, "APHD - an Experiment in Partnership", op. cit., p. 19.
20. APHD, "Working for a Just Society," 1985, p. 10.
21. APHD, Report 1987, p. 9
22. Interview, Michel Rousseau, op. cit.
23. M. Rousseau & C. Gabriel, "Development and Peace and Its Partners in Brazil under the new Republic," CCODP, 1985, p. 13.

24. DESCO, "Consideraciones en Torno al Programa 1987 de Desarrollo y Paz en el Peru," Lima, 1987, p. 2.

25. Projects Department, CCODP, Mid-Term Report on the 1988-91 Strategic Plan, Sept. 1989.

26. Ibid, p. 16.

CHAPTER FIVE

> "This poor South will judge the rich North. And the poor people and poor nations - poor in different ways, not only lacking in food but also deprived of freedom and other human rights - will judge those people who take these goods away from them, amassing to themselves the imperialistic monopoly of economic and political supremacy at the expense of others."
>
> Pope John Paul II
> Edmonton, October 1984

The Church stands as the most powerful single variable in the determination of CCODP's development strategy. The Church in Canada provided, just as the Church in Brazil had, the necessary circumstances that allowed for the building of institutions which in turn would support movements of peoples working together to transform the world.

The Canadian Catholic Bishops set CCODP in motion and provided it with on-going support through the Share Lent collection. Canadian Catholic missionaries provided the first link with the Third World peoples, while Catholic RNGO's in Europe provided the models from which to build a new organization. The Catholic Action Movement, and returning Catholic missionaries provided the first staff members. Thus, in the largest sense the Church formed CCODP.

On the positive side of the ledger an argument can be made for the central role of staff, particularly at key events like the announcement of the Blankenberg Declaration. But this is more than balanced out by the negative role that was played, particularly by the hierarchy, in the shaping of CCODP's development strategy. The collapse of Mission Alfa in Haiti, the destruction of the Central American "Instancia," the attacks on Church social justice like the CPT in Brazil or NASSA in the Philippines can be attributed at least in part to the reaction of Church authorities. Positively or negatively the Church plays a predominant role in CCODP's institucional and popular life.

Government as a factor for consideration has grown from a rather minor actor to, for many NGO's, the clearly dominant variable. CCODP has

a counterweight to government which other NGO's do not have: the support of a major institution. "The government can never control the Catholic Church. The weakness is your own organization letting the government take over."1 CCODP has not let this happen. René Lacoste, former director of the Project Department, stated categorically, "CIDA had no influence at all in the decision-making process."2 Of the nine former presidents with whom the author corresponded or talked, none cited government as the primary influence on the organization. Church, Third World partners, or staff were given as a first response. National Council guidelines that limited government contributions, further checked the influence of the government. The enticements of CIDA for NGOs' participation in special programs or utilization of the proliferating alternative funding channels however, has clearly not been avoided. In recent years CIDA's more directive or manipulative approach to NGOs cannot fail to be noticed. This tendency will likely increase rather than decrease in the near future.

CCODP has, as an almost fundamental tenet of its organizational life, participated in co-operative efforts with other RNGOs in CIDSE or the ecumenical coalitions, and as well as with NGOs in CCIC. The full potential of these efforts has not been realized, nor has the real benefit of truly collaborative work with the Third World partners. "There is no road to guide our steps, we must break trail."3 CCODP must continue to pioneer new forms of solidarity and to truly actualize its empowerment strategy of development in the world.

Along with these challenges is a fundamental necessity for CCODP to broaden and deepen its member base. A movement, formed by CCODP's analysis of the causes of underdevelopment and committed to the transformation of society, can present the alternative agenda for North America as Romeo Maione hopes orprovide the counterpoint to government policy as seen by George Cram.

RNGO's can be the leaven in society here and abroad. CCODP is the only national body in the Canadian Catholic Church that is focused on social justice concerns. It awakens people to the need for justice in the Third World, it also prepares them to deal with justice concerns in their own communities.

1. Romeo Maione, Interview, op. cit.

2. René Lacoste, Interview, op. cit.

3. Molly Boucher, CCODP, National Seminar, 1975, p. 92.

POSTSCRIPT

Without the support and solidarity of my wife, Eva de Gosztonyi and my mother, Catherine Dougherty, along with the unstinting co-operation of all of my friends at CCODP, this paper would have been a great burden.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACR	Australian Catholic Relief
AID	Agency for International Development
APHD	Asian Partnership for Human Development
BCC	Basic Christian Communities
CA	Catholic Action
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CCC	Canadian Catholic Church
CCCB	Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops
CCFD	Committée Contre la Faim et pour Dévelopment.
CCIC	Canadian Council for International Cooperation
CCODP	Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace
CELAM	Latin American Episcopal Conference
CHF	Canadian Hunger Fund
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIDSE	International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity
CPT	Pastoral Land Commission
CRC	Canadian Religious Conference
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CST	Catholic Social Teachings
CUSO	used to be Canadian University Service Overseas
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DNGO	Domestic Non-Governmental Organizations
EAD	External Aid Office
ENGO	Evangelical Non-Governmental Organizations
GONGO	Government Organized Non-Governmental Organization
IDRC	International Development Ressearch Centre
ICFID	Interchurch Fund for International Development
JEC	Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique
JRC	Jeunesse Rurale Catholique
MCIC	Manitoba Council for International Co-operation
MNC	Multi-National Corporations
MNGO	Mission Non-Governmental Organizations
MTC	Movement des travailleurs chrétiennes

ABBREVIATIONS, (continued)

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIEO	New International Economic Order
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	Partnership Africa Canada
PPP	Public Participation Program of CIDA
RNGO	Religious Non-Governmental Organizations
SAP	South Asian Partnership
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
YCW	Young Christian Workers (**JOC** in French)

APPENDIX A

Interviewees

CCODP

Management
- Jacques Champagne
- Tom Johnston
- Romeo Malone

Project Department Directors
- Michel Rousseau
- Rene Lacoste

Project Officers
- Pe. Jean Lacoursiere
- Fr. Bill Smith

Other Staff Members
- Fr. John Walsh
- Pe. Denis Thibeault
- Mike Flynn
- John Gomes
- Monique Emond

Past Presidents
- Judge A. Monnin*
- Judge A. Wachowich*
- Molly Boucher
- Robert O'Neill
- Roger Poirier
- Roland Leroux
- Therese Bouchard

*written survey

CIDA

Staff
- F. L. Ward
- Jean Perras

NGO-RNGO (Canada)

Staff

R. Fugere	ICFID
J. Van Mossel	CUSO
George Cram	ICFID
Jean Davidson	Presbyterian
Elly Vandenberg	Anglican

CIDSE (Europe)

Various Staff Members at the following:

Broederlikj Delen	Belgium
CAFOD	England
CCFD	France
CEBEMO	Holland
Entraide et Fraternite	Belgium
Koordinierungstelle	Austria
Miserior	Germany
Vastenaktie	Holland

APPENDIX B

THE BUSINESS OF DEVELOPMENT

The Spring 1989 List of CIDA Active Contracts reveals that NGOs are holding their position in bidding for CIDA projects. The breakdown by region and value of contracts presently in force is as follows:

	TOTAL		NGOs		%
	Value*	Projects	Value	Projects	
Anglo. Africa	465,954	293	72,545	28	15%
Franco. Africa	586,610	364	61,247	25	10%
Americas	284,354	300	48,354	31	17%
Asia	675,760	512	133,776	33	20%

(*in thousands)

The relatively high value of NGO contracts in Asia is partly attributable to very large scale projects in China (WUSC) and India (UNICEF). Of course, this list includes all active contracts and most of them are for multi-year projects.

Although the overall value of contracts being executed by NGOs is substantial, the number of projects is not, and only a minority of Canadian NGOs are holding such contracts. The major ones, by rank (excluding universities), are:

1.	WUSC	$77,194,000	(24 projects)
2.	UNICEF	69,680,000	(12 projects)
3.	CECI	26,837,000	(11 projects)
4.	CARE	22,250.000	(7 projects)
5.	ACCC	17,971,000	(11 projects)
6.	CUSO	16,367,000	(6 projects)
7.	SOCODEVI	13,592,000	(7 projects)
8.	CHF	11,295,000	(6 projects)
9.	CCODP	6,422,000	(2 projects)
10.	AMREF	6,142,000	(3 projects)
11.	OCSD	5,570,000	(2 projects)
12.	Horizons	2,967,000	(2 projects)
13.	CODE	1,191,000	(2 projects)

For purposes of comparison, Canadian universities presently hold almost $235 million of CIDA contracts.

All the above figures are approximate. They do not reflect the value of any sub-contracts held by NGOs.

source: CCIC, "The Political Scene", May, 1989, p. 5.

APPENDIX C

CIDSE Seminar
Blankenberge, Belgium
May 14-19, 1972

JOINT DECLARATION

The real problem in today's world, is the widening gap between the first (rich) world and the so called Third World. The International, social, economic and cultural structures have their centres of power in the first world. The latter tend to retain their domination and to continue to maintain the third world in a state of dependancy. This policy is necessary if the first world wants to continue its culture of consumation and waste. We are starting to discover that under-development is not necessarily a stage towards development in time but rather a product of the development of the first world.

The universal church exists in this world where one part of the world exploits the other. The whole church, at all levels and in every part of the world must make efforts to change profoundly these structures of domination which lead to dependancy.

The churches in the rich world have made a tentative effort to do this. They have made a certain effort to transfer resources (about $58 million in 1970) towards the Third World. Yet during this same period, the rich countries have virtually takes out of the Third World billions of dollars to reinforces their domination and built up even more dependancy.

The universal church has the task of liberating men from the sins of domination and dependancy. It is normal in the dominating countries where more financial resources exist, that the church asks for an effort of solidarity with the christians and men of the Third World who have undertaken the task of their liberation.

In this rich world, the church has also the task to put some of her financial resources towards a significant action to mobilize public opinion, of converting consciences and the changing of socio-economic structures to liberate men from the slavery of consumption, armaments, etc.

To these people the church asks them that a gesture of solidarity means a real transfer of power towards the poor who are in a state of dependancy.

This transfer of power is very delicate particularly in a world of domination and dependancy. Although relations of solidarity in action may allow men to develop, it could also be that paternal relationships in the "donor-recipient" can increase domination and dependancy. The church who wants to take on the task of "liberator" must continually look at herself and her actions to see that her generosity does not create even more dependancy. It is for this reason in our opinion that we must find, in a spirit of urgency and priority, more fraternal ways of transferring funds.

The research in common started in this seminar must continue in the context where the universal church is really present. By this, we mean an assembly where the representatives of the Third World are really the majority. The minority position at the Third World in this seminar has placed us in the position of putting forth proposals to the universal church coming from just one part of the church. We would like to propose that Caritas, Cor Unum and CIDSE organize a meeting like "The Montreux Meeting" (organized by the World Council of Churches) where the whole church will be truly represented.

We think that the affiliation of partners to CIDSE in its actual form on the creation of national consortiums under the guidance of this "donor Churches", will do nothing but reinforce the spirit of dependancy. The creation of national donor consortiums will also tend to dominate the smaller members of CIDSE.

We are opposed to the immediate extension of CIDSE in its present form. We also note the absence of a clear determination on the part of most members of CIDSE to determine a real role for CIDSE and the impossibility of arriving at a common political stance. In fact, after five years of existence CIDSE, there is still no accord on what we feel are fundamental priorities:-

- The concept of development
- Our relations with the Third World
- The political aspects concerning the questioning of the structures of domination of our countries.
- The relations of our respective national churches with our governments on the problems of aid and international cooperation.

We believe in the good will of CIDSE Members but we must note the impossibility of an extension of CIDSE before an accord on the above mentioned points be cleared up through discussion at meeting where the Third World are in the majority.

It should also be noted that many recent changes have happened in the Church in the sector of international cooperation. We can note:-

- The creation of Cor Unum.
- The reorientation of Caritas
- The changes in the structures and the sharing of responsibilities within CIDSE.

Taking in consideration this new situation, we consider as a priority to situate ourselves in the heart of the church in the effort to establish new relations between the two parts of the world, a new creative relationship which will transform mentalities, styles and structures of domination. We will keep as one our tasks the transfer of funds but this will be but one of our relation with the Third World.

We also insist that all significant aid should be discussed and decided with the participation of the Third World in a majority.

The orientation of our work in common will express itself in a concerted effort in development and the raising of consciences in our countries and in the Third World.

So as to not develop this new orientation in an unilateral frame work, we must enter into dialogue with the Third World. We should immediately start the common evaluation of development projects and educational projects. This can be done in our countries and possibly in Latin America and Africa.

Church pressure on the centres of domination should be exercised in a more radical style. We would like to organize a world meeting which would have as its objectives a political lobby so as to bring changes in the politics of world aid and international structure. These activities should be oecumenical in perspective.

We consider that this joint orientation of our two organization does not oblige us to leave CIDSE even though CIDSE does not provide till now a common platform of action.

In fact, our position, which we think is in conformity of the guspels, demands that it be inserted in the church and that we make contact with the secretary of State and Cor Unum . We should try in harmony with these structures develop a working party which will take a critical and stimulating look at church efforts made to alter the structures of domination.

Finally, we think that we should enter into closer contact with the newly defined OIC (Catholic International Organizations) so as to contribute with them a new and dynamic stimulant to the Church's work in the World.

Canadian Catholic Organization for
Development and Peace
(Canada).

Comité Catholique contre la Faim
et pour le Développement.
(France).

PASTORAL LETTER

by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops

on the Occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace

1987

Dear Sisters and Brothers in Christ,

1. This year, 1987, is the twentieth anniversary of one of the great events in the life of the Catholic Church in this country: The launching of CCODP, the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace.

2. At that time, our Church committed itself to build CCODP as an organized movement whose task would be to help us face up to today's global dimensions of God's ancient command: Love your neighbour as yourself. The neighbours on whose behalf Development and Peace challenges us to active love are our neediest sisters and brothers in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

3. They are among the peoples of whom the Second Vatican Council spoke in the opening words of its 1965 document *ON THE CHURCH IN THE MODERN WORLD:*

"The joy and hope, the grief and anguish of the people of our time, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, are the joy and hope, the grief and anguish of the followers of Christ as well."

4. As the bishops of Canada came home after Vatican II, they found themselves involved almost immediately in discussions and plans that led to the start of Development and Peace two years later. During the same period, by what we can now look back to as an inspiring coincidence, Pope Paul VI was writing one of his most challenging encyclicals. Published in 1967 just a few months before Development and Peace was announced, it was called *On the Development of Peoples*. More daringly than ever before, that letter called on Catholics everywhere to work to close unjust rich-poor divisions in our distorted world. The Pope wrote:

"It is not just a matter of eliminating hunger, nor even of reducing poverty. The struggle against destitution, though urgent and necessary, is not enough. It is a question, rather, of building a world where every person, no matter of what race, religion or nationality, can live a fully human life, freed from servitude imposed by other people or by natural forces; a world where freedom is not an empty word, and where the poor man Lazarus can sit down at the same table with the rich man." **(On the Development of Peoples, No. 47)**

5. In this pastoral letter, we Catholic Bishops of Canada wish *to celebrate the first 20 years of Development and Peace.* Working at its mandate, which so closely parallels Pope Paul VI's challenge, CCODP has accomplished great things. We wish also *to reflect on how all of us must continue to work for justice and peace in the years ahead.* Things still seem to be getting worse for our neighbours who are poor. We must, all of us together as Church, go on finding ways to make their struggles for basic necessities central to our shared mission to order temporal affairs according to God's plan for justice and peace.

20 YEARS TO CELEBRATE

6. As we look back on the first 20 years of Development and Peace, one reason for gratitude is the way the internal life of this organization is evolving in this country. Also, to be celebrated in a particular way is the growth of CCODP's partnerships and networks with other groups, at home and abroad. What it has done in public education and fund-raising also merits special praise. With these initiatives have come Third-World self-help projects and the emergency aid funds which, for many, have made the difference between despair and hope, and even between death and life.

7. It is important and helpful, we believe, to draw attention to the Church's achievements in and through Development and Peace before reflecting on the grave challenges we face in the brutal fact that world-wide poverty continues, and even worsens.

CCODP's Growth

8. Development and Peace was founded by the Canadian bishops working with Canadian lay people, religious and priests. The leadership of the organization was entrusted, from the beginning, to lay Catholics; but we bishops, with priests and religious, have also continued to work for its growth and success. It has been an organization of and for the whole Church in this country. Every diocese and, indeed, every parish has been reached. Through CCODP's education and aid projects, Catholics everywhere in Canada have been given grace-filled opportunities for insight, openness and generosity. Volunteers in local communities continue to organize local Development and Peace groups which this year reached a total of 230—a number that will go on growing.

CCODP's Partners

9. At the community, diocesan, regional and national levels, there are groups working for development education and social change in this country. Fortunate indeed are those communities where these groups and CCODP groups find ways to complement and enhance each other.

10. Special mention must be made here of the co-operation offered CCODP by the development and funding agencies of other Christian Churches in Canada. Noteworthy in this collaboration is CCODP's direct involvement in the social justice coalitions that are a special feature of ecumenical solidarity in this country.

11. This network of partners inside Canada now reaches into many Third World communities. The leaders of Development and Peace over the years have built up a whole network of partners in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These Third World partners share in Development and Peace decisions about which projects to fund in their countries. Of equal, and probably even greater, importance is the contribution these partners make to educating Canadians. Through their experience and understanding of what causes their poverty, they influence the educational work being done across Canada by Development and Peace. For many of us, visits to Canada by CCODP's Third World guests have provided some of our deepest insights into what it means to be a Christian in our strife-torn world.

12. This growing network across Canada and around the globe, among people determined to stand together for justice and peace in social and economic development, is a major reason for hope for all of us.

Funds and Projects

13. While the work of CCODP goes on all year long, it has a particular emphasis in *Share Lent*. This annual campaign has been the focus of CCODP's development education work and its major fundraising action. All across this country, there have been Catholics who have taken *Share Lent* very seriously. They have made it an event of personal and community importance, both for its impact at home and its results abroad. Through *Share Lent* over the past 20 years, CCODP has raised more than $70 million for development assistance and emergency relief. Another $30 million have been added by contributions outside this annual campaign. Important matching grants have come from CIDA (the Canadian International Development Agency). Some provincial governments have added to the total. In sum, the outflow of aid to Third World projects through CCODP has exceeded $162 million.

14. Even this very incomplete inventory of what Development and Peace has accomplished over the years gives all of us good reason to celebrate.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

15. When we begin, now, to reflect about the future of CCODP, certain gnawing questions recur: What have we learned through CCODP about Third World Poverty? How does CCODP's mandate look in the light of today's situations, in the Church and in society, in Canada and abroad? What have we learned from 20 years of efforts at development education and assistance? What are the most urgent challenges facing us as Church in this country in our responsibility to help our neediest sisters and brothers achieve full human development?

Poverty Through Their Eyes

16. When we look at their world through the eyes of those who receive CCODP funds, what do we see? Pope John Paul II, speaking at Edmonton in 1984, gave us a description we must never forget:

"The poor people and poor nations—poor in different ways, not only lacking food but also deprived of freedom and other human rights—will judge those people who take these goods away from them, amassing to themselves the imperialistic monopoly of economic and political supremacy at the expense of others." **(John Paul II, Homily at Edmonton, Sept. 17, 1984, No. 4.)**

17. Poverty in the form of cruel need—the need for decent housing, clean water, land for food, basic health care, appropriate education, participation in the decisions which have the most impact on personal and c nunity life—is a dominant fact of life for the majority of people today. This ugly fact is accompanied by another: Poverty is mainly a result of the poor being denied basic rights and essential goods. True, natural disasters such as droughts and earthquakes do disrupt or destroy some communities and plunge their populations into experiences of cruel hardships. The toll of these dramatic natural disasters is not to be compared, however, with that of continuing social injustice, of *"servitude imposed by other people,"* in Pope Paul VI's words.

18. That is why our Third World partners tell us aid, like tears, is not enough. That is why they say it is not enough for us to try to share our surplus with the victims of poverty. Aid is essential, especially after natural disasters. But, always, we mu work at ending imposed ser- v. and deprivation. Always we must learn to see in what ways we, in a rich country, may be involved in making or keeping them poor. That is why our efforts to aid our stricken neighbours must be twinned with initiatives for our own education. We must try to discern why Pope John Paul II could say at Edmonton that we may well stand judged by the poor for taking food, freedom and other human rights away from them.

CCODP's Mandate 20 Years Later

19. By its founding charter, CCODP is committed to promoting active solidarity between Canadians and the peoples of the Third World. To this end, it is to channel donations to Third World socio-economic development projects and, at the same time, try to help Canadians to understand that obstacles to development often lie within our own mental, social and political structures. There is no question about the basic reasons for this mandate; there is no question about the need for aiding self-help projects abroad and for doing development education at home. The only question, surely, has to do with how the intentions behind that mandate can be more enthusiastically and fully achieved.

20. The founders of CCODP, we can say, hoped that it would be, over time, not just one organization among many but a coming together of the whole Church in this country in a growing community of love and support for the victims of social injustice. That is not to say that anyone expects CCODP alone to do this whole job, but it is CCODP's job to work at getting all of us involved in building up such a community.

Mandate Confirmed by Catholic Social Teachings

21. CCODP's workers and supporters can take heart in the fact that their mandate is fully in line with the Church's social teachings. As Pope Paul VI said in his 1967 encyclical: "It is a question of building a world where every person...can live a fully human life." He stressed that there cannot be justice and peace without full human development. The 1971 Synod of Bishops, in turn, affirmed that:

"Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation." **(Justice in the World, 1971, Introduction)**

Pope John Paul II has renewed this same challenge by insisting that central to our vocation as Christians is the call to develop everywhere a civilization of love.

What has been Learned?

22. Twenty years of work by CCODP have brought the successes that we noted earlier in this letter. They also show all of us that world poverty is not easily ended, and that the process of development education in this country is also slow and difficult

23. One of the objectives of CCODP's development education programme is to change mentalities, attitudes, behaviours and structures in such ways that the conditions for human solidarity can be realized Both personal conversion and social change are required for this Each has its own difficulties. People can so easily find excuses for delay, for caution, for resistance when invited to change New awareness of ourselves and of the world dawns slowly.

24. What is called for is not just a gradual, interior hidden adjustment. CCODP has aimed to encourage more and more people and groups to get involved in actions for development All of us have been called to give moral, financial and political support to changes directed to the development and liberation of people in the Third World Some argue that this is not Church business; others protest that it is unrealistic and, indeed, impossible.

25. In these kinds of difficulties, Development and Peace is experiencing nothing new. All who try to follow Jesus know that He urges us to a self-giving that is as unlimited as His own: an unresting, tireless love that seeks justice and peace for everyone.

To Build Together for the Future

26. It is not our intention in this pastoral letter to propose specific directives for CCODP's future work. Within the organization, its leaders from national, regional, diocesan and parish levels have been active throughout this anniversary year. They have been continuing their efforts to make CCODP always more effective in promoting development and peace. One such initiative has been the recently completed independent study of CCODP's educational programmes and materials. In the midst of CCODP's review process, we wish to share some observations that we believe will support and advance what is already alive in the Church in this country.

27. Development and Peace's many workers and supporters—all those involved in it—are truly Church. You are involved in the evangelizing work of development. Engaged in promoting justice and peace, you are signs, visible expressions, of the baptismal vocation of all Christians. Through Third World partnerships, the universal dimensions of the Church are reflected. As bishops, we see this and welcome it.

28. We also see an area for greater growth, and we wish to help CCODP in this area. Increasingly, Development and Peace should become better known and more active in each diocese. This would not be at the expense of CCODP's national and international activities, but in support of them. We wish for an ever more clearly visible collaboration of CCODP's diocesan workers with other diocesan workers around each bishop. The deepening and enriching of CCODP as an expression of the local Church can only aid its mission everywhere, including in each and every parish.

29. We recognize that our hoped-for diocesan developments will put some new demands on CCODP. Canadian Catholics are astonishingly diverse. We have different ethnic backgrounds, different economic experiences, different political imaginations. There is among us a great variety in our understandings of justice, development and peace. Even our understandings of Church vary considerably. Pervading all this is a common secular culture that beckons us to choose comfort and self-gratification. If the CCODP message is to penetrate more deeply into each of our local Church communities, much effort will have to go into designing new education materials and methods.

30. CCODP's increased presence and activity in our local Churches will also, we hope, aid in clarifying and deepening the links between faith and social involvement. We think particularly of links of CCODP with faith education, and with the celebration of the faith in the liturgy The concluding message of the 1987 Synod of Bishops confirms the close relationship of holiness and work for justice:

"The Holy Spirit leads us to understand more clearly that holiness today cannot be attained without a commitment to justice, without a human solidarity with the poor and the oppressed. The model of holiness for laity must integrate the social dimension of transforming the world according to the plan of God." **(In the Path of the Council, No. 4).**

31. To aid in this process, we bishops will examine the formation and training programs for priests and other pastoral agents. We wish all those who serve as animators of our Christian communities to be the best possible collaborators in the work of Development and Peace. As one method for this, we foresee regular local meetings of CCODP leaders with other diocesan leaders, to build understanding and solidarity within each local Church around its pastor.

32. From the beginning, CCODP has aimed at drawing peoples together. It has called us to see our neighbour in those we tend to ignore or neglect. It reminds us to love our neighbour in ways that can change our own world. In this, the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace is a servant of Jesus Christ who makes us just in new ways, who enables us to love without limits.

33. We, your bishops, are grateful to the council, staff and volunteers of Development and Peace, and all associated with them, for twenty years of courageous and persevering work. We thank God for the new hope you have been able to plant, in the Third World and also here in Canada. We pray with you for the future of this work. May you help us all towards courage and hope as, together, we strive to live and act as one body with all whom Jesus loves.

† **JAMES M. HAYES**
Archbishop of Halifax
President
Canadian Conference of
Catholic Bishops

December 11, 1987

Appendix E

CIDSE Members -Partial List-	No. Staff	No. Staff Proj./ Educ.	Budget $'000 Cdn.	Revenues Gov't Sources	Admin. Projects Education	No. Projects Per Year	No. Countries in which Projects	Ave. Proj. Cost	No. Members	Notes
Broderlikj Delen (Belgium)	32	9/16	9,830 +	10-15%	N.A.	500 est.	N.A.	20,000 +	3,000	Founded 1963 by Belgian Bishops. See themselves as a service worked jointly with Broderlikj Delen until 1979.
Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace	72 (1988)	15/38 (1988)	17,395 (1986-87)	46.7 (1986-97)	10.8% 72% 16% (1986-87)	571 (1986-87)	67	17,500	3,000 +	Founded 1967 by Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops.
Catholic Funds for Overseas Development (England)	50 +	18/11	11,944 (1985-86)	11.6% (1985-86)	8.4% 86.4% 5.2% (1985-86)	500 +	75	21,000	-	Founded in 1962 by British bishops. Sees itself as a service to justice & peace diocesan commissions.
CRS USA	(1978)	N.A. 2	280,000 +	74%	4 94 2	N.A.	74	N.A.	-	Founded in 1943. Is a successor to the National War Council formed - W.W.I. More than $150 million for food aid.
Cebemo (Holland)	21	7/4	7,800	minor	12% 84% 4%	450-500	70	up to 18,000	-	Founded in response to government funding initiatives. 1969 no outside fundraising, little education.
Comité Catholique contre la Faim et le Develop-pement (France)	80 est	20 est. N.A.	23,222 (1987)	16.5% 1987	7% 64.5% 28.5% (1987)	600+	80	24,950		Founded 1961 by French Bishops. CCFD is made up of 26 Catholic Organizations. Active in 99 French dioceses.
Entraide et Fraternity (Belgium)	32	9/16	9,830 +	10-15%	N.A.	500 est.	N.A.	20,000	-	Founded 1963 by Belgian Bishops, still a sub-committee of a Church commission.
Fastenopfer (Switzerland)	42	18/4	18,700	54%	10 86% 4%	774	44	16,500	-	Founded in 1962 on initiative of laity, especially Catholic youth organizations. The most active was counselled by the Swiss Episcopal conference.
Koordinierung-stelle (Austria)	4	2/-	(1987)	minor	3.2 45.2% 4.4%	1,800*	-	27,000	-	Founded in 1964 by Bishop's conference in Austria. Coordinates international work of 2 Austrian Catholic group in missions and development.
Misereor (Germany)	250 +	/15	210,000	50%	5.1% 90+% 1.7%	2,500 +	N.A.	80,000 +	-	Founded in 1953 by German Bishops. CCFD is made up of 26 Catholic organizat. Active in French diosc.
Sciaf (Scotland)	13	3.5% 2.5%	3,420	10%	4% 91% 5%	168	36	20,357	-	Founded in 1965 but the Scottish Catholic bishops.
Trocaire (Ireland)	38	14/ 2	7,481	10%	7.4% 81.7% 11.9%	550 +	75	20,000	-	Founded in 1973 by the Irish Bishops conference.
Vastenaktie (Holland)	21	7/ 4	7,800	minor	12% 84% 4%	450-500	70	up to 18,000	-	Founded in 1969 in response to government funding initiatives. No outside fundraisir ,. little education.

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SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY 1966-1989

1966	
CHURCH	National Development fund accepted. (Oct.)
CANADA	Maurice Strong heads External Affairs Office (EAO).
INTERNT'L	Death of Camillo Torres in Colombia. UNDP established.
1967	
CCODP	1st meeting of Board of Governors of "National Fund to Help Developing Countries" (CANADAIDE).(June) / 1st Director, R. Malone, hired. (Nov.)
CHURCH	"On the Development of Peoples" Papal Encyclical.
CANADA	Voluntary Agencies Division established in EAO. (Aug.) / Miles for Millions established.
INTERNT'L	Pre-CIDSE working group meeting.
1968	
CCODP	1st Share Lent collection. 1st grants made to Third World. / 1st major involvement in emergency reliefinBiafra/Nigeria.
CHURCH	CCB statement "On Development and Peace".(Mar.) / Medellin Conference of CELAM Liberation Theology heard widely.
CANADA	EAO becomes CIDA. NGO program launched. / CCIC established to co-ordinate Canadian NGO activity./ B.C. sets up fund support overseas agriculture projects.
INTERNT'L	CIDSE founded./ NGO airlift into Biafra.
1969	
CHURCH	"Poverty and Conscience: Towards a Coalition for Development" joint paper of Cdn Council of Churches and Cdn Catholic Conference.
1970	
CCODP	Dev. Ed. grant fund available to local Cdn groups.
CHURCH	"Liberation in a Church Perspective", Labour Day message.
CANADA	P. Gerin-Lajoie appointed CIDA president. / 1st CIDA contribution to CCODP.
INTERNT'L	UN Second Development Decade. / Major earthquake in Peru. / Disaster in East Pakistan.
1971	
CCODP	Regional orientation program introduced.
CHURCH	CorUnum organized to co-ordinate R.C. Third World efforts. Pope Paul's "Octogesima Adveniens" published. "Justice in the World" statement of the Synod of Bishops issued.
CANADA	CIDA creates a Dev. Ed. unit. / CCIC receives 1st Dev. Ed grant for 4 year Dev. Ed. Animateur Program (DEAP). / IDRC established.
INTERNT'L	Bengali refeguees flee E. Pakistan to India.

1972	
CCODP	Special appeal Pakistan/Bangladesh. / Blankenberg Declaration by CCODP & CCFD (May). / Agreement to share decision making with Caritas-India.
CANADA	PLURA established.
INTERNT'L	Tensions surface in CIDSE. 'Group of 4' evolves within CIDSE: Canada, France, Ireland & Spain.

1973	
CCODP	Meetings with Cdn missionaries to review role of CCODP. / 2nd Executive Director hired, Jacques Champagne.
CANADA	GATT-fly founded. / Ten Days for World Development created. / Alta and Sask Councils for Internt'l Assistance founded.
INTERNT'L	Asia Fund for Human Dev. begins 3 year trial period.

1974	
CCODP	'Project Sahel' co-ordianted drought response by CCODP & 3 CIDSE members. / Pilot project in Central America with regional & CIDSE partners. / Haiti evaluation.
CHURCH	"Evangalization in the Modern World" Pope Paul VI.
CANADA	Man. Council fro Intern'l Co-operation founded. / Major CIDA help to the Sahel. / CIDA funds Internt'l NGO'S.
INTERNT'L	Sahel famine.

1975	
CCODP	Puerto Rico meeting to discuss APHD model in Caribbean. / Montreal "International Seminar" 137 representatives. / CCODP participates in 13 ecumenical committees to date.
CANADA	"Strategy for International Development 1975-1980" published by Government. / ICFID ?
INTERNT'L	Vietnam War ends. / CIDSE Vietnam program.

1976	
CCODP	Major relief effort in Guatemala. /(4) Central America initiative cancelled.
CHURCH	(3) Central American Hierarchy negatively reacts to Group of 6 regional initiatives. / "Justice Demands Action" Cdn Church leaders' statement. / "From Words to Action: on Christian Political and Social Responsibility" CCC Labour Day message.
INTERNT'L	(1) 'Group of 4' expands, Dutch and Belgium organizations added. / (2) Guatemalan earthquake. / Portuguese decolonization. / Civil war Lebanon. / Evaluation of CIDSE difficulties continue; Third World membership put on hold.

1977	
CCODP	Efforts to merge Cardinal Leger's work & CCODP. / 10th Anniversary.
CHURCH	CCCB letter on occasion of 10 years of good work to CCODP. / "A Society to be Transformed" CCCB.
CANADA	M. Dupuy, president of CIDA. / People's Food Commission established.
INTERNT'L	Asia Partnership for Human Dev. formally constituted.
1978	
CCODP	Review of constitution and future orientation. / Removal of accounts from the Royal Bank as anti-apartheid gesture.
CHURCH	Popes Paul VI & John Paul I die, Pope John Paul II elected.
CANADA	CIDA gives global grant to CCODP as largest recipients of NGO division grants.
1979	
CCODP	Appeals launched for Indochina refugees and Cambodia.
CHURCH	Puebla Conference of Latin American Bishops.
INTERNT'L	Cambodia added to CIDSE program. / Somoza dictatorship falls in Nicaragua. / Caritas India joins APHD.
1980	
CANADA	Country focus program into CIDA. / Gov't commits to goal of 7% of GNP to ODA by 1990.
1981	
CCODP	New constitution adopted. / Met with External Affairs Minister, M. MacGuigan to discuss brief: "Militarization: an Obstacle to Development". / Special appeal launched for war victims in Lebanon.
CHURCH	"Towards a New Internat'l Economic Order" Chairman of Episcopal Commission for Social Affairs. / "Laborens Exercens" Papal Encyclical.
CANADA	CIDA creates the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Fund to be administered by CCIC.
1982	
CCODP	Adoption of "Basic Principles and Orientations".
CHURCH	"Economic Reflections on the Economic Crisis" by CCCB Social Affairs Commission.
CANADA	CIDA's International Humanitarian Assistance Division funds emergency programs through NGO's on a 10 to 1 basis.

1983	
CCODP	Militarization seminar.
CANADA	M. Cathy-Carlson becomes President of CIDA
1984	
CCODP	Special Ethiopia appeal launched.
CHURCH	Pope John Paul II tours Canada.
CANADA	Gov't cutbacks push back 0.7% GNP goal for ODA to 1995.
INTERNT'L	Ethiopian famine.
1986	
CANADA	Africa 2000, Gov't initiative. / Winegard Committee begins review of Cdn Development Assistance programs and policies. / Gov't pushes 0.7% GNP target to 2000.
INTERNT'L	Duvalier regime falls in Haiti. / Marcos regime falls in Phillipines.
1987	
CCODP	20th anniversary National Colloquim meets in Montreal. / Jackson & Associates study on Education Program.
CHURCH	CCCB study day on CCODP. / Pastoral letter on the 20th Anniversary of CCODP written. / Papal encyclical "Solicitudo Rei Sovalis" published.
CNANDA	Winegard report "For Whose Benefit" released. / Gov't response to Winegard Report "To Benefit a Better World".
INTERNT'L	Mison Alpha in Haiti co-ordinates country-wide literacy campaign.
1988	
CCODP	Project Dept 3-Year Plan incorporates National Colloquim goals. / 3rd Exec. Director, Gabrielle Lachance, hired.
CANADA	Gov't strategy for ODA to year 2000 "Sharing Our Future".
INTERNT'L	Mison Alpha cancelled. / CIDSE 20th Anniversary seminar.
1989	
CCODP	120,000 anti-apartheid letters delivered to External Affairs Minister Clark. / Budget cut of $330,000 due to Federal restraint measures.
CANADA	Projected goal of 0.7% of GNP to ODA unattainable until 2040 due to Gov't cutbacks.