



David Hopper

1927-2011

President of IDRC 1970-1978

From the IDRC website...

We are deeply saddened to announce the death of William David Hopper, IDRC's founding president and a pioneer of international development.

David Hopper was born in Ottawa in 1927. He trained in agricultural economics at McGill and Cornell universities. In 1962, he moved to India to become an economist with the Ford Foundation, and was later a field director with the Rockefeller Foundation's agricultural program.

When IDRC was established in 1970, Mr Hopper's field experience in development research, combined with his reputation as "one of the fathers of the Green Revolution" in South Asia, led to his appointment as the Centre's first president. He held the job until 1978.

David Hopper's leadership gave IDRC its early focus on agriculture, food, and nutrition, but his impact went far beyond that. His revolutionary approach to development defined our fundamental policies and activities — principles that not only guide the organization to this day, but continue to inform development practice worldwide.

He believed that poor countries do not need foreign experts to identify their local problems or explain how to solve them. Instead, aid recipients in developing regions should set their own research priorities, conduct their own studies, and find and apply their own solutions.

IDRC's role is to offer encouragement and support, or— as he quoted from the IDRC Act — to "assist the developing regions to build up the research capabilities, the innovation skills and the institutions required to solve

du site web du CRDI...

C'est avec une très grande tristesse que le CRDI a appris le décès de William David Hopper, son tout premier président et un pionnier du développement international.

Né à Ottawa en 1927, David Hopper a étudié l'économie agricole à l'Université McGill et à l'Université Cornell. En 1962, il s'est établi en Inde afin d'accepter le poste d'économiste auprès de la Fondation Ford. Il a plus tard dirigé les activités sur le terrain du programme de développement agricole de la Fondation Rockefeller, également en Inde.

Puisqu'il avait acquis sur le terrain une expérience en recherche pour le développement et qu'il était considéré comme « l'un des pères de la révolution verte » en Asie du Sud, M. Hopper a été nommé président du CRDI au moment de la création de l'organisme en 1970. Il a occupé cette fonction jusqu'en 1978.

Si l'on doit à David Hopper le choix du CRDI de privilégier dès la première heure l'agriculture, l'alimentation et la nutrition, la portée de son leadership s'est avérée beaucoup plus vaste encore. Son approche révolutionnaire du développement a façonné les façons de faire du CRDI. En plus de guider l'organisme encore aujourd'hui, les principes établis alors continuent d'éclairer les pratiques de développement partout dans le monde.

M. Hopper ne croyait pas que les pays pauvres devaient s'en remettre à des experts étrangers pour cerner leurs problèmes ou expliquer la manière de les résoudre. Il croyait plutôt que des bénéficiaires, dans des pays en développement, devaient établir leurs propres priorités de recherche, mener leurs propres travaux et trouver et adopter leurs

their problems.”

This grassroots approach led him to champion the international composition of IDRC’s Board of Governors and staff, and to insist that local capacity building should be a key aim of all of our activities.

After leaving IDRC, Hopper served as vice-president of the World Bank until his retirement in 1990. He is survived by his wife Ruth Zagorin, first director of IDRC’s Social Sciences Division. He passed away on November 22, 2011 in Washington DC, aged 84.

propres solutions.

Le rôle du CRDI consiste à offrir soutien et encouragement ou, comme David Hopper l’a lui-même dit en citant la Loi sur le Centre de recherches pour le développement international, à aider les régions du monde en voie de développement à se doter du potentiel — en personnel et institutions — de recherche scientifique et d’innovation technique nécessaire à la solution de leurs problèmes.

C’est cette démarche menée à partir de la base qui a amené M. Hopper à insister sur le caractère international du Conseil des gouverneurs et de l’effectif du CRDI de même que sur l’importance de faire du renforcement des capacités à l’échelle locale un objectif central de toutes les activités du Centre.

Après avoir quitté le CRDI, M. Hopper a été nommé vice-président de la Banque mondiale et est demeuré à ce poste jusqu’à sa retraite, en 1990. Décédé le 22 novembre 2011 à Washington, DC, à l’âge de 84 ans, il laisse dans le deuil son épouse, Ruth Zagorin, autrefois directrice de la Division des sciences sociales du CRDI

Celebration of David Hopper's Life February 10, Washington D.C.

David Hopper’s Memorial Event, February 10, 2012, Washington DC

On Friday February 10th from 3 to 6pm, friends and former colleagues gathered at the Cosmos Club near Dupont Circle in Washington, DC, to remember Dr. W. David Hopper, the first President of IDRC (1970-78) who passed away on November 22, 2011 at the age of 84. I only had a five minute walk from my office to find a group of old friends from that first decade of IDRC, some I had not seen in over 30 years, including Dr. Ruth Zagorin, David’s wife and then Director of IDRC’s Social Science Division.

Ruth welcomed and thanked everyone for coming, speaking briefly of Dr. Hopper’s legacy. She told us, in emotional tones, that she could only do this now, after some time had passed. She remained at the front listening intently while speaker after speaker came forward with accounts of their life and times with David Hopper in the Ford and Rockefeller foundations in India, in IDRC, the World Bank, and as Chairman of the CGIAR. Lauchlan Munro, Vice-President,

Célébration de la vie de David Hopper le 10 février à Washington D.C.

Rencontre à la mémoire de David Hopper, 10 février 2012, Washington, DC

Le vendredi 10 février de 15h à 18h, amis et anciens collègues se sont réunis au Club Cosmos près du Dupont Circle à Washington, DC, pour évoquer M. W. David Hopper, le premier président du CRDI (1970-78) qui est décédé le 22 novembre 2011 à l’âge de 84 ans. À cinq minutes à pied de mon bureau, j’ai retrouvé un groupe de vieux amis de la première décennie du CRDI dont certains que je n’avais pas vus depuis 30 ans, notamment Ruth Zagorin, l’épouse de David alors directrice de la Division des sciences sociales du Centre.

Ruth a accueilli et remercié tous ceux et celles qui étaient venus et a parlé brièvement de ce que M. Hopper nous avait laissé. Elle nous a dit, la voix émue, qu’elle n’avait pu organiser cette rencontre plus tôt, qu’il fallait qu’un certain temps ait passé. Elle est restée à l’avant à écouter intensément les personnes qui, l’une après l’autre, sont venues parler de ce qu’elles avaient vécu avec David Hopper aux Fondations Ford et Rockefeller en Inde,

Corporate Strategy and Regional Management, delivered an address for the President of IDRC, David Malone.

From IDRC alumni, Sylvie Plouffe, Nihal Kappagoda, Ramesh Bhatia and I spoke in the first hour. Nicola Pfeiffer gave some reflections from a family perspective for James and Jennifer Pfeiffer, who also attended. Then near the end Pilar Bhatia delivered words for Prod Laquian, and spoke from the heart for herself, while Ernest Corea offered eloquent closing remarks.

The speeches had recurring themes: David Hopper was a brilliant leader in international development, a visionary, a counter-bureaucrat, a humanitarian, and a friend to many. He also had a playful sense of humor. Speaker after speaker recounted how they admired David's encyclopedic knowledge which was employed in a forceful, one-way manner, quite frequently. As relayed from Prod Laquian through Pilar, although he was an agriculture economist, in the 1970s he predicted the future of the developing world would be predominantly urban and he and Ruth Zagorin pushed IDRC into research for new policies to improve the lives of the urban poor. In those early days, he also told Prod to get a personal computer as soon as he could and computerized information sciences became a mainstay of IDRC's work.

David Hopper's accomplishments in international development, particularly in the Green Revolution through his support for the CGIAR, were enumerated at length. However, along with this long list, stories unfolded on his well-known and not so well-known character. Hopper did not suffer authority easily, including dictates by the Canadian government on how Crown Corporation offices should be decorated and furnished, as recalled by Ramesh; heated discussions took place with Jim Pfeiffer on legal and procedural matters that were always resolved amicably with only overnight firings. He also fought for a research-driven approach at the World Bank after leaving IDRC. One speaker told how, Robert McNamara, also a man of strong opinions, told Hopper how the World Bank's South Asian program was to run, shortly after Hopper joined as VP for that region; to which Hopper replied to his somewhat surprised boss that it would not happen on his watch and wouldn't work for these reasons ...

Besides his concern and tireless work for the poor of developing countries, David Hopper's humanity was revealed through his acts of

au CRDI, à la Banque mondiale et lorsqu'il était président du GCRAI. Lauchlan Munro, vice-président, stratégie générale et gestion régionale a prononcé un discours au nom du président du CRDI, David Malone.

De l'Association des anciens du CRDI, Sylvie Plouffe, Nihal Kappagoda, Ramesh Bhatia et moi avons pris la parole durant la première heure. Nicola Pfeiffer a offert quelques réflexions d'une perspective familiale pour James et Jennifer Pfeiffer, qui étaient dans l'assistance. Vers la fin, Pilar Bhatia a parlé au nom de Prod Laquian et a parlé pour elle-même du fond du cœur, tandis que Ernest Corea a très éloquemment prononcé le mot de la fin.

Les discours portaient sur des thèmes qui revenaient comme un leitmotiv : David Hopper était un brillant leader en développement international, un visionnaire, un antibureaucrate, un humanitaire et un ami pour beaucoup. Il avait aussi un grand sens de l'humour. Les intervenants, l'un après l'autre, ont dit à quel point ils admiraient le savoir encyclopédique de David qu'il utilisait de manière convaincante et unilatérale assez souvent. Comme Prod Laquian nous l'a rappelé par l'entremise de Pilar, bien que M. Hopper ait été un économiste agricole, il avait prédit dans les années 1970 que l'avenir du monde en développement serait principalement urbain et avec Ruth Zagorin, il avait poussé le CRDI à se lancer dans l'étude de nouvelles politiques pour améliorer la vie des pauvres en milieu urbain. Déjà à ce moment, il avait aussi dit à Prod de se procurer un ordinateur personnel au plus tôt et les sciences de l'information informatisées sont devenues le pivot du travail du CRDI.

La liste des réalisations de David Hopper dans le développement international particulièrement dans la révolution verte par son soutien au GCRAI a été longuement évoquée. Toutefois, à cette longue liste se sont ajoutées des anecdotes sur les faces connues et moins connues de son caractère. Hopper n'acceptait pas l'autorité facilement, y compris les ordres du gouvernement canadien sur la façon dont les bureaux d'une société d'État devaient être décorés et meublés comme l'a rappelé Ramesh; il y eut des discussions vives avec Jim Pfeiffer sur des questions juridiques et de procédure qui ont toujours été résolues à l'amiable après des licenciements renversés dès le lendemain matin. Il a également combattu en faveur d'une approche dirigée par la recherche à la Banque mondiale après avoir quitté le CRDI. Un intervenant a dit que Robert McNamara,

concern for those he worked with: facilitating visas so employees could get together and marry, providing critical advice on both professional and personal matters; remaining personal friends long after professional connections ended. Others spoke of his ability to connect with people and attract them to work with him or with other worthwhile causes. Another spoke of his tolerance and playful spirit – how the World Bank team travelling with him turned his executive suite upside down when taking advantage of a little too much of the wine available while David was out. The next morning there was no retribution, not even a mention of the incident, although he knew full well who the perpetrators were.

One woman spoke of how Ruth and David, after their retirement, mentored her in starting an NGO. One time she had to bring her young daughter for a discussion with Ruth in their home. Her daughter was told to sit properly and quietly in a chair. This worked for a while until David started winking at the young lady. Rides on their elevator followed with questions asked and new knowledge imparted which was later reported by the daughter on the way home (not all subjects had parental approval!).

David Hopper was entrepreneurial in spirit. He had hunches and took chances on people. I mentioned to the participants Clyde Sanger's story on how a first meeting through a characteristic, one-way interview with Hopper on IDRC's programme priorities led to an unexpected job offer at the end. I told the story of how, in turn, in a reunion with Clyde in late 1974 in Kuala Lumpur, when Clyde and a photographer were doing a slide show on "Hawkers and Vendors" in South East Asia. We talked about some possible future filmmaking work for IDRC. When I returned to Ottawa in March 1975, I walked into IDRC and was handed a job offer which led to an international career in development communication in IDRC and a number of countries and agencies. Without the entrepreneurial spirit and delegation of authority David Hopper brought to IDRC at the time, I probably would not have had the opportunity to take this route.

During the testimonials and informal discussions over drinks that followed, and through the written tributes, it became evident to me that David Hopper had not only had a huge impact on international development policy and in innovative thinking about development in the start up of IDRC, he continued to do so afterwards and also

homme aux opinions tranchées, avait dit à Hopper, peu après qu'il fût devenu le v.-p. de la région de l'Asie du Sud, comment le programme de la Banque mondiale pour cette région devait être mené, ce à quoi Hopper avait répondu à son supérieur quelque peu surpris que cela ne se produirait pas sous sa gouverne et que cela ne marcherait pas pour les raisons suivantes...

L'humanité de David Hopper ne se limitait pas aux pauvres des pays en développement desquels il se souciait et pour lesquels il travaillait sans relâche, mais englobait également les gens avec lesquels il travaillait. Pour eux, il a facilité l'obtention de visas pour se réunissent et se marient, a offert des conseils professionnels et personnels importants et est resté un ami longtemps après la fin des relations professionnelles. D'autres ont parlé de sa capacité de communiquer avec les gens, de les amener à travailler avec lui ou au service d'autres causes valables. Tel autre a parlé de sa tolérance et de son esprit enjoué. Ainsi lorsque l'équipe de la Banque mondiale voyageant avec lui a mis sa suite de luxe sens dessus dessous en l'absence de David après avoir bu un peu trop de vin, il n'y eut pas de châtement le lendemain matin, même pas la mention de l'incident alors qu'il savait très bien qui étaient les coupables.

Une femme a parlé de la manière dont Ruth et David, après leur retraite, l'avaient aidé à mettre sur pied une ONG. Une fois lorsqu'elle avait eu à aller chez Ruth pour discuter de quelque chose, elle avait dû amener sa petite fille avec elle. Elle avait dit à la petite de s'asseoir comme il faut sur une chaise et de rester bien tranquille. Ce que la petite fit jusqu'à ce que David commence à lui faire des clins d'œil. Ensuite, la jeune demoiselle et David s'amusèrent à monter et descendre dans l'ascenseur, des questions furent posées et des connaissances transmises (sur des sujets qui n'auraient pas tous reçu l'approbation parentale!) comme la mère le constata sur le chemin du retour lorsque sa fille lui rapporta les propos échangés avec M. Hopper.

David Hopper avait le sens de l'initiative. Il avait de l'intuition et prenait des chances avec les gens. J'ai relaté aux participants l'histoire de Clyde Sanger à propos de son interview à sens unique typique avec Hopper sur les priorités de programme du CRDI lors de sa première rencontre, interview qui se solda par une offre d'emploi tout à fait inattendue. J'ai aussi raconté comment, plus tard, lors d'une réunion avec Clyde à la fin de 1974 à Kuala Lumpur, Clyde et un photographe y faisaient

positively influenced the lives and careers of many people.

After Dr. Hopper's death, through IDRC Alumni connections, I received a call from a frustrated Ottawa Citizen writer to see if I could help find a picture of David Hopper in action in the field as President of IDRC. I told her I never was asked to cover anything like that, let alone to take a photo of David Hopper ...

As I walked away from the Cosmos Club, images of those early days came back to me: research on cowpeas and cassava, cropping systems and agroforestry, bamboo and rattan, milkfish and oysterculture, handpumps and diarrhoeal diseases, rural health workers and traditional healers, hawkers and vendors, sites and services for low cost housing, primary education and communication. Most of these images, stories, books and films are still available on IDRC's website today <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/> - a testimony to the enduring leadership of David Hopper and Ruth Zagorin in those early days of IDRC.

Neill McKee

Obituaries for David Hopper

The following is a collection of obituaries Alumni have found and shared.

un diaporama sur les «colporteurs et les vendeurs» en Asie du Sud-est, j'ai parlé de la possibilité que le CRDI réalise des films un jour. Lorsque je suis revenu à Ottawa en mars 1975, je suis allé au CRDI et on m'a offert un emploi qui m'a permis de faire carrière à l'échelle internationale en communication au service du développement au CRDI et dans d'autres pays et organisations. Sans le sens de l'initiative et la délégation des pouvoirs que David Hopper apporta au CRDI à l'époque, je n'aurais sans doute pas eu l'occasion d'emprunter cette route.

Les témoignages et les propos échangés en prenant un verre après les témoignages autant que les hommages écrits m'ont fait prendre conscience du fait que David Hopper n'avait pas seulement eu une énorme influence sur la politique du développement international et la manière novatrice de penser le développement au cours des premières années du CRDI, mais avait continué à en avoir une par la suite et aussi à influencer de manière positive la vie et la carrière de beaucoup de personnes. Après le décès de M. Hopper, j'ai reçu un appel d'une journaliste contrariée du Ottawa Citizen qui avait obtenu mon nom de l'Association des anciens; elle voulait que je l'aide à trouver une photographie de David Hopper en action sur le terrain lorsqu'il était président du CRDI. Je lui ai dit que l'on ne m'avait jamais demandé de suivre M. Hopper sur le terrain, encore moins de prendre une photographie de lui...

En m'éloignant du Club Cosmos, des images de ces premières années me sont revenues à l'esprit : études sur le dolique et le manioc, les systèmes de culture et l'agroforesterie, le bambou et le rotin, le chanos et l'ostréculture, les pompes à main et les maladies diarrhéiques, les travailleurs de la santé en milieu rural et les guérisseurs traditionnels, les colporteurs et les vendeurs, les sites et services sur le logement à loyer modéré, l'éducation primaire et la communication. Presque toutes ces images et ces réalisations, comme presque tous les livres et films sont toujours disponibles au site Web du CRDI (<http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/>) – témoignage de la direction durable que David Hopper et Ruth Zagorin ont imprimée au jeune CRDI.

Neill McKee

Nécrologie de David Hopper

Voici une collection des notices nécrologiques trouvées et partagées par les anciens.

“David Hopper was a confident and erudite Canadian who listened better than most other westerners to what impoverished rural farmers in the developing world needed.”

[Globe and mail](#)

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"Few circumstances are more aggravating to professionals in low income countries than being asked to accept as a colleague an outsider whose salary is many times larger but whose experience and vocational skills are substantially less than his own."

[Ottawa Citizen](#)

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“Knee-deep in rice paddies with India's poorest peasants in the late 1960s, Ottawa-born David Hopper researched the potential of new varieties of wheat and rice to feed the starving masses.”

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Des anciens se souviennent de David Hopper

Ernest Corea remembers / se rappelle:

“He was once asked: "Do you really think that Asian farmers will be willing to give up the archaic practices they have followed for a thousand years?" Hopper thought awhile and commented: "I have never met a thousand-year-old farmer."

Texte complet à:

<http://www.indepthnews.info/index.php/global-issues/594-remembering-w-david-hopper>

Alumni Remember

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The full memoir at:

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“I first met David Hopper when I was a young contract official working for IDRC at the OECD Development Centre in Paris. I had been hired before IDRC was formally established – frankly on the basis of a complete misunderstanding of the match between the job requirements and my own experience. In spite of this I was one of many young professionals who benefited from the IDRC that David created – he, and under his influence the organization as a whole, made space for so many of us to explore, to grow and hopefully to achieve so much more than we might ever have thought possible without

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Kate Wild.

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“Please convey my heart felt condolences to his wife Ruth and his family. May his soul rest in peace. He was instrumental in the creation of INBAR and I benefited a great deal from his counsel.”

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“David was quite a remarkable person. I first met him when I was working as a researcher in the STPI Project that was supported by Social Sciences in the seventies, much before working with IDRC. I met him through Geoff Oldham and David’s wife. David was an inspiring person that had the capacity to promote commitment to the basic values and goals of development-oriented action and initiatives. As one says in French, David

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David was a real polymath, and at monthly project meetings would give a wonderful talk at the start of the hour's meeting to about half the staff about the state of the world! He was by training an agricultural economist - MacDonald College in Montreal and then University of Chicago, and in the 1960s was in Delhi with the Ford Foundation, where he took on the role of mentor to early CUSO volunteers. I think it was Maurice Strong who recruited him during the planning of IDRC, and Mike Pearson and Barbara Ward made up the foursome that launched IDRC with such panache. David Spurgeon, who was The Globe's science correspondent, joined near the start to head the publications side, and I was the other Globe writer who was recruited by David soon afterward when I was at CIDA. I worked alongside Spurgeon until going off to the Commonwealth Secretariat in 1977, so I spanned most of David's time.

When he left in 1978 and Ivan Head was appointed president, David became Executive Vice-President of the World Bank under Robert McNamara, and finally retired near Chesapeake Bay with his wife Ruth Zagorin. He was fond of sailing. Another family note is that his brother Bill Hopper was the first chief executive of Petro Canada.

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Je vous remercie de m'avoir transmis la mauvaise nouvelle du décès du père du C.R.D.I.

J'ai connu David Hopper dès le premier jour de la création du C.R.D.I. C'est lui qui est venu d'Ottawa à Québec pour me demander de devenir vice-président du nouvel organisme. J'ai donc suivi de très près sa carrière remarquable au sein du C.R.D.I. et des organismes liés au développement des pays du tiers-monde. C'était un homme de vision, spécialiste du développement des pays du tiers-monde. Il n'hésitait pas à amener coucher sous tente dans un pays africain, dont je ne me souviens pas du nom, quelques membres du conseil du CRDI pour leur faire voir la vraie vie dans ce pays. C'était un passionné du développement des pays pauvres. Il croyait et voulait que le CRDI par ses différents programmes et la compétence de ses chercheurs puisse apporter une aide significative à ces pays.

Sa contribution au développement du tiers-monde a été remarquable. Son départ sera regretté par tous. Je perds un très bon ami, que j'ai admiré dès le premier jour.

Je vous remercie de m'avoir transmis la mauvaise nouvelle du décès du père du C.R.D.I.

J'ai connu David Hopper dès le premier jour de la création du C.R.D.I. C'est lui qui est venu d'Ottawa à Québec pour me demander de devenir vice-président du nouvel organisme. J'ai donc suivi de très près sa carrière remarquable au sein du C.R.D.I. et des organismes liés au développement des pays du tiers-monde. C'était un homme de vision, spécialiste du développement des pays du tiers-monde. Il n'hésitait pas à amener coucher sous tente dans un pays africain, dont je ne me souviens pas du nom, quelques membres du conseil du CRDI pour leur faire voir la vraie vie dans ce pays. C'était un passionné du développement des pays pauvres. Il croyait et voulait que le CRDI par ses différents programmes et la compétence de ses chercheurs puisse apporter une aide significative à ces pays.

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Louis Berlinguet, vice-président du Bureau des Gouverneurs du C.R.D.I. lors de sa création, (grâce à David).

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I first met David shortly after I joined the Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Sciences Division (AFNS) of IDRC in June of 1971. David chaired the Senior Management Committee and as such met collectively with his Directors on those occasions. I was not part of that august body in those years, but he created an informal equivalent called the Junior Professionals. This group met frequently with him to chat about current issues, particularly relating to international development. Most of my colleagues were quite experienced in that they had been overseas with CUSO. I was not that lucky, so I tended to sit and learn from the master. Dr. Hopper was instrumental in encouraging young development-oriented people to join IDRC, particularly after they had gotten their graduate degrees.

He was also a great believer in attracting the best young minds to IDRC, and many of the early employees went on to have distinguished careers in development. In particular, and this is also attributable to Joe Hulse, the Director of AFNS, at least six of

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David was a great believer in giving people the right tools, then letting them get on with their jobs. As such, we were never encumbered with excessive bureaucracy at the Centre.

David was a visionary, and he was instrumental in shaping IDRC's direction, and its ongoing success as an agent of change in international development. He will be missed.

Gerald (Gerry) Bourrier 1971-1996

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J'ai eu le privilège de travailler à ses côtés de 1971 à 1975. Cette nouvelle m'attriste beaucoup.

Dans la chronique nécrologique, on rapporte que le Dr Hopper "croyait que les pays pauvres n'ont pas besoin d'experts (étrangers) pour identifier leurs problèmes locaux ou

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Cette conception de la collaboration internationale s'apparente à celle que le Dr Fernando Cupertino énonçait, en avril 1993, lorsqu'il proposa d'établir un programme d'échanges "culturels" entre le Brésil et le Québec dans le secteur de la santé, programme qui allait donner naissance à la COLUFRAS (Conférence luso-francophone de la santé).

La vision du Dr Fernando Cupertino a été reprise et renforcée par l'arrivée du Prof. Rémy Trudel à la tête de la COLUFRAS, en mars 2007: "échanges et collaboration internationale entre peuples égaux, où chacun peut apprendre à l'autre et de l'autre, dans un climat de respect mutuel."

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His legacy is to be acclaimed. We can only hope that it won't disappear... We are

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To Mrs. Hopper, a light in her own right, we offer our condolences.

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