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Introduction by Greg Donaghy

Ruth Compton Brouwer. *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-1986.*

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Introduction by Greg Donaghy, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

At last month's annual gathering of the Canadian Historical Association (CHA), there were roughly seven sessions (out of 121) exploring modern Canada's engagement with the larger world. The country's North Atlantic preoccupations, the traditional stuff of Ottawa diplomacy, figured in just one, whose papers, on human rights and trans-Atlantic intellectual history, headed down novel pathways. Though the CHA convened in the heart of Niagara Peninsula, on the very edge of the hegemon to the south, there was nary a mention of Canada's all-important relations with the United States. Rather, we considered ballerinas and doctors as Cold War diplomats, and gazed across at underdeveloped corners of Africa and Asia. If any was needed, this most recent CHA provided compelling proof that Canada's international historians have moved off their comfortable North Atlantic center of gravity, and have shifted their focus towards the Global South, and from state to non-state actors. Historian Ruth Compton Brouwer's new book, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-1986*, a study of the origins and early evolution of Canada's most important foreign aid non-government organization (NGO), the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), reflects this change in subject and geography.

This is a historiographical development that our four reviewers all welcome, and they embrace *Canada's Global Villagers* warmly. Ryan Touhey, an expert on Indo-Canadian relations, describes it as "engaging" and "ground breaking." Adam Chapnick calls it "important," and "valuable and unique." Our reviewers are impressed with Compton Brouwer's methodology, and her ability to weave a lively narrative tapestry from CUSO's archival record and over a hundred oral history interviews. They like the book's structure, its focus on CUSO experiences in India and Nigeria, the NGO's two most important operating countries, and the author's sober discussion of the sharp ideological debates over development philosophies and strategies that threatened to tear the organization apart in the mid-1970s. American historian Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman underlines the book's broader significance: it provides an obvious point of comparison with her own first-rate study of the U.S. Peace Corps, adding substantially to the international material on the "sixties" and the postwar world youth movement.

Canada's Global Villagers has its problems, on which our reviewers are in broad agreement. All wonder if Compton Brouwer has not relied too heavily on the interviews with her "returned volunteers" (RVs), doubtless an engaging and sympathetic lot. Her account is long on story-telling and short on analysis. An "uncontroversial chronology," Cobbs Hoffman observes charitably. It's certainly true that *Canada's Global Villagers* does not make much use of the records of the Department of External Affairs, or the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), on whom CUSO depended for its financial survival. There are very few frank assessments from recipient countries and governments, or even individuals, about CUSO's usefulness or impact.

This hardly matters for Compton Brouwer, or indeed, for most of her reviewers. They assume that CUSO's impact abroad was limited or even benign, and that its long-term

significance rested more with RVs and their contributions to Canada. But her evidence is sparse, and neither Touhey nor Chapnick, who address this point most directly, seem very convinced that RVs collectively contributed much to changing the face of contemporary Canada. Historian Kevin Brushett, who is working on State-NGO relations in Canada, takes an entirely dimmer view. CUSO, for all its independent posturing and frothy idealism, was undoubtedly a creature of the Canadian government, advancing the West's favoured "state-centric modernization perspective." Canadian interests, Brushett argues, were front and center, the evidence easily unearthed in government archives. In understanding the history of Western aid, the key question remains the same: Cui bono?

Participants:

Ruth Compton Brouwer is Professor of History Emerita, King's University College, Western University, London, Canada. She received her Ph.D. from York University, Toronto, in 1987. She is the author of *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (University of Toronto Press, 1990), *Modern Women Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-69* (UBC Press, 2002), and numerous articles presented and published in Canada and internationally. Her current project is a distinct turn from the global to the local: the background and life of a utopian community in Prince Edward Island in the early twentieth century.

Greg Donaghy is Head of the Historical Section, Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, Canada. He is the General Editor of its series, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, and author of *Tolerant Allies: Canada and the United States, 1963-1968*. Most recently, he edited (with Michael Carroll), *In the National Interest: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1909-2009* (Calgary: University of Calgary UP, 2011). The views expressed here are his alone and do not reflect the views of his Department or the Government of Canada.

Kevin Brushett is an Assistant Professor of History at the Royal Military College of Canada where he teaches in the fields of modern Canadian and American domestic and foreign policy. He is currently finalizing a book on the Company of Young Canadians (*The Uncomfortable Few: The Company of Young Canadians and the Politics of Youth 1965-1975*), a state-sponsored community development organization initiated by the Canadian government between 1965 and 1975. He is also starting a new project that examines the history of the Canadian International Development Agency's NGO Branch, which sponsored organizations such as CUSO to work in the developing world. He has an article forthcoming in *Diplomacy and Statecraft* entitled "Partners in Development?: Robert McNamara, Lester Pearson & the Commission on International Development 1967-1973."

Adam Chapnick is the deputy director of education at the Canadian Forces College and an Associate Professor at the Royal Military College of Canada. His recent publications include *Canada's Voice: The Public Life of John Wendell Holmes* (2009) and "The Politics of Reforming Canada's Foreign Aid Policy," in Stephen Brown's *Struggling for Effectiveness:*

CIDA and Canadian Foreign Aid (2012). He is currently writing a history of Canada's six terms on the United Nations Security Council.

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman (Stanford University, 1988) is the Dwight E. Stanford Chair in U.S. Foreign Relations at San Diego State University. She is a historian and novelist, and the author of several books, including *The Rich Neighbor Policy: Rockefeller and Kaiser in Brazil* (Yale, 1992), which won the Allan Nevins Prize and the Stuart Bernath Award, and *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Harvard, 1998); and *American Umpire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013. She is co-editor of *Major Problems in American History* with Edward Blum. Her recent novel, *Broken Promises: A Novel of the Civil War*, won the 2009 San Diego Book Award for "Best Historical Fiction" and Director's Mention for the Langum Prize in American Historical Fiction. Her research interests include U.S., European, Third World, and Latin American history. She was a National Fellow, Hoover Institution (2013) Stanford University.

Ryan Touhey is an Associate Professor of history at St. Jerome's University (University of Waterloo) where he teaches Canadian foreign relations, modern Canada, and on modern South Asia. He has published on Canada's foreign relations with South Asia in *International Journal*, the *Canadian Historical Review*, and the *Canadian International Council*. His forthcoming manuscript, *Conflicting Visions: India in Canadian foreign policy 1941-1976* is to be published with UBC Press in 2015.

Ruth Compton Brouwer's latest book, *Canada's Global Villagers* recounts the experiences of Canada's foremost international volunteer organization, Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), or as it was known in its early period, 'Canada's Peace Corps.' But as Compton Brouwer notes, and indeed even historians of that 'other' Peace Corps acknowledge, CUSO was no poor facsimile of its American counterpart.¹ Nonetheless, perhaps because of President John F. Kennedy's infamous call to service, the history of Canadian overseas volunteers has largely been neglected by Canadian historians. Even at the time, CUSO took a back seat to other youth service initiatives launched during the 1960s, such as the headline-grabbing undertakings of the Company of Young Canadians. Based upon nearly one hundred interviews and extensive archival research, Compton Brouwer's study seeks to reintegrate CUSO and its volunteers into the great wave of youthful idealism unleashed during the 1960s. In doing so, she seeks not to romanticize CUSO and its volunteers, but rather to leave readers with the idea that its efforts were perhaps part of a "better time" in Canadian foreign and development policy. (xi)

Compton Brouwer opens her study with an examination of the origins and growing pains of the organization and its volunteers. Though CUSO had many fathers, all of them were largely driven by the same sixties idealism and desire for adventure that led many young people across the Western world to volunteer for service in a range organizations and causes. Compton Brouwer does well to remind us that religious motivation and ideas were chief factors behind the original flowering of youth idealism of the period. Only later in the decade was this new-found dedication to the 'brotherhood of man' expressed in increasingly secular terms.² The opening chapters also examine the backgrounds of the first wave of volunteers. As would have been expected, given where CUSO leaders were recruiting, the vast majority of volunteers came from middle-class Anglo-Protestant families. But interestingly, though perhaps the point is underexplored, Compton Brouwer also notes that women were often overrepresented among CUSO volunteers both in relative and at times real terms. To be sure, many of the tasks undertaken by the organization – health care and teaching – were considered 'women's endeavors.' Many of the female volunteers too confronted very traditional conceptions of gender in their host countries. However, many of them soon moved on to positions of leadership both in the field and back home at the head office in Ottawa. In short, the experiences of these pioneering 'women in development' documents the struggles women faced in expanding their horizons during a period of rapid social, political, and cultural change.

¹ Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2000).

² Douglas Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of the Quiet Revolution 1931-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008). See also Compton Brouwer's "When Missions Became Development: Ironies of 'NGOization' in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s," *Canadian Historical Review* 91:4 (December 2010): 661-93.

The opening chapters also examine the growing links and ensuing tensions between CUSO and the Canadian government, particularly once the Lester B. Pearson government established the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in 1968. Here, Compton Brouwer highlights the sometimes tempestuous push-pull relationship between CUSO and CIDA. Though many CUSO volunteers relished their independence, particularly in contrast to their American Peace Corps counterparts, whose organization was an official arm of U.S. foreign policy, many of CUSO's founding fathers knew that its future was highly dependent on official support. Nonetheless, the relationship between CUSO and the government was not entirely unidirectional. If CUSO depended on CIDA for funding and legitimacy (both at home and abroad), CIDA came to depend on CUSO for advice, policy direction, and, during its foundational years, most of its key personnel.

Tensions between CUSO and CIDA grew during the 1970s as volunteers discovered that establishing goodwill and awareness across the North-South divide had done little if anything to stem the growth of poverty and underdevelopment. In chapter three, Compton Brouwer documents how CUSO became itself divided between the “socialist roaders,” (113) who threw their support behind liberationist struggles, and “pragmatists,” (113) who argued that a more professional and business-like approach was key to improving the fortunes of the world's poor. Rather than “to serve and learn,” (1) volunteers, or “cooperants” (97) as they became known by the early 1970s, went abroad proclaiming either “development is disturbance” (94) or “development is our business.” (1) By the end of the decade, as Compton Brouwer reveals, the tensions between these two approaches served to tear the organization apart, jeopardizing its fundraising and government support, and leading to a permanent division between its French (*Service universitaire canadien outre-mer*—SUCO) and English wings. Only the “CUSO mafia,” (195) which had come to inhabit various parts of both the larger NGO community and the Canadian bureaucracy, saved the organization from an early trip into the history books.

Though by the 1970s CUSO volunteers served in more forty countries, Compton Brouwer focuses mainly on the experiences of Nigerian volunteers as a case study to encapsulate these internal debates between pragmatists and politicians. As she notes, during this period nearly one-third of all CUSO volunteers worked on the African continent, eighty percent of them as teachers. Originally, Nigeria's large population and wealth of natural resources made it the perfect place for Canadian volunteers to ‘make a difference’ in the Third World. However, the country soon became wracked by civil war as the southeastern state of Biafra seceded from the federation in 1967. Like many Canadians back home, CUSO volunteers and staff largely sympathized with the Igbo secessionists, but in doing so they ran afoul of their own government, which was locked in battle with homegrown separatists. Compton Brouwer argues that remaining in the country was the “least political step to take” despite pressures from the mostly pro-Biafran staff and volunteers to reconsider CUSO's programs in Nigeria (149). Here, CUSO justified its decision by noting that it was providing aid to people, not governments. While that decision was unpopular in many circles, including some parts of CUSO's head office in Ottawa, its ‘pragmatic approach’ won it allies with the Nigerian and Canadian governments and allowed it to effectively resume its work once the civil war came to an unexpected end in 1970. Overall, Compton Brouwer concludes that

the Biafran experience represented CUSO's political coming of age. (150)

Compton Brouwer's analysis of the Nigerian experience also nicely encapsulates the historic debates over the effectiveness of western aid and development policies. That CUSO's overwhelming focus on formal education was largely directed to more privileged Nigerians presented CUSO with a conundrum. Didn't such a program that was directed largely towards the children of the privileged further widen disparities in the Global South? Further, were CUSO volunteers not taking 'middle class' jobs from Nigerians, (a complaint that was increasingly being expressed by Nigerians themselves)? But CUSO's dependence on governments both at home and abroad placed it in this awkward position. If the Nigerian government wanted high school teachers, then CUSO had little choice but to supply them. Furthermore, because CUSO's government funding was based on how many volunteers it placed in the field, cutting the Nigerian education program would imperil its entire programming. Finally, when CUSO attempted to supplement its education program with 'grassroots' community development, most projects foundered due to the volunteers' lack of experience and their short-term service. As a result, CUSO had to content itself with the fact that in the grand scheme of things it could do no more than "make a few wretched lives more tolerable" (176).

Compton Brouwer ends her analysis by examining CUSO's long term impacts, which she claims, were not surprisingly more significant at home than overseas. Taking umbrage with popular declension narratives about sixties idealism, Compton Brouwer argues that while a more professional approach replaced the idealism of CUSO founders, most volunteers never lost faith in the righteousness of the cause and they continued the fight for justice, equality, and human dignity in a whole range of activities and organizations upon their return. Through such work as development education (DevEd), CUSO's 'returned volunteers' (RVs) were, and continue to be, she argues, crucial in compelling Canadians to live up to their image as humane internationalists.

With *Canada's Global Villagers*, Canadians finally have a scholarly account of their own 'Peace Corps.' Like Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman's account of the American Peace Corps in *All You Need is Love*, this is a history written largely from the perspective of its participants. Both authors, for good or bad, take much of their oral testimony at face value in order to better understand what volunteers and leaders thought they were accomplishing, both personally and in the larger cause of international development. That said, much of the general history of CUSO that appears *Canada's Global Villagers* can also be found in much greater detail in Ian Smillie's insider's account of the organization's first twenty-five years, *The Land of Lost Content*.³ As a former volunteer and executive director, Smillie's highly critical account focuses mostly on the internal workings and debates of the organization, particularly those involving programming in South Africa, Kampuchea, and Cuba. On these issues, as well as the tempestuous relationship between the organization's French and English wings, scholars interested in CUSO and Canada's early NGO network should still consult Smillie's account. Indeed, though entitled *Canada's Global Villagers*, there are no

³ Ian Smillie, *The Land of Lost Content: A History of CUSO* (Toronto: Deneau Publishers, 1985).

volunteer or staff accounts from French Canadians who worked with CUSO to understand how the cause and politics of international development emerged and matured in French Canada, and how SUCO's own growing radicalism led to the permanent separation of the two solitudes in this field.

While not entirely celebratory, Compton Brouwer's analysis of CUSO's actual impact on development in the Global South may at times be too forgiving. Much of the recent literature on development NGOs note that their programs are frequently characterized by problems of quality control, limited sustainability, poor coordination, and general amateurism.⁴ While Compton Brouwer is familiar with those critiques, she largely assumes that CUSO's actions were at best "modest interventions" (230) and at worst benignly ineffectual. However, NGOs are also products of the same social, political, and economic forces that create and perpetuate underdevelopment in the Global South. As such, CUSO's close political connections with CIDA need to be analyzed more critically. Many of the founders of CUSO, including Keith Spicer and Lewis Perinbam, promoted development from not only a state-centric modernization perspective, but also one that would promote Canadian interests first and foremost. Indeed, as Stephen Brown has recently noted, Spicer saw altruism as a weakness, not a strength, of the "Canadian way of development."⁵ While it is true that Compton Brouwer documents the intense internal debates between the pragmatists and the socialist roaders, more often than not it is the former, many of whom eventually went to work for CIDA, who come in for praise. In short, while CIDA and the Canadian government have been long derided for their rather stingy, ineffective, and self-serving development policies, CUSO and other NGOs come out unscathed and this largely remains true in Compton Brouwer's work.⁶

Nonetheless, *Canada's Global Villagers* is an important addition to the growing literature on the history of Canadian aid and development, much of which has heretofore focused too narrowly on institutional and policy development and little on the actual experiences of those who were responsible for delivering it.⁷ Compton Brouwer's account also does an

⁴ William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006); Samantha Nutt, *Damned Nations: Greed, Guns, Armies and Aid* (Toronto: Signal, 2012) and Nicholas Barry Shaw and Dru Oja Jay, *Paved with Good Intentions: Canada's Development NGOs from Idealism to Imperialism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2012).

⁵ Stephen Brown, "Canada's foreign aid before and after CIDA: Not a Samaritan state," *International Journal*, 68:3 (September 2013): 501-512.

⁶ Robert Carty and Virginia Smith, *Perpetuating Poverty: the Political Economy of Canadian Aid* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1981); Jamie Swift and Brian Tomlinson, *Conflicts of Interest: Canada and the Third World* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1991); Shaw and Jay, *Paved with Good Intentions*.

⁷ David Morrison, *Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998); Bruce Muirhead and Ronald N. Harpelle, *IRDC: 40 Years of Ideas, Innovation and Impact*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid University Press, 2010); Cranford Pratt (ed.), *Canadian International Development Assistance Policies: An Appraisal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Stephen Brown (ed.),

excellent job of placing CUSO's history within the larger context of Canadian postwar history and the intellectual history of aid and development more generally. Though the book will be of greatest interest to scholars of Canadian foreign aid and development policy, there is a lot here, particularly in the details of the volunteer testimonies, that will be useful to anyone interested in the various changes that swept through Canadian society in the post 1960 period. As such, Compton Brouwer's study will become the academic standard for a new generation of scholars working on Canadian aid and development history.

Struggling for Effectiveness: CIDA and Canadian Foreign Aid (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

Ruth Compton Brouwer has written an important book. *Canada's Global Villagers* is a serious historical study of the most significant Canadian development assistance non-governmental organization (NGO) during what Compton Brouwer justly refers to as a rather golden age of NGO activism and activity. Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) was the first NGO to receive funding from Ottawa's newly created (and now defunct) Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and for a long time was the greatest beneficiary of CIDA sponsorship. Only four years after its founding in 1961, CUSO was considered one of the largest peace corps in the world, and its impact on the Canadian development assistance scene remained extensive throughout the Cold-War era. CUSO deserves to have the story of its most significant years told, and Compton Brouwer's extensive investigation of the organization's archives, substantiated and corroborated by approximately 100 oral history interviews, makes her book valuable and unique within a relatively limited historical literature on early Canadian official and unofficial development assistance initiatives. Moreover, in spite of her clear sense of nostalgia for what she refers to as "a better time for northern NGOs" (6), Compton Brouwer has produced a monograph that is, for the most part, remarkably balanced, demonstrating not just CUSO's successes, but also its many missteps, disappointments, and indeed failures.

The book's organizational structure is unusual, but generally effective. Compton Brouwer begins her story chronologically, providing an impressive archivally-based analysis of CUSO's origins and formative years. *Canada's Global Villagers* then weaves a case study of CUSO volunteers' early experiences in India and later experiences in Nigeria in between a thoughtful analysis of conflicts within the Canadian developmental assistance community in the 1970s and a much less effective reflection on the impact of CUSO some fifty years after it sent its first volunteers abroad. That final chapter, derived almost exclusively from Compton Brouwer's interviews, will likely delight CUSO stalwarts – be they former volunteers, current or retired staff, or NGO activists – but is unconvincing as academic scholarship.

Those who study Canadian development assistance policy, and development more generally, will benefit from Compton Brouwer's level-headed insights into a number of critical themes and ideas. Consider, for example, the NGO-CIDA dynamic: relying on government funding to sustain operations, the author writes, necessitated that CUSO administrators abandon some of the utopian idealism that drove the recruitment of the organization's earliest volunteers and focus more conscientiously on identifying development professionals with relevant experience and skill-sets (41). *Canada's Global Villagers* considers the internal divides within CUSO, most evident in the 1970s when what appears to have been a relatively small, yet exceptionally vocal minority advocated political activism and support for national liberation movements (even if such behaviour alienated government supporters in Ottawa), with great tact. Even Compton Brouwer's apparent, and indeed justifiable, disappointment in the radicals is couched far more diplomatically than it might have been: "Though other Canadian NGOs," she notes, "also became politicized during the 1970s, they generally did so with less controversy and less call on the public

purse and without the youthful swagger that sometimes marked CUSO” (134). Her discussion reveals the challenges faced by the development assistance community as their understanding of both what development was, and how they could contribute to it evolved. Within a decade of CUSO’s founding, she explains, “the faith that modernization and goodwill could facilitate sustained growth in the developing world and amicable relationships with its peoples” (95) had been replaced by a more realistic sense of the limits of development assistance and the dangers of doing more harm than good. Indeed, “there were parts of the developing world where Canadian volunteers and other Western ‘do-gooders’ were not wanted, or where the terms or conditions of work were unacceptable” (102). For some volunteers, politicization appears to have been turned to out of desperation: having lost confidence in the impact of their micro-level contributions, they came to believe that only revolution could create a more just and equitable global society.

Thanks largely to Compton Brouwer’s ability to juxtapose her oral histories alongside the official records, *Canada’s Global Villagers* also reveals much about the experiences and character of Canada’s first cohorts of development assistance volunteers. The author notes, for example, the intriguing “pattern of religious declension” (40) that seems to have characterized the average CUSO volunteer. Members of the organization’s initial core seem to have been brought up in religious households and then to have gradually drifted away from traditional religion without abandoning the social justice ideals that faith can inspire. Compton Brouwer also finds evidence of a remarkable maturity among many of the young idealists who first volunteered to travel far from home to make a difference. Certainly, she concedes, they arrived in the developing world naïve and unprepared. Nonetheless, particularly in India, many adapted quickly, recognized their personal limitations as well as their capacity to contribute, and adjusted their behaviour accordingly.

Compton Brouwer’s willingness to recognize the good and the bad of the early CUSO experience reveals a bitter irony that underlies much of the book. Even though development assistance is meant to be recipient centric – an effort to help the developing world help itself – CUSO’s most significant achievements are generally ascribed to the situation at home. Volunteers came back to Canada “enriched by their overseas experience and anxious to make Canada a less parochial and more generous country” (10). The time abroad gave “them confidence to take on challenging new roles as they moved on with their lives” (184). Perhaps, *Canada’s Global Villagers* hesitates to imply, it had to be that way. As Compton Brouwer points out, however reluctantly at times, it is difficult to delineate the outcomes of much of CUSO’s outreach in the recipient states. When CUSO celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, many in the organization were even hesitant to celebrate “given the reality that in many places where it worked conditions had actually worsened rather than improved over the years” (229).

To this reviewer, *Canada’s Global Villagers* should have stopped there. Instead, however, the book concludes with a defensive and largely unconvincing account of CUSO’s significance and the impact of its volunteers. In justifying the advocacy that she had already demonstrated to have divided the CUSO leadership and harmed the relationship with CIDA, Compton Brouwer writes, without any evidence: “despite problems in the delivery, and

perception, of development education message, there were *undoubtedly* [italics added] positive outcomes from CUSO's involvement in this kind of activity, however difficult to quantify and, often, slow to materialize" (202). The suggestion that a large number of returning CUSO volunteers obtained graduate degrees (210) is equally troubling: how the developing world benefited from these volunteers' subsequent academic learning is unclear. The suggestion that "CUSO volunteers' interracial and international marriages *may in a small way have contributed* [italics added] to a liberalizing of attitudes in the Canadian communities to which they returned" (218) is another unsubstantiated statement that betrays the balanced, and significantly more convincing, assessment of the previous chapters.

In sum, *Canada's Global Villagers* is an excellent piece of scholarship that, until its final chapter, provides a realistic, and perhaps therefore disturbing, sense of the impact, or lack thereof, of early Canadian development assistance initiatives on efforts to alleviate global poverty on a sustainable basis. That the efforts of CUSO's volunteers were rarely as effective as were their hopes is hardly shameful. And that these young Canadians generally benefited more from their service overseas than did citizens of those countries whom they supported is not surprising. Development assistance is neither easy nor a panacea, and it is only through the early failures that professionals in the developing and the developed worlds have been able to adapt, develop, and implement new strategies that have demonstrated real results.

Why do we write history? Leopold von Ranke famously asserted that the purpose of scholarship is not “judging the past,” but merely to “tell how it really was.”¹

In *Canada's Global Villagers*, Ruth Compton Brouwer follows von Ranke's dictate. She creates a historical map of 'Canada's Peace Corps' that is more precise and detailed than any previous rendering. Readers interested in what Canadians were up to in 'the sixties' and the tumultuous decade and a half that followed will find Compton Brouwer's book illuminating. They'll also find out why Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) rejected the label of Peace Corps “lookalike” that many tried to stick on it. CUSO was no echo or imitation of President John F. Kennedy's initiative. Its values, design, and motivations were all-Canadian. That said, CUSO volunteers were eager participants in a youth generation worldwide that challenged racial injustice, and sought ways of spreading wealth more equitably around the planet. They were villagers not only of the 'Third World,' but communards of the radical and progressive movements that swept wealthier countries as well.

Compton Brouwer charts CUSO's history from its founders' first inklings in the late 1950s. As other historians and several memoirists have noted, CUSO had multiple, competing helicopter parents. Formally launched at the start of the United Nations' 'Development Decade,' CUSO brought together several grassroots initiatives that sprang from the fertile loam of post-war idealism. Graduate and undergraduate organizers drew inspiration from the 1958 tract and Do It Yourself handbook of Donald Faris, a Canadian “missionary-turned-UN-aid-worker,” who exhorted young people to devote their talents and time to creating “friendship, goodwill, and understanding” between east and west, north and south (13-14). His *To Plow With Hope* was published the same year as Eugene Burdick and William Lederer's *The Ugly American*, with similar effects in the two neighboring nations.²

Higher up the social scale, university presidents and government functionaries drew inspiration from yet another source. They saw the work already being done by Australian and British volunteers in Asia, and urged Canadian youth to bring their own distinctive national values to complementary efforts. Canada was a “city set on a hill,” claimed Lewis Perinbam, one of CUSO's first administrators, who helped persuade the various spin-off organizations to combine under one roof and turn a single, shining face onto the Third World (20). Compton Brouwer acknowledges that John F. Kennedy's star power “gave the phenomenon momentum” (19), but as her book makes plain, Canadian idealism and angst fueled the movement from the outset.

The Canadian program had other distinctions, as well. Unlike the American Peace Corps,

¹ Ranke quoted in Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York: Norton, 1999), 14.

² Donald Faris, *To Plow with Hope* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); Eugene Burdick and William Lederer, *The Ugly American* (New York: Norton, 1958).

CUSO required host countries to pay volunteers' living stipends. This introduced the problem of making sure that volunteers did not take jobs from potentially qualified host nationals, for whom even a minimal stipend meant a lot. CUSO avoided much of the Cold War animus that dogged American volunteers during that era, and even sent young people to Cuba to experience and help build socialism first-hand (205).

Yet CUSO was also very much a part of its times, and part of the charm of Compton Brouwer's work is to witness the inner soul-searching of volunteers indoctrinated in the works of Ivan Illich (*Deschooling Society*) and Paulo Freire (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*), which told them that "white" volunteers had nothing to teach people of color even though local governments asked them to do precisely that: teach English, math, and so-called "Western science" to children who were the hope of their nations (103-104).³ CUSO also struggled, as did many other international assistance programs when the sixties became more radical, over whether or not to continue sending recent college graduates as volunteers, or skills-oriented 'cooperants' instead—as CUSO eventually chose to do. "To Serve and Learn," CUSO's humble yet enthusiastic first motto, gave way to the technocratic claim, "Development is Our Business" (97).⁴

Ruth Compton Brouwer's uncontroversial chronology of CUSO's growth and development is not likely to raise eyebrows, except among those determined to see "colonial-style paternalism" in CUSO's every word and action, regardless of the considerable pains taken by volunteers and administrators to fashion a non-racist world and carve "a new path" in world affairs (41). It is true that no perfect human beings signed up for the program, but it is equally true that everyone who did was prepared to endure grueling, even dangerous conditions for at least two years to make the world a better place. It's a claim few can make, especially those whom sixties activists once called armchair revolutionaries.

Volunteers also enjoyed themselves, at least some of the time. Only persons with an adventurous spirit could possibly sign on to such a program, and many found the adventures they sought. *Canada's Global Villagers* will intrigue those interested in knowing more about the hopefulness that infected not only volunteers in the 1960s, but also their hosts in Africa and Asia who sometimes assumed, perhaps naively, that they had won all their hardest battles simply by escaping colonialism.

Historians of the subject will find *Canada's Global Villagers* a useful addition to a growing literature on the international youth volunteer movement. Compton Brouwer's book will be read alongside those on the Peace Corps, British Voluntary Service Overseas, and Australian Volunteers Abroad. There remains a dearth of literature (especially in English)

³ Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1971) and Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin, 1970).

⁴ On the international debate, and divide, among youth volunteer programs that nudged programs like CUSO in one direction, and its British and American counterparts in another, see Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 242-247.

on their counterparts in Germany, France, Japan, Israel, the Netherlands, and the many other countries that jumped into the fray with both feet after 1961.

Every author writes the book that appeals to her own vision. If Compton Brouwer had asked my advice before publishing the fine book she did, I would have asked for further contextual detail on Canada itself in this era. What made these global villagers uniquely 'Canadian?' From what tensions within Canadian society did their yearnings spring? Also, how did Canada's national challenges shape CUSO? American volunteers were deeply compromised by the war in Vietnam, as is well known. Other than for the hostility between Anglophone and Francophone volunteers, how were Canada's internal struggles reflected in CUSO? For example, Compton Brouwer alludes to the untimely death of the Company of Young Canadians, a domestic program employing young radicals that appears to have given offense one-too-many times, and found its head on the chopping block (120). Nowhere does she give more than hints to its dire fate, which may tantalize and puzzle readers outside Canada. She tells us how the past "really was," but does not deeply explore the question 'why?'

The 'sixties,' which lasted well through the seventies and into the eighties for many activists, remains a fertile, nearly virgin field for serious research in world history. Ruth Compton Brouwer has 'plowed with hope,' and planted the seeds for on-going inquiry. One can hardly ask for more.

Review by Ryan Touhey, St. Jerome's University (University of Waterloo)

In May 1960, Chester Ronning, Canada's High Commissioner to India, prepared a general review of Canada's relations with India for senior officials in the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa. The trajectory of the relationship concerned Ronning, and he described a relationship "based on ignorance rather than knowledge." For Ronning, "relations between the two countries" had "always been basically thin and superficial." And one reason for that was that "[f]ew Canadians, except missionaries, have had much first-hand experience of India, our trade with India has been very slight, and very few Indians have ever thought about Canada except in terms of the few leading Canadian personalities whom they had read about."¹ Ronning's poignant observation reflected the fact that bilateral relations with India, including development assistance, were conducted almost solely at the official government-to-government level and Canada's public diplomacy efforts in India, let alone globally, were, to say the least, underwhelming.

So what does Ronning's observation have to do with Ruth Compton Brouwer's engaging study, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86*? A fair bit in fact. *Canada's Global Villagers* is a study of the first twenty-five years of the most significant Canadian international development nongovernmental organization (NGO) to emerge in the early 1960s. Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) had some similarities to the U.S. Peace Corps – both groups were established in the same year. Founded in 1961, a year after Ronning's analysis, CUSO pursued development work largely independent of the Canadian government (and before the creation of the Canadian International Development Agency in 1968) in the newly decolonized Third World, particularly in key Commonwealth countries such as India and Nigeria. Connecting to Ronning's observation, Compton Brouwer deftly notes that one key aspect of CUSO's worth was that its "thousands of volunteers became the human face of Canada in many parts of the developing world" arriving with ignorance but returning home with knowledge (6). After initial scepticism, Ronning came to embrace the CUSO volunteers who came to India for their dedicated efforts and for "creating a favourable impression for Canada" (26). Soon CUSO was receiving federal funding and regarded by Prime Minister Lester Pearson "as the principal Canadian agency devoted to providing opportunities for young Canadians to serve as volunteers on long-term contracts in developing countries" (27). Indeed, by the mid 1980s CUSO claimed to have had 9,000 participants, who were known as returned volunteers (RV). Compton Brouwer rightly notes that, despite CUSO's size and longevity, historians of Canadian international relations have not examined CUSO or the role of NGOs and other non state actors in contributing to Canada's post-1945 international identity, especially in the field of development assistance - one recent and notable exception being David Webster's *Fire and the Full Moon: Canada and Indonesia in a Decolonizing World* which examines, in part, McGill University's academic ties with Indonesia in the 1960s. This neglect means that the works of "political scientists, journalists, aid practitioners and consultants" have dominated the literature to

¹ See Ronning to SSEA, May 19, 1960 <http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/206/301/faitc-aecic/history/2013-05-03/www.international.gc.ca/department/history-histoire/dcer/details-en.asp@intRefid=12835>

date in which passing attention has been given to CUSO's overseas work and effort. Compton Brouwer sets out to correct this paucity while hoping that her book will encourage further studies (5-6).

The study focuses on what might be regarded as CUSO's golden era from 1961-1986. CUSO began with the goal of sending young educated Canadians to developing countries for two-year volunteer assignments and its origins reflected "a rapidly growing international phenomenon in the early 1960s that Western youth could make a positive difference in overseas development work (19). The myriad volunteers were predominantly young university-educated Canadians with little "advance knowledge about the history, geography and government of the countries where CUSO had work" but who were sparked with a sense of adventure, wonder, and determined to help fill a need (35).

To trace this unique story, *Canada's Global Villagers* is based on an impressive range of oral history - over a hundred interviews of former CUSO members and affiliates - as well as extensive archival research of which the CUSO collection at Ottawa's Library and Archives Canada is the dominant source. Compton Brouwer's use of oral history allows the voices of the RVs to shine through the five chapters that comprise the study, not including the introduction and conclusion. Chapter One examines how and why CUSO emerged and what sort of young Canadians were drawn towards an idealistic mission of "helping out in newly decolonized countries" and "promoting international understanding" (12). Chapter Two examines CUSO's bittersweet time in India from 1961 until 1972. India provided CUSO's first major destination foray into development work. The chapter explores the lessons and experiences gained by the RVs and Compton Brouwer concludes that "most volunteers seem to have adapted willingly to the physical hardships" and coped with "a lack of structure" in their placements (61). These were days of optimism and ideals but the promise of India quickly soured in the early 1970s. The CUSO presence in India lasted until 1972, when Indira Gandhi's government 'encouraged' western NGOs, including CUSO, to leave India (88).

Chapter Three traces CUSO's transformation in Canada and organizational conflict as it began its second decade. As the 1970s progressed CUSO's expanding membership and its leaders questioned its purpose, particularly how it should "do" development, and this created questions about CUSO's future (95). The exuberant idealism of CUSO's formative years, which was characterized by a sense that "young Canadian volunteers equipped with BAs and goodwill" could foster transformation in the developing world came under attack from a leftist, more radical shift prompting demands from within to "professionalize" or "politicize" CUSO (133). Tensions within the NGO came to a head in 1979, threatening CUSO's existence, until a new director - Ian Smillie - established needed stability. Chapter Four focuses on CUSO's tumultuous era in Nigeria and how its volunteers responded to a series of opportunities and challenges. Nigeria appeared full of promise and eager to accept development assistance from the west, unlike the grudging acceptance of the Nehru-Gandhi governments in India. Following independence in 1961, the Nigerian government approached CUSO to provide secondary-school teachers. By 1979, it was estimated that one-third of CUSO's members were said to be serving in the West African nation (138). But by that point Nigeria had become "CUSO's most dangerous posting"(138). Volunteers coped

with a myriad of hazards like the violent Biafran civil war from 1967-1970, military coups, dangerous roads, and robbery. Some volunteers died in Nigeria, others were maimed (138). And as with India, political circumstances - and the public mood - affected CUSO's ability to carry on when the military government "effectively declared CUSO redundant" in the mid-1980s. However, "the most significant source of national dissatisfaction affecting CUSO was the high level of unemployment among educated Nigerians" (180). Despite these obstacles, Compton Brouwer believes that volunteers and staff "generally rose to the challenges" that they encountered and CUSO's reach proved extensive with "placements in virtually every Nigerian state" (138). Apart from riveting detail on the living and field conditions that volunteers encountered, Chapter Four is also noteworthy for the fact that it is one of the first writings we have on a Canadian linkage with Nigeria.

Chapter Five details how the RVs adjusted to life back in Canada and to what extent their overseas sojourns influenced their future career and familial paths. Arguably it is Chapter Five that is the most important part of the book if we are to gauge whether the RVs had an impact on Canadian attitudes towards the developing world and in shaping government policy. Compton Brouwer believes that the volunteers "returned home enriched by their overseas experience and anxious to make Canada a less parochial and more generous country" (10). And this study does show that many CUSO alumni remained engaged in international affairs and pursued careers in development work. Not surprisingly, the Canadian International Development Agency and the International Development Research Centre (established in 1968 and 1970) were the two main destinations for former CUSO members. Both agencies pursued and attracted RVs. In the case of CIDA, a number of RVs and former CUSO staff rose to the senior ranks of CIDA. Other RVs found work with NGOs like Oxfam and CARE. (191) Others pursued teaching careers while some "simply moved on" with their lives upon return (225). Through Compton Brouwer's extensive oral history research it is clear that many RVs had successful careers and they believed that they had personally and professionally benefited from their overseas experiences.

So what are we to make of CUSO's first twenty-five years and the impact of the RVs at home and abroad? On CUSO's overseas impact, the book could have benefitted from a bit more analysis and ideally a sense of how the Indian and Nigerian governments viewed CUSO. Compton Brouwer is clearly sympathetic to CUSO and with many of her interviewees. At moments *Canada's Global Villagers* becomes bogged down in the lives and anecdotal experiences of the RVs when the trickier questions of gauging CUSO's success at home and abroad are perhaps not as fully grappled with as fully as they could be. As the study shows, CUSO was essentially pushed out of two of its most important sites of operation and at times volunteers questioned whether they were making a difference. Although the reasons for CUSO's Indian and Nigerian end of operations were beyond the book's scope, the specific circumstances regarding the departures are not dealt with as thoroughly as they could be and I wondered what it meant with regards to CUSO's legacy. For instance, one early CUSO member expressed the following: "Of one thing I am certain - on returning to Canada the volunteers now in India will be able to do a great deal to promote good relations and friendship" between the two countries (pg. 61). That hope went unfulfilled, as bilateral relations with India steadily deteriorated throughout the 1960s and 1970s, suggesting that there were limitations of what CUSO members and RVs could achieve if

they proved passionate about India and returned to Canada to join the civil service ranks as Compton Brouwer notes many of the RVs did. Indeed, by 1976 Ottawa deliberately curtailed its substantial foreign aid programme to India and that trend continued well into the 1980s. The author describes CUSO's withdrawal from India as "undoubtedly awkward," and it would be interesting to know more about Ottawa's reaction and that of CUSO's head office to New Delhi's decision in 1972 (88).

Compton Brouwer also observes an interesting distinction in how RVs experienced India and Nigeria and the extent to which lifelong bonds with the placement countries were achieved. Generally she notes that those who served in India reflected fondly on their experiences and many travelled back to India to revisit their former placement sites. By contrast, "Nigeria did not inspire CUSO alumni with a similar zeal for sentimental return journeys" (221). This is a fascinating difference and the book would have been strengthened by a better sense as to what impact this may have had – especially if as Compton Brouwer points out that RVs returned home to Canada as educators, policymakers, and development consultants. Did negative experiences abroad become manifest in public talks about their experiences? In CIDA policy memos? And the reader is left to assume that socio-political instability in Nigeria is what fostered the different perceptions. This is an example where I would have preferred more of Compton Brouwer's analysis and less of RV reflections/narrative. And while Compton Brouwer interviewed a wide array of RVs, there were thousands that she obviously could not. Yet she extrapolates from the sample pool that while many CUSO RVs moved on, it should not be "readily concluded that those alumni who largely disappeared from view left no development impact on their families and communities and were not themselves permanently shaped by their experience" (225). Perhaps this was the case, but on the other hand we cannot fully know that either.

Finally, I return to the question of what can we make of CUSO's impact. Compton Brouwer acknowledges that at the time of CUSO's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1986, the organization was "hesitant to celebrate the milestone, given the reality that in many places where it worked conditions had actually worsened rather than improved" (229). And she asks what CUSO had accomplished during the first quarter century of its existence. We get a tantalizing glimpse on the importance that a direct CUSO volunteer connection could have with the case of a Nigerian High Commissioner to Canada meeting his former CUSO teacher and acknowledging her impact on his life (232). But we do not get a robust sense of what the organization itself achieved: "Insiders and specialists in the world of NGOs point out that assessing their performance is 'a difficult and messy business,' and therefore often not done, or not done at well." (229) Given that this is the first extensive and rigorous history of CUSO, I would have hoped for Compton Brouwer to have commented on such observations from practitioners rather than taking them at face value. Instead, the book is more comfortable and stronger on the experiences and journeys of CUSO members and on questions of how the RVs viewed their contributions.

Those points aside, the CUSO story needs to be told, thus making *Canada's Global Villagers* an important contribution and a most welcome addition to what has been a recent rich harvest of works by Canadian historians on Canadian international history after decades of

neglect.² CUSO created the first sustained significant non-governmental linkage between Canada and a recently decolonizing world with volunteers placed across Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. And in terms of Ronning's observation that few Canadians had direct experience with India (as was the case with the developing world in general), CUSO offered a direct path to change that, thereby adding new voices into the development and policy conversation beyond officials in Ottawa and the Canadian bureaucracy. The specific chapters on India and Nigeria in *Canada's Global Villagers* alone are invaluable given the paucity of work on those subjects. Compton Brouwer's crisply written study is ground breaking and will be the starting point for years to come. It will surely encourage other scholars to explore the role of Canadian overseas NGOs and their impact on questions of development and foreign policy.

² See Michael Carroll, *Pearson's Peacemakers: Canada and the United Nations Emergency Force, 1956-67*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Adam Chapnick, *Canada's Voice: The Public Life of John Wendell Holmes*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Julie Gilmour, *Trouble on Main Street: Mackenzie King, Reason, Race and the 1907 Vancouver Riots*, (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2014); John Meehan, *Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai: Canada's Early Relations with China, 1858-1952*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); David Meren, *With Friends Like These: Entangled Nationalisms in the Canada-Quebec-France Triangle*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012); Kevin Spooner, *Canada the Congo Crisis and U.N. Peacekeeping, 1960-1964*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); David Webster, *Fire and the Full Moon: Canada and Indonesia in a Decolonizing World*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

Author's Response by Ruth Compton Brouwer, Professor Emerita, King's University College,
Western University, Canada

As Andrew Preston observed in 2012 in his response to the reviews of his *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith* in an H-Diplo Roundtable Review, having one's book discussed in the Roundtable "has quickly become a professional honor."¹ Since my academic training did not involve either the old or the "new" diplomatic history, I am especially appreciative of the honour. My doctoral thesis-turned-monograph was published in the University of Toronto Press's Social History of Canada series and came out of a background that it seems appropriate to mention in light of some points raised by the reviewers. A feminist-inspired interest in returning to university to study women's history had led serendipitously to the thesis: Canadian women missionaries in India. Having discovered the fascination of following Canadians into the non-Western world, I ultimately came to CUSO and to a generation of volunteers whose broad demographic profile I shared and whose idealism and *chutzpah* I admired. My historiographical choices and affinities have unquestionably been affected by the personal and the autobiographical. All this as prelude to thanking Tom Maddux for orchestrating this particular roundtable, Greg Donaghy for introducing it, and reviewers Kevin Bruschett, Adam Chapnick, Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, and Ryan Touhey for writing me into the H-Diplo family and discussing my book with a judicious mix of enthusiasm and scholarly reservation. In what follows I deal with some broad themes and criticisms raised by the reviewers and highlighted by Donaghy, proceeding in a peripatetic but I hope not illogical way.

Let me begin by drawing on my Introduction to *Canada's Global Villagers* to provide a brief outline of what the book seeks to do. Following a first chapter that describes the founding of Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) and the volunteers' backgrounds – seemingly a largely unproblematic chapter for the reviewers and therefore not much commented upon by them – the book deals both with what the volunteers and their organization tried to do in and for the Global South (Chapters, 2, 3, and 4) and with what they thought retrospectively about their accomplishments (Conclusion). Chapter 5 considers "the question of the long-term impact of the volunteer experience on Canadian society and *on the volunteers themselves*" (8, emphasis added). The consensus that emerged among supporters and returned volunteers (RVs) alike, I suggested, was that the latter ultimately made their greatest contribution to development back in Canada and that it was they rather than those they had gone off to 'serve' who benefitted most from their foray into the developing world. By reviewing my intentions for *Canada's Global Villagers*, I want respectfully to suggest that I have largely followed through on my stated agenda and that some of the omissions noted by one or more reviewers were not part of that agenda, however important they are as subjects for future research.

In *Empire of Humanity*, Michael Barnett acknowledges that in the course of researching his book and interviewing aid practitioners, he committed "a grave social science sin," viz, "I fell

¹ <http://h-diplo.org/roundtables/PDF/Roundtable-XIV-11.pdf>

in love with my subject².” Although each of the reviewers expresses it somewhat differently and in regard to different parts of my book, they and Donaghy seem to agree that I, too, have committed that sin. They are right about the sentiment, as I have already acknowledged. With regard to my chapters on what he calls “CUSO’s actual impact on development in the Global South,” Brushett believes that “I may at times be too forgiving.” Likewise, Touhey observes that I am “clearly sympathetic” to CUSO and many of my interviewees and that my book “could have benefitted from a bit more analysis.” While Chapnick judges most of *Canada’s Global Villagers* to be “remarkably balanced” in its assessment of CUSO’s successes and failures, he sees an egregious tendency to sympathy in Chapter 5, where I deal with RVs on the home front (about which more anon). But is sympathy in an academic work necessarily a sin, one that precludes sound judgements? If so, numerous historians of feminism and the New Left – to cite just two categories of engaged scholarship that were rich sites of productivity in the last half of the twentieth century – have also erred. While I have undoubtedly worn my heart on my sleeve more than has been common in traditional studies in international relations, it is simply a fact that historians have largely moved away from making claims for a total absence of subjectivity in their work.

I stand by the decision to rely largely on the volunteers’ own retrospective assessments of what they contributed in the Global South. In my concluding chapter I encapsulated these assessments with the “gnat against elephant” (229) metaphor used by one early volunteer and suggested that the volunteers seemed to have come to terms with having accomplished, at best, only small, discrete tasks. Theirs, I observed, were undertakings of the sort recognized in William Easterly’s *The White Man’s Burden* as “doable actions” and “modest interventions that make people’s lives better.”³ Touhey wishes that I had not been so ready to accept “at face value” the assertions of insider specialists that assessing NGO performance in the developing world is a difficult task and therefore not done often or not done well. Perhaps some of those specialists *are* simply trying to avoid hard judgments and thereby save their jobs and their projects. In his *Africa in the World*, VSO-volunteer-turned-academic Stephen Ellis notes in a chapter aptly titled “A World of Light and Shade” that the aid business in Africa has had room both for the truly dedicated and for “figures of breathtaking hypocrisy.”⁴ But I do not take hypocrisy to be the norm. It seems to me that a lot of genuine soul searching has gone on within the world of NGOs, particularly since the dawn of the twenty-first century, about the realities and reasons for aid failures. Although I put a great deal of research into *Canada’s Global Villagers*, I was not being falsely modest or simply seeking to avoid controversy in opting not to provide a detailed personal assessment of what CUSO accomplished on the ground but, rather, conscious of my limitations in that regard - and mindful of my purposes for this book. So I suppose that in “not ‘judging the past,’” I was

² Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), x.

³ William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden: Why the West’s Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 18 and 375 for the quoted phrases.

⁴ Stephen Ellis, *Africa in the World* (London: Hurst and Co., 2011), 33. VSO – Voluntary Service Overseas – began as a British NGO.

being Rankean, as Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman suggests, but as for being able to “tell how it really was,” which she believes I took on as my task, in that regard, too, I make no such claim. Indeed, wouldn’t any historian who has lived through post-modernism be reluctant to claim that she knows how it *really* was?

Chapter 3 of *Canada’s Global Villagers* deals with CUSO’s political activism and its complex relationship with CIDA. This was the chapter that I found most challenging to write. (Here, especially, the “story-telling” aspect of the book to which Donaghy disapprovingly refers actually did require a good deal of analysis.) I am thus particularly grateful that old CUSO hands from both sides of the pragmatists/socialist roaders divide who have read the chapter think I got it more or less right, and that the four reviewers find it plausible. Still, there are some assumptions made in Bruschetti’s discussion of CUSO/CIDA connections that merit attention. Far from favouring a “state-centric modernization perspective. . . that would promote Canadian interests first and foremost,” the young Keith Spicer who struggled as a graduate student to create CUSO’s predecessor, Canadian Overseas Volunteers (COV), was explicitly against such a perspective, as I make clear in Chapter 1 (16-17). The Spicer who in 1966 published his doctoral thesis as the pioneering monograph *A Samaritan State? External Aid in Canada’s Foreign Policy*⁵ had by then toned down the idealism of the early thesis draft in order to make it acceptable to his supervisor, Jim Eayrs. As Spicer wrote in his 2004 memoir in referring to the monograph, “I became devil’s advocate against my own ideals.”⁶ Foolishly, in *Canada’s Global Villagers*, I relegated this important point to an endnote (248, n30). As for that pragmatists/socialist roaders divide, it was probably never as important to, or as sharp among, the volunteers as Bruschetti’s wording implies. Nor, existing mainly in the seventies, was the divide solely responsible for the split between CUSO and SUCO (*Service Universitaire Canadien Outre-mer*). Indeed, SUCO was largely autonomous in its home-base and overseas operations from 1968 onward, driven by the strong *séparatiste* tendencies that, together with its socialist discourse, increasingly made it a political liability for its English-Canadian sibling. Ian Smillie’s insider history of CUSO⁷, which Bruschetti justly admires, tells the story of the tempestuous relationship between CUSO and its francophone sibling more fully and colourfully than I was able to do. Given their early split, not surprisingly I found no body of SUCO records in the CUSO fonds at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. Hence the decision, which I signalled early on (8, 28), to make volunteers and staff from English Canada the ‘global villagers’ of my book. I share Bruschetti’s eagerness to see a full history of SUCO, not only for what it can tell us about SUCO’s role in international development but also as a useful lens on a period of high tensions in French-English relations.

⁵ Keith Spicer, *A Samaritan State? External Aid in Canada’s Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

⁶ Keith Spicer, *Life Sentences: Memoirs of an Incurable Canadian* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2004), quotation at 63.

⁷ Kevin Bruschetti, *The Land of Lost Content: A History of CUSO* (Toronto: Deneau, 1985).

As for the chapter on Returned Volunteers and Canadian Society, which Chapnick thinks might better have been left out of my book, I confess that when I re-read it after seeing his assessment, I, too, was struck by the quantity of anecdotes. Let me further confess that there were even more in an earlier draft. Happily, the peer reviewer who read the revised version for the publisher found the voices of my interviewees an important feature of the manuscript and the chapter itself very much worthwhile. For Chapnick, the likelihood that the chapter will “delight CUSO stalwarts” is taken as evidence of its weakness. Personally, I shall be delighted if they like it. However, I wrote the chapter not mainly as a sop to my interviewees but rather in order to consider the various ways that an old CUSO slogan, “Involvement That Lasts a Lifetime,” played out in the RVs’ personal, professional, and community lives. Hence, my decision to include such matters as cross-race relationships and the seemingly high proportion of RVs who pursued graduate and professional studies (with regard to the latter and Peace Corps alumni, at least one book has been written on the subject⁸). Still, these matters took up a small part of a long chapter, and contrary to what Chapnick suggests, I make no claim that they benefitted the developing world. In regard, however, to RVs’ roles in development education, broadly understood, I do think it was valid to claim, on the basis of some suggestive evidence, that there were some positive outcomes “however difficult to quantify and, often, slow to materialize,” and that, “*together with other civil-society groups. . . they arguably contributed over time to changes in mainstream thinking*” (202, italics added). Consider, for instance, anti-apartheid activism. While, as its title suggests, Linda Freeman’s *The Ambiguous Champion: Canada and South Africa in the Trudeau and Mulroney Years*⁹ was focused on political leadership – or lack thereof – she and other scholars have certainly not discounted the significance of what became known as “the hassle factor” during those years, as I noted (202, 292, *nn*83, 86). Nor in his 1998 history of CIDA did David Morrison regard as futile the collective efforts of NGOs like CUSO to influence CIDA in the direction of what his fellow political scientist Cran Pratt referred to as a policy of “humane internationalism.”¹⁰ (See my concluding chapter, 234, and 299, *n*22.)

Certainly, unless one is convinced by some recent canny photo ops, it would be hard to argue that humane internationalism is the guiding principle of the Canadian government’s foreign aid decisions today, much less that activist RVs from CUSO’s first quarter-century made a *lasting* difference in persuading governments to put humanitarian concerns ahead of Canadian self-interest. Certainly, too, in the penultimate sentence of my book I overstated the case when I wrote that those activists “became a leaven in Canadian society” (235), since they clearly didn’t become “a pervasive transforming influence,” (meaning 2a in *The Oxford*

⁸ Brian E. Schwimmer and D. Michael Warren, eds., *Anthropology and the Peace Corps: Case Studies in Career Preparation* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993).

⁹ Linda Freeman, *The Ambiguous Champion: Canada and South Africa in the Trudeau and Mulroney Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

¹⁰ David Morrison, *Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press in association with the North-South Institute, 1998); Cran Pratt, ed., *Internationalism Under Strain: The North-South Policies of Canada, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), particularly Ch. 2.

Canadian Dictionary). But they *did* try. And they did have some small and incremental successes. Moreover, some of them are still trying. Even as I was drafting this response I came across an interview in OPENCANADA.ORG with Ian Smillie¹¹, a 1960s volunteer and CUSO's executive director from 1979 to 1983, and was reminded yet again of that fact. Hence my unease with Donaghy's generalization about "independent posturing and frothy idealism." Bruschetti's ongoing work on NGO-state relations, to which Donaghy refers, may well give these judgements more substance, but it is perhaps too early to cite it as the last word on this subject.

How could one be anything but grateful to colleagues who have devoted time and patience to evaluating a book that is admittedly something of an outlier in the field of international relations? That some of them have found useful information and insights for their own work in *Canada's Global Villagers* is a source of great satisfaction. As for their reservations and criticisms, I hope that I have dealt with those responsibly and without undue defensiveness. Cobbs Hoffman calls my book an "uncontroversial chronology." Perhaps I'm being thick-skinned, but I don't take that as an indictment so much as the perspective of a seasoned scholar who has recently written a provocative work on American foreign policy as well as, in 1998, a fine – and largely uncontroversial – study of the Peace Corps¹². She rightly recognizes that I have written the book that appeals to my own "vision." That vision, and the fact that the book was already both longer than I wanted it to be and later in being completed, account for some of the omissions of sources and topics noted by Touhey and Donaghy. As for Bruschetti's point that the numerical importance of women in CUSO is "perhaps underexplored," I think in retrospect that he is right, especially given the male-dominated gender ratio that continued to prevail in the Peace Corps into the 1980s. Likewise, I wish I had provided "further contextual detail on Canada itself in this era" the absence of which Cobbs Hoffman notes in the second-last paragraph of her review. I acknowledge that I was not much mindful of readers outside Canada in providing contextual details and now find myself thinking about the kinds of internal struggles and national sensitivities that could have been elaborated on (our lingering unease about our colonial and religious past? our prickly anti-Americanism? what else?) I very much hope that in regard to this omission and others I have "planted the seeds for on-going inquiry" as Cobbs Hoffman suggests. I look forward to a rich harvest.

¹¹ "Canada's Selective Approach to Development," interview, June 2, 2014, found at <http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/interviews/canadas-selective-approach-to-development>

¹² Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013) and *All You Need Is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).