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Forgotten Anniversary?

SHARP
on Dobell



A CHAT WITH
ED RITCHIE

Foreign Policy Review
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No. 4 Vol. 5

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Contents

Features/ Reportages

6 The Greats: Ed Ritchie's career in the Foreign Service spanned 40 years and included assignments in Washington, London and Dublin. He talked recently about his experiences with John McNab.

11 Ode to a Pot-Bellied Stove: Jim Nutt's elegy to this relic of our past.

12 The Foreign Policy Review: We asked John Roberts and Don Munro, two FSs who successfully made the transition from diplomacy to politics for their opinion on the Foreign Policy Review.

15 Farewell to the Greats: Derek Burney and David Elder recall working with Don Jamieson. Bruce Rankin is remembered by former SSEA Mitchell Sharp and David Wright. Bill Dymond pays tribute to Robert Joyce et Georges Blouin se souviens de Roger Rousseau.

18 Our Forgotten Anniversary: Sixty years ago Canada proclaimed its Dominion status. Dacre Cole examines this Declaration of Independence.

20 The Young Bloods: Grant Manuge describes our new recruits, their backgrounds, ambitions and reaction to life in the bureaucracy.

21 The Exam: We look at the changes to the recruitment process the department made to hire our next batch of officers.

22 Herbert Norman: A recent book by James Barros has revived the controversy about loyalties of our former Ambassador to New Zealand and Egypt. We look at reaction to the book.

32 La Banque Africaine de Développement par Jean-Yves Dionne

52 René Maran: La première et lointaine consécration de la littérature négro-africaine par Leopold Battel.

Departments/ Chroniques

4 Editor's Notebook: On the battle over performance pay and some hard truths that are revealed in a recent book by Nicole Morgan.

4 Letter from the President: An inaugural note from our new President, Len Mader.

5 Letters to the Editor/Commentary: Mal Jones on rating the raters, Bill Warden proposes the creation of the Association of Retired Foreign Service Officers; Daryl Copeland has some changes to improve life in the service, Lloyd Brown-John recommends diplomats be given public speaking courses. Robert Dunn on the Norman affair.

8 Pardy's Corner: Holidays and the difficulties of maintaining traditions.

9 Guest Column: James Williams, Professor of Economics at McMaster University defends Free Trade.

25 Consular Tales: Alfred Pick has some advice for new ambassadors; Daryl Copeland recalls a harrowing tale of a Canadian down on his luck.

28 Freifeld On: Diplomatic spouses

35 Gens d'Affaires: The Interimco Companies;

55 Managing Your Money: Financial Planners Bruce Etherington, and John Boville take a look at Estate Planning and warn it is never too early to plan your retirement.

57 In Memorium: Jacques Cousineau, Margot Franklin, Sam McKelvey, André Seguin.

PAFSO News/ Les annales de l'APASE

53 PAFSO News: on the contract negotiations, dental plan, the new Executive, Performance Pay dispute, Patronage and Jean Drapeau.

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Books in Review/ Critiques de Livres

36 Canada in World Affairs 1971-1973: The latest CIIA study by Peter Dobell is reviewed by Mitchell Sharp.

39 Political Portraits: Colin Robertson looks at biographies on Brian Mulroney and John Turner. David Anido reviews Sean O'Sullivan's **Both My Houses**.

46 Children Abroad: a guide for children travelling abroad: a review by Laurel Pardy.

46 In Flanders Field: Military correspondent Bill Dymond looks at the spate of recent books on Canada's role in the First World War. They include Pierre Berton's **Vimy**, Daniel Dancok's biography, **Sir Arthur Currie**, James Williams' 1915 account **Gas! The Battle for Ypres** and George Cassar's **Beyond Courage: The Canadians at the Second Battle of Ypres**.

Entertainment/ Loisirs

57 Pick the Caption

58 A. Alto: another back pager

Next Issue/ Prochaine édition

More on Herbert Norman; Robert Ford écrit que le seul gage solide de paix est une meilleure compréhension entre Moscou et Washington; Cairo during the Six Day War; A Chat with George and Alison Ignatieff; Sidney Freifeld on entertaining parliamentarians; James Gibson on speechwriting for MacKenzie King; John Starnes reviews **Camp X**, David Smith on Eugene Whelan.

Editor's Notebook

The new executive is elected and representative of all streams and levels. There is a healthy infusion of new blood. Fears that the election would result in an Executive without balanced representation were proven groundless. All of which shows that Bernard Shaw was not far off the mark when he opted for election by the incompetent many rather than appointment by the corrupt few. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the new crew is the split between those who would take a more conciliatory approach to management/employee relations and those who favour a harder line. This coming year will be difficult as the Executive must negotiate a new contract with Treasury Board and, as part of the National Joint Council, participate in the triennial review of the Foreign Service Directives. With the Government desperately trying to reduce spending, achieving a satisfactory settlement will require our best talents. Happily, Jon Fried is coordinating the contract negotiations. His efforts last round earned him deserved praise. Managing the overall show will be the new president, Len Mader. If anyone can keep the game in perspective, he can. It will require adroit footwork.

Anyone aspiring to the bureaucracy should pick up a copy of Nicole Morgan's **Implosion: An Analysis of the Growth of the Federal Public Service in Canada (1945-1985)**. Published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy, the book contains several hard truths that should force FS 1s and 2s who joined in the past decade and harbor illusions of rapid promotion to reconsider.

The first hard truth is that the days of expansion are over: the federal budget of May 23, 1985 announced that the number of federal employees would be cut by 15,000 over the next five years. As Morgan points out, this is more than simple attrition, because if patterns had continued the public service would have grown by 15,000 during that time. The net reduction is effectively 30,000.

The second hard truth is that one result of expansion during the late '60's and '70's has been to burden us with too many managers. This, of course, will come as no surprise to anyone in the foreign service! During this period, Morgan contends the merit principle worked only in the area of hiring and promotion. Its negative side, firing and demotion, was completely ignored. In 1984, for example, dismissals and demotions represented only 0.7 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively, of the appointments made that year. The rapid promotion of young managers has blocked access to the summit of the pyramid for

many years to come. Those born at the end of the baby boom or those who have fallen behind their contemporaries are now paying the price. The curtailment of career options has put even more pressure on competition. The golden handshake remains an option but it is not one that appeals to all.

The third hard truth is that affirmative action policies inevitably interfere with the merit principle and breed frustration and resentment in their wake. The government is truly caught between the Charybdis of remedying past injustices and the Scylla of creating new ones. While francophones have been induced into the civil service to effect representation according to their population (although not at all levels as the Commissioner for Official Languages is wont to remind us), women were not. In the National Capital region in 1984, women represented 44.5 per cent of the public service but only 16.2 per cent of management positions. The Mulroney Government, like the previous Liberal administrations, have pledged themselves to redress this situation.

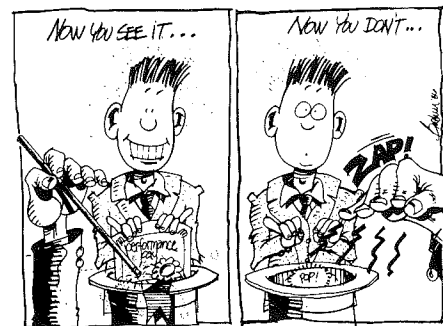
The final hard truth is that the civil servant is an easy target for the politician pledged to cutting costs. What better scapegoat, especially as bureaucrats are seen as overpaid and underworked. Continued retrenchment and cutbacks are inevitable. The Auditor General has already declared that many public servants are over-classified and action has started to reduce the more remunerative positions.

Suffice to say, the heady days of rapid promotion and salaries to match are gone. In the future, we will have to draw our satisfaction from other sources. Job content, better training and development all become more significant.

Letter From Our President

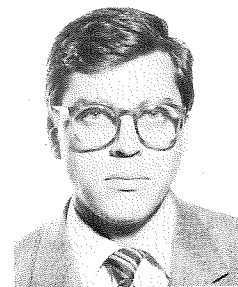
As if putting on the storm windows and making the garage fit to hold the car again weren't enough, the foreign service family faces another seasonal task in late autumn. The formerly spontaneous realization that another posting wouldn't be a bad thing after all has been replaced by a friendly reminder from your stream management that it is the time of year to lay up acorns against the future by way of a chat with the assignment officer.

It is part of the uncertainty that we live with, this inexorable contemplation of where we might be a year from now. On one level it is a mere matter of domestic management. Should we renovate now or wait until we're back from posting? Should we enroll in that course or put it off on the likelihood that we're going who knows



If diplomacy teaches us anything, it is that in acts of retribution are carried the seeds of future troubles. The decision by Personnel to move back by five months the effective date of promotion to the FS2 level is too clever by half. It makes a mockery of the recent decision by the Public Service Staff Relations Board which confirmed that newly promoted officers are entitled to the full amount of their performance pay award. PAFSO is trying to have the action withdrawn or modified.

While there are a number of issues at stake in this dispute it is worth looking back at Circular Document (No. 28/78). The purpose of performance pay, it says, is "generally recognized to be the encouragement, by material recognition, of high standards of performance. It provides management with a system of incentives supplementary to promotion and allows recognition of degrees of performance to be translated into concrete benefits to the employees concerned." It short, it is intended as both a reward for past performance and an incentive for future distinction. I wonder if that still applies?



Len Mader

where? On another, potentially more destructive, level it is an uprooting, a process that causes us to curtail the roots that we are sending down, to begin to draw back from the commitments that we make to the Ottawa community. If there is something ominous for us in this, imagine the effect on our families.

I must confess, there is still something of a thrill in it for me to scan the list of post openings, to imagine the challenge of a new

assignment, to contemplate release from the tasks that have begun to seem routine. On second glance though, the list begins to look pretty thin. On third reading the realization of just how little is available, how tight the fit, dawns hard.

Where does that leave us? Desperate as the first flakes fall? I fear that for more and more of us the answer is yes. Fewer opportunities for assignment and many of those in places increasingly remote from any apparent connection to the real interests of this country let alone healthy for your children; fewer opportunities for advancement in a career whose paths are blocked by too many officers not much older than ourselves in a shrinking resource base and by the threat of an unprecedented, career-stultifying politicization of the service; fewer opportunities for secondment outside the service; fewer opportunities even, for that discredited old siren, job enrichment.

Bleak enough? It's the sort of thing I hear often enough from colleagues. On the face of it, the health of the service, and not just among the junior grades, is in a sorry state. But what are we to do about it, individually and as an Association?

I am not going to sermonize. It won't all come right with faith and good works. We are, for better or worse, trapped in a demographic bubble. I do think, nonetheless, that we can get healthier even if only by taking the first step of acknowledging that the malaise I describe above is real. Ironically, we can also help ourselves, and the service, by also examining the peculiar phenomenon that most of us like our work, like it so much that we stick to it with legendary longsuffering.

If the health of the service is as poor as we think it is then the means of renovation are also largely in our own hands. We should be willing to take risks ourselves and, if we believe that the fault lies in the current career system, be prepared to face the risks of a more demanding, more competitive process. (Are we, I wonder, ready to demand a system that is more rigorous in applying the sanctions of probation or more honest in exposing poor performance?) Individually, we should be ready not only to seize opportunities but to create opportunities whereby our considerable investment of time and experience can be realized and exploited. Some of these opportunities may be outside the service. (Perhaps the Association should be looking at ways to help our members find the best path out.) Together, we should be working with our colleagues, both up the line and among the support groups, to fashion a career and conditions package that fits the sort of work we do and the life that we lead in the foreign service of this country. Together we should be doing more to tell the people of this country about who we are and what we do for them. Much can be done, both in contract negotiations and in the review of

the Foreign Service Directives, to keep the environment healthy.

Individually and collectively, and I think that this is the essential part, whatever we imagine our future to be in the service, we must demand excellence of ourselves and of the department. The most destructive course in dark times is to abandon what we know to be good from generations of working at it. The Association was created to answer a procedural need for a "bargaining agent". It has flourished be-

cause a succession of our colleagues has cared about the service. The current executive committee is no less concerned. We look to your support in the months ahead, not moral support, not dues, but actual help in preparing for negotiations and helping to shape our professional environment. The Association can only carry the group so far. If something is wrong with the service, the renovation starts and succeeds when each of us shakes off this autumnal gloom.

Letters to the Editor

Let Herbert Norman Now Rest in Peace

Editor, *Bout de papier*

Almost 30 years after his death Herbert Norman, career diplomat, historian, and writer, still cannot rest in peace.

American James Barros, a professor in the University of Toronto's department of political science, is about to capitalize on a book rehashing the lies, half-truths, and ignorance concerning Norman's supposed Communist loyalties, which hounded him to eventual suicide.

In his youth at Cambridge University Norman did take part in Marxist study groups and even for a time became a member of the Communist party; later, at Harvard, in scholarly interest he pursued these studies. It was through these that he became disillusioned with the Marxist theories and throughout maintained his loyalty to his own country, Canada, and its ideals.

I spoke to Norman in the Parliament Buildings after he worked with Lester Pearson on the Suez crisis just before he was to take up his new post as ambassador to Cairo. He was depressed at the persistent persecution by possessed but uninformed parties in the United States and hoped that his duties abroad would relegate the charges to the background.

This did not turn out to be true. The false stories by Sen. Joe McCarthy and others followed him until one day, after a visit with a Swiss colleague in a Cairo office building, he jumped off the roof.

I was an officer with the Canadian Embassy in Washington in the '50's when the Communist invasion of Korea sired the Senate probe into internal security and near hysteria swept the land.

That was when McCarthy and his sidekick Roy Cohn (who was later disbarred as a lawyer and died of AIDS before he could face fraud and other charges) began investigations that threatened all levels of

society. McCarthy fell into disgrace when he and a senior editor of the *Times-Herald* printed a fake picture showing a well-known anti-Communist shaking hands with a Communist leader. McCarthy was censured by the Senate and died an alcoholic leaving in his wake broken lives and careers of American leaders, writers, actors, and of course Canadian Herbert Norman.

Robert W. A. Dunn
Ottawa

Picker-upper

Editor, *Bout de papier*

My day is always made special when I receive a copy of your quarterly publication of *Bout de papier*. It provides a jubilant perspicacious insight into past events of those golden years, as well as, present an illustrious account of current events. I always set it aside for my favorite read.

Murray Nadeau

Keep it up

Editor, *Bout de papier*

Keep up the good work with *Bout de papier*. We enjoy it.

Graham Rush

cont'd. on p. 29

Appraisals Abuse?

Editor, *Bout de papier*

Your recent editorial about "rating the raters" prompts this letter, which may serve to illustrate how our present appraisal system can be abused when a problematical senior manager, repeatedly kicked upstairs and apparently beyond any hierarchical control, reaches a level where he can seriously harm the careers of subordinates.

By way of background, I am serving out two years of involuntary LWOP in Paris, after a devastating appraisal in the second year of my last assignment led to its abrupt termination and an order to return to Ottawa "for operational reasons". My spouse's professional commitments here, assumed on the basis of a full tour, did not seem to move the department at all, and our decision to respect that commitment was seized upon as indicating I might wish to resign (take that, Pam McDougall!).

The appraisal and the reassignment were appealed at both levels. In spite of factual proof of bias and deliberate oversights, the department did not question a single substantive aspect of the appraisal.

It seems I fell into one of those awkward situations which dares not speak its name within the department, for fear of offending the Gods of biculturalism. From the outset, it was clear that my francophone supervisor had little personal esteem for me, something he made no effort to conceal from support staff or other Canadians. This attitude, which may have reflected an underlying discomfiture extending to most anglophones, was evidently aggravated if one spoke French without resorting to a *franglais* peppered with hockey and baseball imagery.

Having failed to heed to broad hints at the end of the first year that he would really be happier were I elsewhere, I became the object of force majeure in the second . . . multi page memos for having dared sign telegrams, or suggesting that a liaison trip to Canada might be useful.

These "incidents" were then trotted out at appraisal time as proof of my unsuitability for the task at hand. Quadrupling our Canadian Studies centres, overseeing on the Canadian government's behalf a \$2.5 million student residence project, or organizing smoothly run Ministerial visits were not deemed worthy of mention in the appraisal, either by the supervisor, or (something harder to understand) for departmental officials who subsequently examined (or claimed to) the dossier.

For two years, the supervisor's impetuous, at times irrational approach to business, all too often translated into unscheduled and unexplained absences, hasty meetings at which he would then not appear, and a complete lack of consideration for subordinates, most of the time with their fingers stuck in the dike, covering for him at meetings, or, at the frantic behest of harried secretaries (he went through four during my two years) receiving visitors (generally Anglophone or French) whose appointments the supervisor seemed to have forgotten.

Alas, alack, I could not avoid indicating a certain amount of unhappiness with this kind of behaviour, to the supervisor directly, and to his hierarchical superiors (eg. in the case of the missing official car booked to transport a visiting DM, apparently commandeered to transport a TV to holidaying members of the supervisor's family). This did not sit well with the supervisor, nor, I got the impression, with the superiors, who would have preferred not to know.

The mystery, of course, is how it is possible the aberration that was the appraisal in question to pass through the system, including two grievances, without raising the slightest question in anyone's mind about its honesty or equitability, notwithstanding factual, non-judgmental arguments, statements clearly refuted, or major achievements simply unmentioned. It suggests to me an unhealthy and misplaced solidarity among senior officials (my pal right or wrong) or, worse, that officers brought into the department to shore up a deficient quota are, by definition, above

reproach.

I trust the above will serve as a warning to my fellows who, if they cannot avoid falling into the orbit of someone like this, will at least have the sense, unlike myself, to avoid "lèse-majesté" when it concerns a member of a protected minority!

Maldwyn H. Jones.

ARFSO?

Editor, *Bout de papier*

The time has probably come when serious consideration should be given to the establishment of ARFSO (Association of Retired Foreign Service Officers) as a logical corollary to PAFSO. With a maturing service and the number of retirees growing steadily, there would appear to be good reason for taking such a step. An Association could not only significantly contribute to morale, but could also serve as a useful vehicle for promoting and enhancing Foreign Service interests.

Foreign Service Officers who retire today simply walk out the door and to all intents and purposes become forgotten entities. Anyone who has ever tried to ascertain the whereabouts of a former colleague will know that even that seemingly simple task can frequently be difficult and time-consuming.



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Members of the Foreign Service are justifiably proud of their profession. Admission to the career is highly selective. Demands are complex and heavy. Both at home and abroad Canadian diplomats over the years have been praised on many occasions for their effectiveness and the quality of their work. The nature of the profession is such that they interact much more with one another than is the case in other professions. It is therefore the more the pity that retirement usually leads to complete loss of contact with the department and with colleagues.

An Association of Retired Foreign Service Officers could fill the gap which exists, organising occasional reunions/meetings and providing the means for ongoing communication.

The scope for Association activity extends well beyond the social realm. The Foreign Service is a collection of very talented individuals whose talents become no less significant on retirement. This is reflected in the way in which a growing number of Foreign Service Officers have distinguished themselves in their "second careers".

The Foreign Service has gone through many changes over the past decade and without doubt will face new and difficult challenges in the years to come. An Association could in this respect serve a useful purpose as a voice, first, expressing itself freely on matters of vital interest to the Service and, second, contributing through its members to the ongoing discussion of Canadian foreign policy.

There are, of course, a number of practical benefits which an Association might bring such as group insurance rates, access to any future PAFSO provisions, and so on. PAFSO for its part would presumably benefit through whatever incentive ARFSO might create for EX(FS)s to maintain their PAFSO ties, as well as through better group rates in certain areas deriving from a larger combined membership base.

Two principal ingredients are presumably needed. The first is the interest of PAFSO which has the infrastructure in

place and the ability to catalyse the process leading to the setting up of the new organization. The second is sufficient interest on the part of retired officers themselves.

Bill Warden

Enjoying Bout

Editor, *Bout de papier*

I am very pleased to have the copy of *Bout de papier*. I enjoyed Mr. Freifeld's column and was delighted to see the record of the interview with Howard Green.

Heath Macquarrie
Senator

FSO's, the Media and Public

Editor, *Bout de papier*

For obvious reasons, I shall not mention the date, location or any of the persons involved. But I shall recount an incident which made me wince as a Canadian because it was an incident which reflects not only upon Canada but, more seriously, upon the quality of our foreign service personnel.

The incident took place at one of those all too numerous occasions when a bit of pomp is in order. The incident involved a very senior Canadian diplomat who was the star attraction at the event. I was a guest and was seated with several other diplomatic representatives from invited governments. I was present as an academic guest.

The Canadian diplomat in question took the podium and proceeded to address the assembled guests in our two official languages and in the language of the host country. He droned on in all three languages and eventually, mercifully, he stuttered to something vaguely resembling a conclusion.

A diplomat from a very friendly other country turned to me and said, "My God, he's incoherent in all three languages but worse, his English is atrocious and that's his native tongue".

I recently dined with a leading American economist at a meeting in New York and this person's name came up in the course of the conversation. The American said, "Oh that guy, he's bloody incompetent". In subsequent discussion I learned that the American had also witnessed the person's public performances in the host country in three languages on more occasions than I and he asserted that his observations were

widely shared by many leading business people in the host country.

I would not normally raise the issue but for two things. First, this person is a career officer and not one of the growing coterie of political appointees. In principle, by the way, I strongly oppose the ongoing politicisation of our foreign service and while I will concede that several political (Order-in-Council) appointments have resulted in very laudable results, I am still vexed by the undermining of the career service.

The second reason I've raised the issue here within the pages of *Bout de papier* is because I think the issue is one which foreign service officers must grapple with themselves rather than have it imposed.

Over the past few years I have witnessed all too many examples of public performances by Canadian diplomatic personnel where one realizes very quickly that they are not being coy and diplomatic in their presentations but simply they are not doing a very good job of their public performance.

Since leaving the External Affairs Department many, many years ago I have spent over 15 years both teaching university and, more significantly for my point here, working in the media. I've held press conferences, attended press conferences, prepared scripts, produced television programs, been interviewed, conducted interviews, provided endless political commentaries and election analysis and written literally hundreds of newspaper columns. One learns through that process both technique and what to expect.

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To watch a Canadian diplomat stumble through a press conference, deliver a mumbled speech, or hum- and haw- his or her way through an interview is an excruciating experience. As a Canadian citizen I frankly expect more of the people we send abroad because, in my modest opinion, they are recruited through one of the toughest processes currently employed in the world.

Yet, all the recruitment and all the experience do not necessarily equip our diplomatic personnel for the grueling rigors of the media. This becomes especially important when the media is foreign and the impressions are recorded on video-tape for foreign audiences to see and to evaluate.

Indeed, one has the impression periodically that many of our senior diplomats resent having to explain Canada to host state audiences. Sometimes I even detect a feeling that it is beneath their dignity to answer media questions or provide coherent addresses to audiences at public events.

I suppose I am a little old fashioned in this respect, but I do believe that accountability at home and abroad is crucial to the nature of Canada's overseas image. That accountability can be much more effectively ensured by following some basic rules in dealing with the media and in delivering public speeches. I shall not enter into the subject here because I think it really requires a much more structured approach than I can offer in comments in this brief discussion.

In a nutshell, however, I would urge foreign service officers, especially early in their careers, to take courses in public speaking. These types of courses not only develop confidence but they force one to think systematically on one's feet. Toastmasters Clubs, for example, are excellent places to learn how to speak in public.

Dealing with the media is much more complex but the speaking skill is a prerequisite. Learning to handle "loaded" questions while neither losing control or dignity is a skill which can be developed. Learning how to prepare press releases and to participate in public forums are all skills which can be honed. Indeed, even how to use television to your advantage could serve one's career and Canada extremely well.

Generally my experience with Canadian diplomatic officers abroad has been very positive but it is often painful — torture, on occasion — to proudly attend an event where a Canadian diplomat comes across as a bumbling fool.

*Lloyd Brown-John, PhD
Professor, of Public Administration,
Department of Political Science,
University of Windsor, Windsor*

PAFSO and the Foreign Service Prospect

Editor, *Bout de papier*

Some years ago, a strategy of close cooperation with departmental management and Treasury Board made sense for Foreign Service Officers. The foreign service community was then tightly integrated, its esteem formidable, and the rewards obvious. The times, however, have changed, and the approach of those at the working level must be modified accordingly. In this era of slow non-existent promotions and constricted career opportunities, it is only through a commitment to activism that we may hope to better our lot.

The current elections may go some of the way toward providing the newly-constituted PAFSO executive with the legitimacy required to begin recovering lost ground. Indeed, PAFSO members have every reason to feel disturbed over the gradual deterioration of the position of the FS group vis-à-vis other professional groups in the Public Service. Although interesting jobs and occasional postings provide some solace, the general terms and conditions of employment have become, in many instances, unpalatable, particularly for Ottawa-based FS-1's struggling to raise families on salaries lower than those enjoyed by, for example, bus drivers or policemen. For people with multiple university degrees, prior experience and proven abilities, having to deal with economic hardship for five to 10 years subsequent to recruitment is a difficult proposition.

In the course of the next year we will begin negotiations concerning both our contract and the FSD's. When it comes to such bread-and-butter issues, disinterest or disdain cannot be allowed to substitute for firmness and resolve. Though there is still a place for collaboration, it is not at the bargaining table. Our concerns are real; they merit both forceful articulation and innovative remedial responses.

Acting through PAFSO, we could begin to advance the quality of our working lives by pursuing the following objectives:

1. Rapid movement towards pay parity with comparable professional groups within the Public Service (target levels to be based upon figures supplied by the Pay Research Bureau of the Public Service Commission)
2. Suitable remuneration, in terms of cash or compensatory time off, for work performed outside of regular hours Monday to Friday (as per that awarded other professional groups within the PSC)
3. Four weeks annual leave (six when on posting) after eight years' service
4. Adoption of an optional "4 or 5" sabbatical program, whereby employees could elect to work for four years, take the fifth year off, and collect 4/5 of their

salary each year.

5. Implementation of the 'PEG' system, whereby managers would be evaluated by those whom they supervise.
6. Creation of a 'counselling out' service, whereby those wishing to leave the department, particularly at more senior levels, would be actively assisted in exploring career alternatives.
7. Recognition of diplomacy as a professional specialty (like law), thus permitting the extension of the FS salary scale upwards without reference to the managerial content of work performed.

In short, we need better compensation, enhanced mobility, and more control over our individual and collective destinies. Attainment of these goals would represent an important step towards the restoration of the foreign service prospect, which has become tarnished in the era of the "permanent underclass". Without a willingness to question the status quo, a determination to address that which is arbitrary or unfair, and the courage to take action, we stand every chance of continuing the slide into genteel oblivion.

*D.S. Copeland, vice president,
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THE GREATS

BOUT DE PAPIER: Mr. Ritchie, you had a very interesting career even before you became the Under-Secretary.

RITCHIE: Yes, I think I did. Starting off with Mike Pearson in Washington as, what he called, his temporary, probationary, third secretary, which was about as low as you could get. But it was one of the most interesting parts of my career. It was towards the end of the war when things were being created in Washington. It was a very exciting time and Pearson was a very interesting man to work for.

BOUT DE PAPIER: There has been a reference made to your being in the British Embassy in the early '40's. How did that happen?

RITCHIE: Yes, that is right — the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The Washington Mission was a collection of most interesting people from business, government and academic backgrounds. It was really very interesting working with the Americans at the time when they had their Board of Economic Warfare and when they created their Office of Strategic Services. I had to act with them on a liaison basis between the British and the Americans which is the usual Canadian role, I guess. I found it a very interesting time with the Brits. Then I joined the Canadian Embassy in Washington where Mike Pearson was Minister-Counsellor at that time.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Was that directly after the time with the Brits?

RITCHIE: Yes. The British were talking about various things I might do. I had just come back from Oxford before I went to join the Brits. Then I joined the Canadians. That must have been 1942, and I had been married in Washington shortly before. Mike Pearson had me working on various international economic questions at that stage.

BOUT DE PAPIER: You were in Washington after the war concluded.

RITCHIE: Just at the end. I was in Washington before that with the British. But, with the Canadians, it was just a little before the end of the war.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Where did you go following that assignment in Washington? You ultimately went back to Washington, did you not?

RITCHIE: I went on loan to the United Nations. Mike Pearson suggested I go with the Economic Affairs Department at the United Nations in Hunter College, New York. I had just attended the Inaugural Meeting of the International Fund and Bank in Savannah in 1946, and went on shortly after that to join the United Nations Economic Affairs as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary General. I stayed there from 1946 to 1947. Then, in 1947, I went to Geneva for the GATT Conference where I

Ed Ritchie

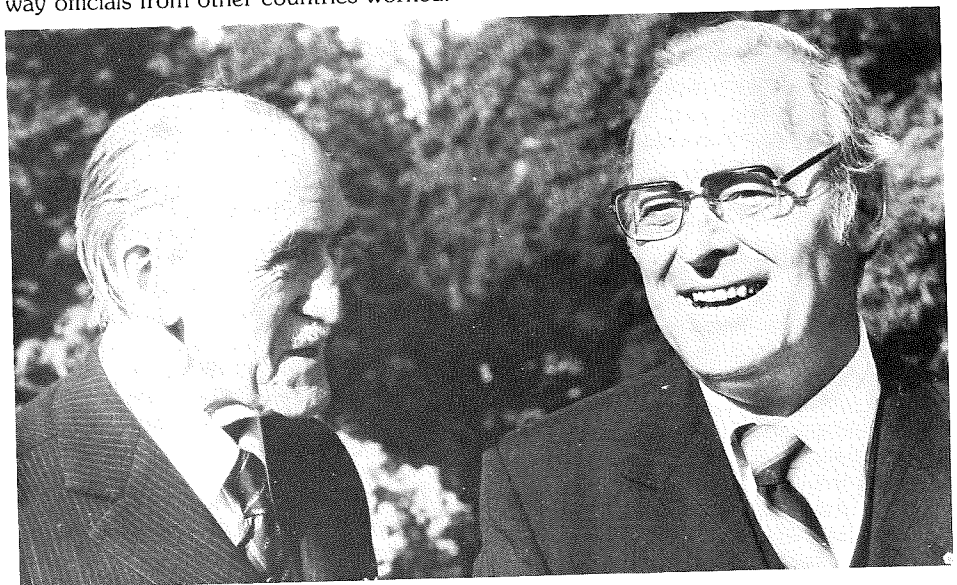
Born in Andover New Brunswick in 1916, Ed Ritchie received his B.A. at Mount Allison University and then went to Oxford in 1940 as a Rhodes Scholar. He worked for the British Purchasing Commission and Ministry of Economic Warfare in the British Embassy in Washington before joining External Affairs in 1944. He left the Foreign Service briefly in 1946 to become special assistant to the Assistant Secretary General of the Economic Affairs Department at the UN in New York. After rejoining in 1948, he served in London and Washington. He was Canadian Ambassador to Washington from 1966-70 when he returned as USSEA. His last posting before retirement was as Canadian Ambassador to Ireland. John McNab interviewed Mr. Ritchie at his home in Ottawa.

was Special Assistant to the Executive Secretary who really ran the GATT Conference. I was there in 1947, then went to Havana in 1948. I should say that I first met Simon Reisman in Geneva in 1947. Some people regard the International Agencies as not a very interesting place to work, but I found it very interesting because it gave one a better understanding of the way officials from other countries worked.

There was quite a variety of them at the United Nations at that time, both in the Secretariat and in Delegations. It also gave you a good perspective on your own government and government service, how they looked to the rest of the world. I found that a fascinating background for my later work.

BOUT DE PAPIER: How did you think we fared in comparison?

RITCHIE: We looked very good. Dana Wilgress at the GATT Conference was a king-pin. He did a great job as the Chairman of the GATT Conference, that is, of the Tariff Negotiations working party which was the centre of the GATT Conference and then, of course, in Havana he was involved in a thing or two, and he was outstanding. There were a lot of outstanding people. Simon was just a young fellow then but doing an effective job of course. He was one of the principal finance department people working with John Deutsch. I would recommend working in an International Agency even though sometimes they seem to be ineffective — it is good experience. I was with one when things were being created and perhaps it was more exciting than it is now-a-days. That was 1947, then my wife and I and our son came back to North America from the Geneva Conference with a ditching in mid-ocean. We were home just long enough for me to be turned around and off to Havana for the Havana Conference which was supposed to create the International Trade Organization but never got ratified by the U.S. Congress. Still, it was a pretty good effort to construct a trade agency, but it never came into being so GATT had to make do as less than ideal as the international trade vehicle for the world at large, or for the Western world at least.



Frank Aiken and Ed Ritchie

BOUT DE PAPIER: Is that how you think the GATT has performed between then and now, less than ideally?

RITCHIE: Yes, because it did not cover some aspects of economic relations that really needed to be covered, and I suspect that from the point of view of developing countries it would have been more satisfactory if there had been a stronger agency than the GATT now is. A lot depends on the capacity of the people who are staffing the GATT. I speak now as an old international civil servant. But Eric Windham White, as the head of the GATT, was tremendously effective in the formative years. I do not think all the heads of the GATT have been equally effective. He was a great international official in that period. He could talk to countries like a Dutch uncle about their economic behaviour and that sometimes was pretty damned important. And he would do it with great effect.

BOUT DE PAPIER: How long were you with the GATT?

RITCHIE: Until 1952. Again, at the government's suggestion, I went on to London to work on the Canadian aspects of the Marshall Plan, which really meant helping to deal with questions arising out of our loan arrangements with the British and with some of the European countries, and with the Americans. I was there from 1948 until 1952. The most interesting thing I was involved in in the latter part of that was on economic aid. I should have said earlier on that when I was with Mike Pearson in Washington at the embassy, I had a lot to do with economic relief activities and in the military relief at the end of the war. Later, when economic aid for development became a possibility following the first Colombo Plan Conference in London, I was pretty closely associated with several aspects of that including the quite significant meeting in Delhi in 1953 when I was travelling in India and Pakistan and Ceylon with Jimmy Sinclair, who was the Minister who headed our delegation. Escott Reid was in Delhi, John Hadwen was in Pakistan, and Jim Hurley was in Ceylon and we visited all three of these countries. I was Chairman of the drafting committee of the Colombo Plan Conference in Delhi. I found it fascinating to work with the developing countries.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Did you stay focusing on the International Economic Affairs until you found yourself back in Washington?

RITCHIE: Yes, in all respects, including what are now called the third world problems, and the industrial countries, including the U.S. and Canada. Altogether I served in the U.S. 14 or 16 years, with the British and with the Canadians in various capacities. In the last phase, as ambassador following the other Ritchie.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Yes, many of us have noticed that there are two Ritchie's successive on the wall in the library of the Embassy in Washington.

RITCHIE: That confused the Americans to no end.

BOUT DE PAPIER: What were the major topics of interest between Canada and the United States when you were ambassador?

RITCHIE: The same as they always are. Later, when I came back to the Department as Under Secretary, we worked on the Autopact; that, of course, was a major development in our relations.

BOUT DE PAPIER: In the first year of your term as Under Secretary there was the Foreign Policy Review for Canadians headed by Mr. Sharp.

RITCHIE: Yes, that was unavoidable. The new government wanted to have a look at foreign policy, and obviously wanted to have a foreign policy that looked somewhat different from the foreign policy of its predecessor. Which was not something that greatly endeared the new government to some of the previous pillars of the earlier government. I think Mike Pearson was a little troubled with some aspects of that review. Whether it had much effect and whether the effects were good or bad, it is hard for me to say objectively. A lot of good work was done on it. Mitchell Sharp put himself into it very whole-heartedly, as he did particularly on the Third Option which is an expression one does not use around these parts these days I gather. Although, you are hearing more about it from Punta del Este. That's really the Third Option in operation. The GATT is Third Option. To contrast it with the free trade possibility between the U.S. and Canada is not very accurate. Obviously both things are important and not necessarily in conflict.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Can you give us your opinion on the free trade talks and how all that might come out?

RITCHIE: I do not find it easy to, and I do not think Mr. Mulroney finds it easy to either. I think this is a difficult one. I am glad to see there are some good people working on it in Simon's shop and some of the others who are not necessarily in that actual organization. I do not know how you are set up at External on this at the moment. I have not really followed it too closely, but it will be clearer I think in a fairly short time as to whether or not something is going to wash or not here.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Mr. Mulroney seems to think it is the Americans now who are going to decide whether it is going to happen or not.

RITCHIE: It is a proper tactic for him to be adopting. I think we have looked for too long too eager. If you look too eager you are going to have to pay more than you probably should. I think it is well now to be looking a little less eager. Whether that is tactical or whether it is an actual appraisal — I do not know.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Could we come back for a moment to a couple of things that also happened when you were Under-

secretary? It seemed that there was a lot of exciting things happening at the time, for example, the FLQ crisis in Quebec.

RITCHIE: Yes, I lost a good bit of sleep over that one. Who would have thought that this would have happened in any form, and particularly that it would happen with a diplomat involved. Diplomats were not in the habit of being picked up in those days. It has become more common now-a-days. Who would have thought External Affairs would have found itself in the centre of this thing.

BOUT DE PAPIER: External Affairs was in the centre?

RITCHIE: Yes — by accident, and by the fact that Cross was a diplomat, a foreign government representative. The accident I referred to was the fact that we happened to have had an operations centre which in those days nobody had. Now everybody has one. Mitchell Sharp was an active Minister whom the PM was prepared to let carry the ball, at least at the beginning of this thing. The PM was out of town at the very start and Sharp was central to it. We found ourselves deep into something that I would have not expected to have found myself into when I came back as the Under-Secretary

cont'd on page 23

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The Greats

from page 7

mainly because of the economic issues. It is like Ken Taylor going to Tehran to convert a big export credit into sales. He did not get much chance to. I say that not too casually because it is one of the things that illustrates how impossible it is to apply some of the methods that auditors like to apply to foreign service operations. You cannot predict what is going to come up. PPBS (program planning and budgeting systems) is a great concept, but it does not apply to foreign relations and the Americans know that. My old tutor used to chair a committee in Washington, the Hitch Committee. Hitch because that was his name. He worked on the application of PPBS to their foreign affairs. They brought a great expert into Washington to apply it afterwards. Hitch was here one evening in Ottawa and we had dinner with him. At the end I said we would like to hear what he thought about the application of program planning and budgeting systems to foreign affairs and just how it would apply. His answer was "Not at all". All those who are now undertaking great projects on a similar basis just have not been in the real world of the changing content of international relations. Country programs are probably a useful thing and something like the foreign policy reviews — inevitable. I do not go overboard for it or any of these devices. I guess I am still old fashioned, and I am probably old-fashioned because I am old!

BOUT DE PAPIER: One other development in those days was the establishment of relations with China. That happened shortly after your arrival?

RITCHIE: It happened in the midst of the October crisis. We were having the then Chinese Ambassador in to meet with the minister at lunchtime on a day when all the television cameras they could muster in this city were focused on the front of the East Block because that was where they were expecting some action relating to the FLQ. The poor Chinese Ambassador came in quietly with Ralph Collins. He was told the Government's decision and what he was to do and he did it very nicely and appropriately. There are many symposia now on the recommendation and on how it came about — what we did right and what we did wrong. I must say that there were not very many of the things that were done that were all that wrong.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Was there general support for the decision of the Government?

RITCHIE: Without the Prime Minister's strong interest, I do not know whether it would have happened. Paul Martin was pretty keen on it too. I would not try to line up the Cabinet as to who favoured it and who did not, but I think there was general support. The PM was strongly in favour. It was obviously something that could imme-

diately distinguish his foreign policy from that of his predecessors. After the number of false starts that were made under other governments, for this government to be able to pull this off was obviously something that was going to be the hallmark of the period. It happened pretty successfully. I think that is the judgment people analysing what happened are now coming to.

BOUT DE PAPIER: One other event that happened at about the same time was the OPEC crisis. The first oil crisis. Did that upset things in the Department as much as one might expect?

RITCHIE: Just about as much. In other words, we did not notice it a great deal! It upset everything — the economy and that upsets the Department and the ability to do other things. It affected oil relations with the Americans quite substantially. It was quite a change from 1949 when we were so pleased with ourselves for getting an exemption from U.S. oil restrictions. There were the boycotts, and action taken to withhold oil or to keep out oil, both things and Canadian oil became very important there. Apart from Pierre Trudeau dancing the jig with Sheik Yamani on the desert sands, we did not get very close to it. The department was not terribly actively involved in anything directly related to the OPEC discussions.

BOUT DE PAPIER: One of the other things that has changed since you were the Under Secretary, Mr. Ritchie, is the organization of the Department. Did you not reorganize the Department fairly early on in your tenure by establishing four area bureaux?

RITCHIE: Yes, the creation of the Directors General. I still think it was a good organizational device. I had intended that the Directors General would be the key people in the Department, for various reasons that one can go into. It would be a planetary type of organization with the Directors General looking after all kinds of subjects. Assistant Under Secretaries would have more general responsibilities. The Directors General, with regard to each region or area of expertise, would be the key people. As far as I know, it has not worked that way. In fact, it got changed drastically.

I do not like to comment on the present organization. I have mixed feelings about the whole integration thing. I should not sound off about it because the Trade Commissioner Service was, as you know, of very high morale and was an effective organization. And, the External Affairs service was. Whether the blend of the two is equally effective all the time, I am not sure. I think there is a different function and it is not higher or lower. If you ask many who were brought up in the Trade Commissioners Service, they would not have put one service higher or lower than the other but would have seen fairly distinct functions for the two services. But there it is — they are now one.

BOUT DE PAPIER: The foreign policy review in 1970 said that "there should be

maximum integration of the foreign service so that its operations will effectively contribute to the achievement of national objectives". Ten years later the integration took place.

RITCHIE: There is a lot of argument for integration obviously. But, do they stand up?

BOUT DE PAPIER: As you mentioned, the majority of your time overseas was spent in the United States. Certain Canada/US issues are very much in the news again.

RITCHIE: I have always felt we should use the Columbia River Treaty to pressure the Americans and, in particular, our friend down there who is interested in shakes and shingles because, after all, he relies on Bonneville Power. Bonneville Power relies on the regulation we supply under the Columbia River Treaty for which we have been paid for only a period. It is hard to make out much of anything when negotiating with these tough characters.

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BOUT DE PAPIER: You think they are as tough as their reputation?

RITCHIE: I think pretty much. Fortunately Simon was through all that with the Autopact and he knows how rough it was. I do not think he has any illusions.

The Autopact and the Columbia River Treaty were two very important and beneficial developments for Canada. Although the Columbia has been criticized at times. I think you can still make the argument that it was a good deal. It got twisted around a bit by the politics of the continent. I think the Autopact was quite an operation. It was not handled the way you handle the free trade issue now. It was much more departmental. By that I do not mean External Affairs, but individual departments. But it turned out well in the end despite all the misgivings. Paul Martin was working on that too. Even though Simon was the key official on the substance of the thing, Martin had the Department with the expertise in some of the key aspects of the whole thing. And, of course, he had the Windsor constituency with a heavy reliance on the auto industry. I am watching the present proceedings with great interest.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Mitchell Sharp was the SSEA during part of your tenure as Under Secretary. Can you describe the relationship between you and Mr. Sharp?

RITCHIE: I had known him as an official before I worked with him as a minister. He had been Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce and a senior Finance Officer. He is an able man. Mitchell was head of the team on original trade negotiations with the Soviet Union.

BOUT DE PAPIER: While you were Under Secretary, Mr. Trudeau went to the USSR.

RITCHIE: Yes, I was with him on that trip. That was a great expedition. I went back later under the Protocol of Consultation. My visit just happened to coincide with the 1972 hockey game, which we won. I have a photo of me with, what turned out to be, three presidents of the Soviet Union

watching the game.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Was the USSR the country you thought it would be?

RITCHIE: I think very much so. I saw a good deal of it on the trip with Trudeau. We saw quite a bit of the variety of the country. I had just been in China before with Mitchell Sharp. China and Russia are quite different; they were then and are probably a little less conspicuously different now. There are changes occurring everywhere.

BOUT DE PAPIER: The photographs behind you are quite exceptional. Can you tell me about them?

RITCHIE: One is of L.B.J. (President Johnson) telling me what I should tell Mike Pearson about his speech in Temple University. I had just presented my credentials and he did not waste any time in getting down to business. The other was taken in Hyanisport, Mass. with Mike Pearson and Kennedy. The picture of the Pope was taken in Ireland. I was Ambassador there for three and a half years. It was idyllic. I liked it there very much. A fine country with an interesting history and people.

Before we part, I would like to offer a personal comment about Bruce Rankin whom we have lost.

I have had the privilege of working with Bruce Rankin over many years and in various capacities and have much respect and regard for him. Although he often told me that he preferred working in the field rather than at headquarters, I have no doubt that his honesty and directness and his ability to excite and inspire his colleagues at all levels would have been equally effective in Ottawa. He was a good colleague and friend and will be sorely missed.

BOUT DE PAPIER: Thank you very much, Mr. Ritchie.

Mr. McNab is currently serving with the US Branch in Ottawa. As Trade Commissioner, he has been posted in Mexico City and Baghdad.



Ambassador Ritchie in Washington

PARDY'S CORNER

by Laurel Pardy

The Rite of Ritual

Last Thursday was October 9, a normal, breezy Canadian fall day. The kind of day that demands decisions regarding jackets and gloves — to wear or not to wear; to wear now and carry later.

The threads of three special celebrations crossed on that particular day and, in doing so, treated me to one of life's brief moments of confirmation that, for once, I had done something right.

My older son was visiting us for the Thanksgiving holiday. He was indulging mother by driving me around to do some errands and, not coincidentally, building up "on" so he could ask for the car that evening. Three minor, everyday activities occurred in sequence.

First, the combination of easy parking, money in my pocket and sunshine to highlight the golden pumpkins lured me into

shopping at a market stall to buy our Hallowe'en jack-o-lanterns early. I still bought two, one for each son, even though only one would be at home this year.

"Can I carve mine before I go back to Kingston?" asked my son.

"Sure. No problem", I said, surprised but pleased.

Second, we stopped at the supermarket to be sure of having on hand the essential ingredients for Thanksgiving dinner. I didn't need a list because the menu has not varied in nearly two decades. I've been known to ship cranberry sauce, wild rice and yams half way around the world. I have even spent a week's grocery money to give a turkey a four-continent tour before it graced our Thanksgiving table.

Third, as we nipped into the Bay for a birthday present for my sister, I was disconcerted to walk into an absurdly early Christmas display — decorated trees, twinkling lights, baskets of ornaments, gift wrap and ribbon. When I stopped to

consider one of the plastic trees, my son pulled me away.

"Don't ever buy one of those. A Christmas tree should be real. I'd rather have no tree than one of those", he commented.

With those words I realized that one of my child-rearing goals had been reached.

Early in our first posting someone sent me a Canadian magazine which included an article by Pierre Berton. In this article he extolled the value of rites and rituals in building and strengthening a family's sense of itself. He maintained that, even when separated physically from the family home, by carrying out these traditions one could experience the warmth and feeling of belonging that occurs on close family occasions.

I must have been feeling that New Delhi was very far from home. Usually, Mr. Berton and I do not reach a state of sympathy very quickly, but this time his words struck a receptive chord.

There was not much chance of us ever living very close to relatives, or spending much of our children's growing years in Canada. I had been mildly concerned about them reaching adulthood and not feeling that they belonged anywhere. They were just babies yet, so I had done no more than decide it was a decision I could put off. His words coalesced these vague thoughts into worries; however, they also had given me a course of action.

Very deliberately I compiled lists of Canadian holidays and how they were celebrated — Easter, July 1, Hallowe'en, birthdays, Christmas, Sunday dinner, vacations, etc. Some customs were special to our respective families and some were more generalized Canadian traditions. The resulting mix that evolved is an amalgam not entirely Canadian, but they are most specially ours.

For example, on Hallowe'en we always had two pumpkins (of some kind) and each child always carved out their own design; and we always had a real Christmas tree whether it was spruce, cedar, pine or banana. We also have a tattered old tablecloth called the "birthday cloth" and always watch family slides on Christmas Eve after the tree is lit, but these latter are not part of this story.

Now that the children are leaving home and it is becoming harder and harder to find time for family activities, I had thought of abandoning some of these expensive and time-consuming celebrations. In nearly 20 years there had not been a hint that anything I had so conscientiously planned was making any difference — until last Thursday.

Perhaps it is not until they leave home that these family traditions become important. Perhaps when they establish their own families some of the pride and love I tried to express through these special times will be passed along to another generation.

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Free Trade and Economics

by James R. Williams

Generally, academic economists are very supportive of free trade because it will increase per capita income. Contrary to the generally held public view of the matter, tariffs cannot increase employment or demand for goods.

Tariffs and other forms of trade barriers increase prices, reduce real income of consumers and therefore reduce demand for goods in all industries. If, for example, because of the tariff or other trade barriers, we must pay more for our clothing or beer, we have that much less left to buy other goods and this, or course, reduces demand for output generally.

It is true, of course, that much of what we import are intermediate goods used in the production of other goods. These are not sold directly to consumers, but the effect on per capita income and demand for goods is the same. Tariffs and other trade barriers increase the cost of intermediate goods and therefore the cost of goods consumers buy. For example, tariffs and other forms of trade barriers increase the cost of the woven and knitted goods used to produce clothing. The prices charged for clothing are increased thereby and the consumer has that much less left to purchase other goods. This process reduces per capital income and therefore cannot increase demand for goods or employment.

Success in the market is the best evidence of economic efficiency. Those firms that survive the market process are the ones that lead the nation step by step to higher levels of national income. Tariffs, taxes and subsidies are put in place by well meaning politicians, usually to support declining industries, but often also to support domestic oligopoly. In either case, prices rise and incomes fall. It is the process which leads us step by step toward ever declining levels of national income. Neither demand for goods nor employment can be increased.

It is said that the sequence of tariff negotiations carried on since the Second World War have led the world forward toward higher levels of per capita income and this is true. It was an equally important achievement of these negotiations, however, that they prevented the world from slipping backward step by step toward protection and lower levels of per capita income.

Tariffs and other trade barriers are the worst form of market intervention.

Canadian empirical research since the Second World War indicates that free trade with the United States would increase G.N.P. by seven to 10.5 per cent. Let me take a moment to explain why this is so. Partly it is because free trade eliminates distortion in relative prices. When consumers are given prices that correctly reflect costs, they maximize their consumption in a way that minimizes the cost of the nation's resources and labour. This is the so-called classical argument for free trade, but empirical measurement has indicated that gains from free trade of this sort are not large.

The greatest part of the increase in G.N.P. would come about through a rise in productivity achieved through economies of scale at the level of the producing firm. Canadian production currently falls short of the American level because individual plants are not sufficiently specialized. Because of the smaller market here, Canadian production runs are necessarily shorter and the variety produced in each plant must be greater. Removal of the United States tariff and other trade barriers is seen as the remedy. If the entire North American market is open to them, Canadian firms can lengthen their production runs. They can reduce costs by producing a larger number of fewer varieties.

This is why the tariff and other forms of trade restraint have a greater effect on per

capita income in Canada than do other forms of taxation. A free trade arrangement with the United States will expand our potential market tenfold.

The adjustment process will be very similar to that which took place when the European Common Market was formed. Products of a similar kind were both exported and imported in greater volume. Individual firms became more specialized and expanded their exports. Imports increased, but total sales did not fall because a greater proportion of output was exported. The adjustment took place *within* firms and, accordingly, the amount of dislocation of labour and the amount of re-tooling was minimized.

What I have been describing are the hard core economic aspects of the free trade issue. These conclusions are rarely disputed even by those who are otherwise opposed to trade liberalization. Those who do oppose it are apprehensive for other reasons: they are fearful

- that the manufacturing sector will decline in size,
- or that strategic parts of the manufacturing sector will decline,
- or that the adjustment to free trade will bring an intolerable level of short-run unemployment,
- or that Canada will in some sense become more dependent on the United States than it presently is.



UNCLE SAM KICKED OUT!

VOICING CANADA: "WE DON'T WANT YOU HERE!"
JOHN BULL: "THAT'S RIGHT, MY SON. NO MATTER WHAT COMES, AN EMPTY HOUSE IS BETTER THAN SUCH A TENANT AS THAT!"

The size of the manufacturing sector is a matter that has concerned Canadians throughout their history. We do not want to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But we have always been a little schizophrenic about it. Wages are high in the mining industry and production is located in the areas where employment is most difficult to generate. People who live in the north are very protective about the forestry industry just as are the people of Newfoundland about fishing and the associated lifestyle. The resource industry accounts for a substantial share of our foreign exchange earnings and this is as it should be. We are exchanging that which is abundant here for goods which are scarce. Canada's resource sector will be relatively large whether or not there is free trade.

This fact also influences our manufacturing establishment. Canadian manufacturing industries are concentrated at the lower level of processing which takes resources through their initial phases. This kind of manufacturing differs from so called "end stage" processing by which is meant production of goods near the final form required by consumers. We think of wool and cotton as a lower level of processing, cloth as an intermediate stage and clothing as the end stage. Canada's manufacturing is concentrated toward the earlier stages because our resource abundance gives us a cost advantage compared to other nations — it doesn't mean that Canada is underdeveloped or backward.

But what about the absolute size of Canada's manufacturing sector. Is it likely to decline in free trade?

As a result of the Kennedy and Tokyo Round of negotiations, there have been substantial reductions in world and Canadian tariffs. Most Canadian industries have adjusted without difficulty. The Canadian industries least able to cope under these more competitive conditions are the same ones which were in difficulty long before the period of tariff reductions began. Their plight is by no means uniquely a Canadian problem. The same industries are in distress in almost all industrialized nations. They are the ones characterized by low wages and labour intensive production.

In this type of production, Third world nations with dense populations have the comparative advantage in production. It is sometimes the only means they have to earn the foreign exchange needed to buy goods produced in the industrialized nations of the world. Given the need for agricultural goods and for goods needed to develop their industries and infrastructure, it is almost certain that every dollar's worth of export earnings will be immediately spent in the industrial world. The output and employment lost in our labour intensive industries will be re-employed in the higher wage, capital intensive industries.

There is no doubt that the problems these industries are experiencing will be greater with free trade and there is no doubt that output and employment will decline in these industries. Empirical studies indicate, however, that total manufacturing output and employment will increase in the firms located in Canada.

But will the same set of industries continue to locate in Canada after free

trade? This is really a question for regional economics and we should therefore rephrase the question slightly and ask whether or not the same industries will locate in one of the Canadian or one of the American industrial regions because, with free trade, the nation of location is no longer of such importance. The regional location of any firm depends on a host of factors:

- the availability of specialized suppliers,
- the availability of specialized labour skills,
- infrastructure,
- transport costs,
- land rents,
- taxes,
- living costs . . .

The list could go on and on. The average wage is not important. A correct assessment would be based on the wages paid in the skills required by a particular firm. Each firm has a different set of requirements and will choose the most suitable location accordingly. The advantages that have brought Canadian industries to their present regional locations will not disappear if we move to free trade.

In the public forum we represent industrial regions as far more unstable than they really are. The relative sizes of North American regions will change if the regions have different growth rates — none needs to actually decline. Market forces resist change. In regions that grow the fastest, wages, rents and other costs rise and there are corresponding declines in those regions where growth is proceeding more slowly. We have been fortunate in Canada that our major cities have not suffered from the racial

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unrest and core destruction that has occurred in the United States. They provide attractive locations for business and the head offices of businesses.

In one respect, however, free trade will make matters worse for us. When it is in place, there is an incentive for foreign firms to establish branch plants in Canada to avoid payment of the tariff. With free trade this incentive will be gone. However, free trade will also remove a substantial disadvantage of Canadian location. With free trade, any firm located in one of the Canadian regions will no longer have to pay the American tariff.

But will the industries locating in Canada be the ones we want — the high technology types which commit substantial sums to research and development?

Research and development are part of the firm's fixed cost. The amount of funds that can be committed to research and development depends on the size of the potential market. The greater the potential market, the lower are average fixed costs and the greater the amount that can be committed to research and development. With the United States market added, Canadian located firms can justify adding larger sums to their research and development budgets.

All of these considerations lead me to expect that employment opportunities will increase under free trade and that the adjustment costs will not be great. Tariff reductions under the Kennedy and Tokyo rounds have had little impact on Canadian manufacturing and, since the adjustment to free trade will occur largely within the firm, the amount of labour relocation and re-tooling should be minimal.

But if we take this step will we have lost the freedom to make our own economic policy? As far as monetary or fiscal policy is concerned, little would be changed. As far as commercial policy is concerned, much depends on the form of the free trade agreement. If it is a multilateral free trade arrangement, it would almost certainly fall under the auspices of GATT and, conceivably, our freedom to manoeuvre would be little changed. A free trade union with the United States would leave us free to decide the level of tariff that would apply to Third nations. With a North American Common Market, Canada and the United States would need to agree on a single schedule of tariff rates. This would be the most restrictive form of free trade.

It isn't always true that the smaller nation has the least bargaining clout. It is true that, if a North American Common Market is established, in some sense we would be held to ransom. The United States could threaten to end the agreement and put the Canadian economy back through the process of economic adjustment. On the other hand, it is argued that Canada is an important supplier of resources and energy to the United States and would become a more important supplier under free trade.

The extensive American investment in Canadian industries gives us an ally in the American political arena. These are factors which increase our bargaining position. If the Congress of the United States is pressured into renewed protection for one of its industrial sectors, it is likely that Canada, as part of the free trade area, would be exempt. This has been the pattern in the past.

On the other hand, Canada has very little influence when tariff rates are negotiated through the GATT mechanism. Most reductions are negotiated on a bilateral basis. The large nations negotiate with each other. Under the so-called "most favoured nation principle", the results of bilateral negotiations are applied to all nations. Canada benefits from the agreements, but it cannot have much influence on the process itself except through the influence of larger nations such as the United States. We are likely to have more influence in GATT negotiations if we are in a free trade arrangement with the United States than if we are simply standing aside waiting for the main agenda to be announced.

This takes us into the political realm, where opinions of economists vary.

James Williams is Professor of Economics at McMaster University.

Ode (of sorts) to a pot bellied stove*

*My name, you'll see, is Dandy!
And I'm sure I'll come in handy.
I've been cast about a life-time
But now I'm in my second
prime:
Still of use, handsome too,
Worth full ten times original
value.
Being now antique to boot,
My pedigree is absolute!*

*(Cast in 1893 JS Mart Manufacturing Company #10, Brooklyn, Ontario)

— Jim Sutcliffe Nutt

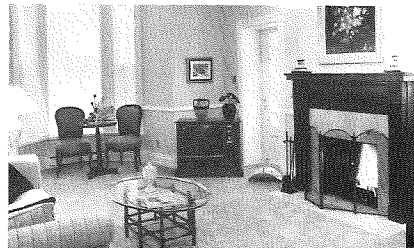
Jim Nutt is a retired foreign service officer and former Consul General in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

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The Foreign Policy Review

The Special Joint Parliamentary Committee on Canada's International Relations completed a year-long study of Canadian foreign policy in June. We asked two former foreign service officers, Don Munro and John Roberts, who went on to have distinguished careers as parliamentarians for their opinion of the Review.

by John Roberts

The Report of the Special Joint Committee on Canada's international relations — **Independence and Internationalism** — presented last June, should be read in conjunction with the Committee's earlier interim report published in August 1985.

The first report deals — a bit gingerly — with the two key topics of trade with the United States and the strategic defense initiative. The second, larger report, discusses virtually all the rest of Canadian foreign policy in advocacy of what the Committee calls "constructive internationalism" that is, the interweaving of international responsibility with Canada's basic national aims and support for the strengthening of the effectiveness of international institutions. Unfortunately, the Committee felt unable to review the operations of the Department of External Affairs — the task was logistically too unwieldy — though it did express the view that Canada is well served by its professional diplomats.

The House of Commons Committee on External Affairs, as it rarely has legislative proposals to consider, has not been an active forum for the discussion of Canadian foreign policy since the debates over the Trudeau government's foreign policy initiatives in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The publication of these two present reports by the Select Committee is, therefore, a welcome initiative which, one hopes, will lead to a more active engagement of parliamentarians with foreign policy issues.

The reports bear both the virtues and defects of the process that produced them. A joint parliamentary committee strives for the highest degree of possible consensus from its disparate party members, — but this apparent consen-

sus is often inflated by discounting disagreement through fudged language or expressing conclusions in an "on the one hand, on the other hand" basis and a parliamentary committee places a high priority on dialogue with the public.

The Committee recognized that it could not undertake either in depth original research or exhaustive analysis of the issue. It claims, however, the virtue of attacking the perception that foreign policy is formulated in ivory towers — a perception that will be news to those in the ivory towers — by asking Canadians for their thoughts on international relations. The range of asking was extensive, seeking wisdom far and wide — from as far afield indeed as 15 youngsters in a Sunday School class in Winnipeg.

Much of this participation is part of the cosmetics of the political process rather than a helpful basis for formulating foreign policy. Nevertheless, what one therefore loses in rigorous analysis through this participatory process, one hopes to make up in a clearer sense, of public attitudes. If this document reflects the public mood relating to Canada's foreign policy, its conclusions are usually unsurprising, occasionally striking and blandest of Canadian descriptions — useful.

It would be naive to expect that a parliamentary committee dominated by government majority would adopt a position that constrained or embarrassed the government on the high profile issues of the bilateral trade initiative or SDI. The conclusions of the interim report on these two issues are of little help to policy makers. On bilateral trade, the Committee provides a potted history of trade relations, a selective set of quotations from witnesses on the alternative sides of the issues and a series of anodyne recommendations suggesting that a comprehensive multi-faceted trade policy would be a good thing, that the government act swiftly and decisively to implement a multi-dimensional trade initiative, reduce interprovincial trade barriers, promote bilateral and multi-trade discussions, increase trade with the United States, increase trade with other countries too and protect Canadian sovereignty. But the Committee rejected the necessities that it recommend on modalities or the priorities in achieving these admirable objectives. In short, the government

was thus exorted to do good without much clear indication of what the good would be.

The Committee's comments on the Strategic Defense Initiative are much more interesting.

One cannot read the report without sensing a profound malaise about SDI on the part of the Committee members. The Committee did conclude that "it is prudent and logical that the United States continue to do basic research into this area until such time as it is limited by treaty or other agreement". But it outlined grave doubts about the production, testing and deployment of missile defense systems, and expressed strong support for the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972. On other key points such as the question of whether the Canadian government should participate in SDI research, the Committee could come to no conclusion but clearly, reading between the lines, the Committee had grave reservations about the helpfulness of the SDI initiative.

The second report — **Independence and Interdependence** — covers the rest of foreign policy. The Committee believes that there are five major concerns of the Canadian public — international security, state of the economy, relations with the United States, human rights, and aid and development assistance — and provides short chapters on each of these subjects. The Committee also believes that the goals outlined in the 1970 government papers — "Foreign Policy for Canadians" — and the 1985 Green Paper are the appropriate ones for Canada.

Not surprising therefore, the report is generally a compendium of helpful suggestions on detail mixed with platitudes rather than a proposal for major shifts in policy. The Committee recommends, for instance, "mutually agreed and verifiable reductions of nuclear forces" and asserts that arms control, disarmament and defense policy should move in tandem but novelty is not necessarily a virtue in foreign policy — and the Committee presents a range of useful, if conventional, comments on trade liberalization, terrorism, peacekeeping and international development.

The very strong emphasis on Canada's obligation to promote human rights throughout the world is noteworthy — it undoubtedly reflects the

Committee view of the public's concern for these issues and what is really remarkable, and welcome, is the very strong advocacy of a coherent arctic program as an integral part of Canadian foreign policy.

The chapter on Canada/U.S. relations should be required reading for all Canadian politicians, but while it is a superb description of **how** Canada should manage its relations with our southern neighbour, it does not consider **what** the purpose of the management should be. Is it in the interests of Canada, or the desire of Canadians, to move closer or to insulate itself over the longer term from the economy, defense policy and society of the United States? That is not a question that the Committee considers, much less answers.

One finishes reading the Committee's report with both satisfaction that so much useful work has been done but, at the same time, frustration that there is not a clearer direction for those who make policy. In the end, the lack of analysis and the lack of definition of priorities, which reflect the Committee's consensus approach, limit the value of the report. That raises some questions about the process the Committee followed. Surely its task should be not simply to hear witnesses, but to weigh the evidence before it. Perhaps it would be better in terms of both informing the public and providing more closely argued policy directions to have three reports outlining separate party views rather than an inconclusive majority report.

One cannot help remarking too, how much the approach to the definition of foreign policy objectives for Canada concentrates on the **role** of Canada in international affairs, rather than on the identification of our specific national interests. The Committee calls this the "persisting", "generous and optimistic", Canadian approach — "a determination to contribute to the development of the political and economic structures that became the foundation of the post-war world". But as the balmy days of almost automatic prosperity recede into Canada's past, we more and more need a sense of how Canada's domestic interests are to be achieved in a more turbulent, more challenging international context.

As the chapter on the management of Canadian/U.S. relations shows, I believe, the focus on **role** and **process**

is necessary, but not sufficient for the determination of foreign policy. Such an approach risks Canada being led into foreign policy positions which reflect the interests of others without a clear definition of our own needs. The difficulty in defining a foreign policy for Canada is a lack of direction or vision for the country internally. A country without a strategy for its own development and evolution will find it difficult to define its external purposes.

The joint committee can hardly be blamed for not finding a sense of purpose where none is to be found. It should be congratulated for turning out a useful resume of the range of issues before us.

*John Roberts was a foreign service officer from 1963-66. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1968 and served in the Cabinets of Pierre Trudeau and John Turner in various portfolios including Secretary of State, Science and Technology, Environment and Employment and Immigration. He is the author of **Agenda for Canada — Towards a New Liberalism**.*

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Lest we forget

by Donald W. Munro

Before we Canadians become too self-satisfied about the manner in which we are planning to teach the South Africans how to deal with their native peoples by creating Bantustans, let us just reflect on the manner in which we have been treating our own native peoples over the past years by settling them on Indian Reservations, and, generally speaking, isolating them from the general flow of Canadian life and development.

I abhor apartheid as much as anyone, but I'm afraid, sitting here in the relative comfort of Canada, that I don't know how to get rid of it in South Africa. A lot of other people seem to have the answer, but I don't despite having lived there for a couple of years.

Let us not overlook, even from this distance, some of the facts of South African life when we so roundly condemn the Pretoria Government for failing to extend majority rule to the Blacks. First of all, where does "the majority" lie when there are about five and a half million Zulus, four and a half million Whites, more than two and a half million Xhosas, two and a half million Coloreds, almost the same number of North Sothos, a few more South Sothos, and just over one and a quarter million Tswanas, not counting the million-odd made up of smaller tribal-linguistic groupings?

And if from the foregoing can be drawn the inevitable conclusion that the Blacks outnumber the Whites in the Republic itself by more than 3 to 1, let us recall that inter-tribal mini-war that occurred a few months

back near Durban, when Zulus and Pondos had at one another with machetes — over water rights, incidentally — causing a fair number of ugly deaths. Each tribe in South Africa has deeply engrained fears and animosities about all other tribes.

This, of course, is not peculiar to South Africa. Just cast your mind back a few years and recall:

- a) that a bully-ogre calling himself Emperor Bokassa ran riot in C.A.R., generating tribal warfare to his ultimate undoing;
- b) that another bully named Nkrumah was deposed (while visiting China) for trying to impose the rule of his tribe over others;
- c) that Nigeria was torn by civil inter-tribal conflict — remember Biafra?
- d) that the Sudan exploded in an internally-generated revolution based on tribal animosities and personal ambitions;
- e) that Uganda suffered at least four tribally-based tyrannies under three Heads of State.
- f) that UN troops had to be sent to the Congo to prevent Katanga from breaking away from the central government in Kinshasa;
- g) that Rwanda and Burundi, now two small states, had to be granted separate existence because the pygmy Bantus of the one refused to go on being the slaves of the nilotic giants of the other, as had been the case for centuries;
- h) that Kikuyu and Masai were at one another's throats savagely until Jomo Kenyatta emerged triumphant;

- i) that Tanzania may enjoy one man-one vote elections, but it is for a one-Party government.
- j) that Mugabe's northern Shonas have effectively prevented Nkomo's southern Matabeles from sharing either the responsibilities or the fruits of governing Zimbabwe.

With such a long and recent record of tribal troubles in other African states, is it any wonder that the South Africans are proceeding cautiously?

And if you are looking for an outstanding example of separateness (i.e. apartheid), just consider what happened in 1948 when India and Pakistan subdivided the Indian subcontinent, and where we now find a Bangladesh; with talk now of a Kalestan emerging through bloody strife. And who can forget the tragedy in human life and displacement that occurred when India and Pakistan went their separate ways? And can we overlook Sri Lanka entirely with so many seeking refuge here in Canada.

And if you're uptight about South Africa attacking terrorist installations in Zimbabwe and Botswana, just remember that Israel is doing it all the time from a land base that they succeeded in occupying, with UN support, by dispossessing those who had lived there amicably with Jews and Christians ever since the Crusades had become a thing of the past. The USSR is doing its share of bombing too, in Afghanistan. The UN seems unable to stop them, although it does seem to have ostracised the South Africans — largely, it would seem, because of the huge Black majority in the General Assembly. And now it's occurred most improperly, in the Red Cross Context. What folly will be committed next with Soviet help?

And sanctions? What will they accomplish? The non-South African Blacks (about one and a half million of them) will probably be the first to have to return, as unemployed, to Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique. The native Blacks of South Africa are going to be more deeply embittered by being denied the opportunity to earn the means of acquiring a bride and settling down. Embitterment can lead to bloody retaliation. Necklacing of their fellow Blacks has already shown what savagery is still possible.

But the leaders of the Front-Line States know from experience that the Developed Countries of the West can be counted on to maintain, and even, if necessary increase, the flow of "aid" fund to those areas where sanctions have bitten most deeply.

Don Munroe is a former career foreign service officer. In his later postings he was Commissioner to the ICSC in Laos and Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Panama. He was Member of Parliament for Esquimaux-Saanich from 1972 to 1984.

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Good and Faithful Servants

The View from the Tenth Floor

by Derek Burney and David C. Elder

The death on November 19, 1986, of Don Jamieson who served as Secretary of State for External Affairs from September 1976 to May 1978 came as a shock. We thought that, since we had been assigned to the Minister's Office while he was Minister, our personal views on Mr. Jamieson might be of interest to *Bout de papier* readers.

Mr. Jamieson genuinely liked people and as Minister, had an easy rapport at all levels. He had a repertoire of anecdotes and jokes that could enthrall audiences of all sizes and at all hours! Mr. Jamieson was relaxed (and unthreatened) when receiving advice from experts and comfortable with the distinction between his role as Minister and that of his various advisors. He prodded for analyses that went beyond the merits of a decision, preferring to gauge the consequences as well as the rationale for a particular course of action.

At all times, but notably when he travelled, Mr. Jamieson was supported fully by his wife, Barbara. He recognized that she provided the anchor at home as mother of four children which allowed him to play his role as Minister of the Crown to the full. Significantly, the strength of the family permeated his office and inspired loyalty and affection both ways. Her presence at his side in official visits relieved his staff of many administrative details and anxious moments.

The press reports indicated that Mr. Jamieson was working at the time of his sudden death on his memoirs. While he was still Minister, he often quipped that in any public recollections, the chapter devoted to his time in the External Affairs portfolio would be titled "No Bottom Line". He was obviously and visibly frustrated by Memoranda coming to him that did not present sharp policy options but seemed wishy-washy and "on the one hand, . . . on the other". He realized, however, that it was difficult in the portfolio to quantify and assess the success or failure of actions that were the subject of policy recommendations. He took seriously his responsibility for bringing a wide range of public/press considerations, national and regional considerations, political concerns and his own judgment and fairness to the foreign-policy decisions he as a Minister was called on to make.

The oratorical skills of Don Jamieson are legendary. He relished occasions for speeches especially if the event lent itself in any way to a "stem winder".

He paid great attention to the speeches

he gave on foreign policy, on public occasions in the House and before the Standing Committee as well as in international bodies like the United Nations General Assembly. He revelled in press interviews and press conferences. He enjoyed getting across a message, his message, but also the Department's message. He was acutely interested in international affairs and on Canada's relations with the United States. He sought information from whatever source possible and he read newspapers and magazines voraciously. In general, he preferred, as a source of information, press articles to Embassy reports. Newspapers gave him a feel for what the public would think about an issue.

He enjoyed the rough and tumble of the House of Commons but usually managed to stay above the fray. Pre-Question Period briefings seldom lasted more than a minute. When caught on a specific or obscure point of fact in the House, Mr. Jamieson inevitably promised a detailed reply to the Honourable Member by the end of the day and, with a wink or glare to the Officials' Gallery, the wheels were set in motion. Question Period was not a blood sport or bear pit for Mr. Jamieson, but an extension of theatre for a consummate communicator. To be "Official Spokesman" for Mr. Jamieson was akin to having to serve Eugene Forsey as a letter-writer.

Mr. Jamieson demonstrated a profound sense of moral commitment. Rhetorical flourishes left aside, he brought a sense of value to foreign policy issues. Nuclear proliferation, for example, was a profound personal concern. He wanted Canada to be in the forefront in ensuring nuclear technology was used only for the peaceful use of generating electric power. He considered it a major achievement to have put in place the Non-Proliferation Treaty-based safeguards policy and to have carried it as far as it could go in negotiations with our partners in nuclear cooperation.

He was proud that Canada was a member of the United Nations Security Council for much of the period when he was Minister. He considered that Canada had a significant role to play multilaterally. He felt particularly at home in the Security Council. On matters to do with Southern Africa, he was motivated by a strong sense of right and wrong. He was happy to have devoted much of the foreign policy debate that he encouraged in the House of Commons on December 13-14, 1977, to the announcement of a package of economic sanctions against South Africa including the closing of trade offices and the imposition of visa requirements. He recognized it was an issue of marginal importance in *Burin-Burgeo* and would bring him few, if any votes. Undoubtedly he was willing to devote time

to questions of Namibia in the Contact Group because of the opportunity it gave him to work closely with his colleagues in the Contact Group: Cyrus Vance, David Owen, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Louis de Guiringaud. The personal contact was very important to him as it allowed him political insight into the problems of the day and access to information not available at other levels. There was a deeper moral motivation. He was, for example, profoundly moved when he was in Windhoek, Namibia, to see at first hand the deplorable conditions in communities and in hospitals and schools reserved for blacks.



Don Jamieson

He accorded a special priority to relations with the U.S.A. He admired the policy positions of the U.S.A., but more than that he saw the relationship with the U.S.A. as the most relevant foreign policy force for his riding. In his first encounter with Henry Kissinger, Mr. Jamieson registered concern about a fishing dispute in the Gulf of Maine. Kissinger's eyes glazed unknowingly; the Gulf of Maine was a long way from grand strategy of a superpower. Mr. Jamieson, though, was particularly anxious to have good relations on fisheries and maritime boundaries and used his friendship with Cyrus Vance to promote the ad referendum agreement concluded on the East Coast. In general, he was most eager in his bilateral meetings with Vance to have constructive and personal discussions and to avoid the laundry list of issues on which Departmental officials considered they needed to have Ministerial sanction for their action. He preferred by far meetings that advanced issues of particular interest to him and the government.

cont'd on p. 51

Bruce Rankin

by David Wright

Bruce Rankin loved the Foreign Service. He used to say that its members were a breed apart — able to adjust quickly to new cultures and to deal imaginatively and flexibly with a huge range of issues and problems. Bruce cared very much about nurturing the spirit and motivation that made people find fulfillment in a Foreign Service career.

Earlier this year Bruce recounted for *Bout de Papier* some of the high points of his extraordinary career. Over 36 years he and Mona served in Sydney,

wardness and decisiveness under pressure, his generosity and kindness to his colleagues, his leadership and the inspiration he gave to a generation of Foreign Service people. Having Bruce and Mona at a post abroad virtually ensured that morale among staff members and their families was extremely high.

Bruce was direct and even blunt and this was one of his greatest strengths. He was able to go directly to the point on difficult issues because of his understanding of Canadian interests

is most remembered, and this is referred to in the *Bout de papier* interview earlier this year, was his punctuality in starting meetings. This was important in setting a businesslike tone for the meetings and getting some productive work done. But even more impressive was his ability to deflate the self-important egos that all too often reduced the UN's proceedings to the meanderings of an inward-looking debating society. He was able to bring meetings to focus on the decisions that had to be taken.



Bruce Rankin

Shanghai, Bombay, Berne, New York, Caracas and Tokyo. Bruce and Mona were a model of mutual support and affection. Bruce met Mona, a Canadian who grew up in Australia, on his first posting and her active participation in all his endeavours combined intelligence and humour in a manner which made it obvious how close they were.

During his career Bruce had only one assignment in Canada, at the National Defence College. Yet his contacts and friends in Canada were legion and he had extraordinary sensitivity to Canadian political currents and economic concerns.

One can measure Bruce Rankin's successes in so many ways — his unparalleled ties with the Canadian business community, his straightfor-

BRUCE RANKIN — *I have always supported the proposition that the Public Service of Canada should be politically neutral, but never neutered. Those in positions of responsibility should be vigorous in the expression of their opinions — even to Ministers — before decisions are reached, and diligent in carrying out the decisions when finally made by the government. In saying this, I must have had Bruce Rankin in mind. Since he spent most of his career abroad, I did not meet with him frequently either when I was deputy minister or later when I became a Minister. But I received regular reports on his activities and I never forgot the occasions when we did meet. Bruce generated energy. It came pouring out. Not that he talked at length. It was the bluntness and directness of his language that was so impressive. I remember one particular meeting in New York when I was SSEA and leading the Canadian Delegation to the General Assembly. I sat at one end of the table, Bruce, who was Chairman of one of the Committees of the General Assembly, sat at the other. After one of his vigorous interventions, which was very much to the point, I reminded the Delegation that Bruce was a public servant, I was the politician. It did not slow him down, I am glad to say. Bruce responded to challenges and inspired in those who worked with and for him an extraordinary degree of personal loyalty. Consequently, he was given challenging posts. I saw him at work in Tokyo on several occasions both while I was Minister and later. Although then the Ambassador, he was still the trade commissioner at heart employing, along with his wife Mona, the niceties of diplomacy, hospitality and personal charm not only to promote friendly relations between Japan and Canada but to produce orders and contracts for Canadian business.*

I have had the privilege of knowing personally all of the group of talented men that was recruited at the end of the Second World War by the Department of Trade and Commerce to serve abroad. Bruce Rankin was among the best: a superb public servant. The people of Canada are indebted to him for his energetic devotion to their interests.

The Hon. Mitchell Sharp.

and his deep self-confidence. His humour was a great source of joy to his friends and colleagues. Bruce was famous at the United Nations for his chairmanship of the Economic Committee of the General Assembly. What

I recall one incident in which a particularly pompous delegate was decrying the lack of progress on some subject clearly dear to his heart. He ended a lengthy speech by quoting Macbeth:

"Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
 To the last syllable of recorded time;
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to a dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
 Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
 That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
 And then is heard no more; . . . "

Bruce, presiding at the meeting and not skipping a beat, said that quotation was one of his favourites from Shakespeare, but that the delegate had unfortunately left out the rest of what Macbeth had had to say:

" . . . it is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing."

The effect was devastating. It took several minutes for the laughter to subside and the distinguished delegate was not heard from again for weeks.

Bruce accomplished an enormous amount for Canada during his career. His successful efforts with respect to oil issues with Venezuela, economic development through the United Nations system, Canada's financial standing on Wall Street, and Canada's trade with Japan, are all representative of the important contribution he made.

After he retired in 1981 Bruce pursued an extremely active life in the private sector. He kept his close ties with the department and was always generous in sharing the benefits of his experience and wisdom. Bruce was honoured by his country and his university. He was an outstanding member of the Foreign Service and his example will always be an inspiration to those who were fortunate enough to have him as a colleague and a friend.

David Wright is a career foreign service officer who has served in Rome, New York and Tokyo. He is currently Director General of the Economic Policy Bureau.

Robert K. Joyce

By Bill Dymond

There can be few Canadians involved in international economic diplomacy in the past 20 years who did not have the good fortune to cross paths with Bob Joyce. Diplomacy is an art which

comes only with difficulty to most officers trained in the rigours of the Department of Finance. Bob Joyce was the exception. He moved with grace and skill in multilateral and bilateral economic and trade negotiations. He served with distinction and poise in Washington and Brussels.



Robert K. Joyce

Harold Nicolson set the standard for the ideal qualities of a diplomat in his celebrated *Diplomacy*; "Truth, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty and loyalty . . ." Intelligence, knowledge, discernment, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and even tact Nicholson took for granted. Bob possessed and displayed these qualities in full measure.

My most vivid memories of Bob stem from the last two years of the Tokyo round when he was the senior Finance representative on Jake Warren's Senior Committee. Bob Latimer was the senior ITC representative and the committee was known as the two Bobs and Jake. Throughout the hours, the days, the nights, the weekends, Bob Joyce with his humour, his shrewd appreciation of Canadian interests, his kindness, patience and good will rendered the heavy burdens and the tremendous pressures bearable and rewarding.

His sudden passing is a grievous loss to us all and to the Canadian public service. Ed Clark, late of the National Energy program and now in the lucrative private sector in Toronto, mused thoughtfully on the public service in a recent interview. He observed that "Ottawa is driven by ideas. Energy is devoted to great internal debates about the right thing to do . . . the good people who deal in

public policy really want to make Canada a better place to live. You work every night and every weekend . . . because you feel you're cheating the Canadian public if you can't solve the big problems . . . You feel you owe it to the public not to go on holidays until you solve the problem. In Toronto, you . . . take three weeks off and all that happens is that you don't earn as much money."

St. Paul writes to St. Timothy, "I have finished the course, I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith." Bob Joyce was a man of ambition. He sought to be the good and faithful servant in his professional and personal life. None can doubt that this high ambition was achieved.

Mr. Dymond is a career foreign service officer who has served in Geneva and Brussels and is currently attached to the Trade Negotiations Office.

Roger Rousseau

par Georges Blouin

Tous ceux qui ont connu Roger Rousseau ont été attristés d'apprendre son décès le 26 septembre dernier à l'âge de 65 ans.

En effet, tout au long de sa carrière au sein du service diplomatique canadien sa contribution a été marquée d'un haut degré de professionnalisme.

Après son entrée, en 1951, au Service des Délégués commerciaux au Ministère de l'Industrie et du Commerce, il a été nommé vice-consul et délégué commercial à la Nouvelle-Orléans; ensuite, il a servi comme secrétaire commercial à Mexico, à Beyrouth et à Buenos Aires. En 1967, il a occupé l'importante fonction de Ministre conseiller (commercial) à Paris.

Il entre au Ministère des Affaires extérieures en 1969 et devient un an plus tard Ambassadeur au Cameroun avec accréditation au Gabon, au Tchad et en République Centrafricaine. En 1972, il est nommé Président du Comité Organisateur et Commissaire général des Jeux Olympiques de 1976. Il retourne au service diplomatique en 1977 alors qu'il est accrédité Ambassadeur au Venezuela; ce sera son dernier poste diplomatique.

Roger Rousseau obtient son baccalauréat en sciences commerciales de Sir

cont'd on p. 52

"... so scarred by the political process that sometimes he lets paranoid advisors convince him to be mean-spirited". Sadly, this book will not appeal to those who are naively confident in the direction of Canadian politics today. But nothing in Sean O'Sullivan meteoric rise from young campaign worker to the youngest M.P. in Canadian history would compare to the trial that now faced him.

Cancer is surely the cruellest contemporary disease without a known cure. Cancer is the closest men and women can come to hell and survive. O'Sullivan's chapter "To the Brink and Back" is a very personal and powerful exposé of despair, pain, and survival. He describes the devastating realization that his body has failed him and that he will probably die. But his lively brain continues to function and dream, creating hallucinations and doubts as the body chemistry contorted by cancer torments the balance of his life.

Sean O'Sullivan was the last person you would have thought might fall victim to such a disease. I first met him in Rome at the home of the Canadian Embassy's RCMP Attaché. The young novice lived up to his reputation for fast wit and humour making me realize that if Canada had received more Irish immigrants in the past, our sense of humour might now rival that of Australia. He often came to our house on the Appian Way in Rome, and on many occasions, after a family dinner, I would drive Sean home to the Irish College in the small hours of the morning. It was long after curfew; I kept the car's high beams trained on the gate of the

College as Sean scaled it. He was always careful not to lose anything as he rounded the spiked top, and he would disappear into the shadows with only one more obstacle—a very alert dog with a loud bark.

On one occasion Sean was not himself and complained of being tired and weak. He booked into a retreat run by the Blue Nuns at Fiesole in the hills overlooking Florence. Ten days later he returned to Rome refreshed but still not up to scratch. We recommended our Canadian doctor, Rosemary Harris, who was much sought after by the diplomatic community, and is a woman of extraordinary grace and professional acumen. Her diagnosis was privy to her patient, but I don't think she suspected cancer at this point.

Sean returned to Canada to become a parish priest and later to run the priest vocation programme in Toronto for Cardinal Carter. The billboard depicting Christ on the cross with the caption "Dare To Be A Priest Like Me" became a topic of much conversation and controversy. It was classic O'Sullivan. His political days had helped to make the beaver Canada's national symbol. He now captured the imagination and the devotion of a new constituency, and today his cancer is in remission.

Both My Houses is a voyage from youth to adulthood, and from politics to priesthood. It is a view of Canada through a personal prism with all the subjectivity and omission that that entails. But it is worth every page because, together with the personal pronouncements and recollections, there is a refreshing magnanimity that

prevents the kind of Monday morning quarter-backing which often tarnishes autobiographies. The author shares his own weaknesses and, by doing so, shows that he has surmounted them. His vignettes of Canadian personalities are refreshing and enlightening, critical but without bitterness.

It is a powerful book of ecstasy and agony, and it ends with the Christian pronouncements of a man committed to his Faith and to his Church as a centurion in the Pope's Divisions. His political knowhow will be essential as he stickhandles the ecclesiastical bureaucracy as capably as he did the political one in Canada, and his stubborn personality will be the great strength for future challenges.

In St. John's Gospel is written, "... in My Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you". With his future now dedicated to the preaching of Christian mystery, we can safely predict that there are more mansions to be built in Sean O'Sullivan's house.

David Anido is Cultural Officer in the Department of External Affairs and Secretary of the Canadian Mediterranean Institute.

Don Jamieson cont'd

from p. 15

Mr. Jamieson's view of the Department was frankly nuanced. He was not distant and aloof. He saw his role, however, as political, giving broad guidance, while leaving to the Deputy Minister the operations of the Department. Particularly he did not wish to be involved in administrative matters. There was little he liked less than to have a Head of Mission appeal to him, while travelling, on the insufficiency of the residence or the inadequacy of staff or to have a matter that he considered purely routine or administrative referred to him

when he considered it should be resolved by officials.

A career diplomat, Derek Burney is Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

David Elder was Departmental Assistant to the Hon. Don Jamieson in 1978-79. He has served in Dakar and Harare. He is currently Director of the International Economic Relations Division.

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La première et lointaine consécration de la littérature négro-africaine

par Leopold Battel

La consécration, tardive, de la littérature négro-africaine par l'attribution du prix Nobel à l'écrivain nigérian Wole Soyinka aura eu pour effet, d'une part, de jeter une lumière nouvelle sur une littérature riche, originale mais combien ignorée, et d'autre part, de souligner les tares de notre culture occidentale.

Il nous est évidemment plus aisé de nous familiariser avec la culture locale lorsque nous sommes en poste. Les livres des écrivains nationaux côtoient ceux des auteurs européens ou américains. C'est alors une révélation que de s'initier à une nouvelle culture, à une façon de penser différente. C'est aussi une déception que de faire le constat de l'autocentrisme de notre culture, et de son quasi-monopole au détriment de cette partie du patrimoine culturel mondial.

Cette indifférence de l'Occident étonne. Dès le milieu du 19^e siècle, on le sait, une littérature "nègre" se manifeste pour s'engager, sous la plume de l'Américain W.E.B. Du Bois, dans le mouvement de la négritude qui culminera vers les années 50, avec l'oeuvre de Cheik Anta Diop.

La littérature nègre d'expression française reçut sa première consécration en 1921, lorsque l'Académie Goncourt couronna "*Batouala*" du Guyanais René Maran. Je n'ai malheureusement pu mettre la main sur cet ouvrage mais j'ai pu lire de lui le remarquable roman "*Un homme pareil aux autres*", (publié en 1947. Editions Albin Michel, Paris.) Histoire poignante d'un Noir, de citoyenneté française, qui se rend en Afrique en tant qu'administrateur colonial. Tout comme dans "*Batouala*", René Maran y dépeint les effets pervers du système colonial sur les sociétés traditionnelles, mais l'emphase, comme son titre l'indique, est davantage sur l'expérience d'homme dans sa peau noire. Le succès cependant arriva plus par le scandale en raison surtout de sa préface retentissante. Il écrit dans préface "*d'Un homme pareil aux autres*" (1947), une introduction qui reprend le ton accusateur, le style observateur (les Noirs jugent les Blancs) de la préface de *Batouala*.

"... Le nègre que je suis a peut-être tort de publier les confidences qu'on va lire. On m'a pourtant conseillé de le faire, parce que le moment semble venu d'en saisir l'opinion publique."

"... Je crois entendre déjà les critiques qu'elles susciteront. Le Français, affirmera-t-on, n'a jamais eu de préjugé de couleur. ... Il est indéniable qu'il existe aujourd'hui, ... des traces plus ou moins profondes de racisme.

... L'Européen en général, le Français en particulier, non contents d'ignorer le nègre de leurs colonies, méconnaissent celui qu'ils ont formé à leur image ... Les nègres ne cessent, au contraire, de les étudier et de les approfondir." etc.

Avec "*Batouala*", qui avait pourtant obtenu le Goncourt, la critique ne lui avait pas été tendre en effet. Toujours au sujet de "*Batouala*" le "*Crapouillot*" écrivait: "C'est une oeuvre élémentaire très honorable pour un nègre ..."

Pourtant, à la lecture d'*Un homme pareil aux autres*, on y découvre un style profond, serein, une qualité d'écriture rare dans la plupart des romans. Sans doute le contenu faisait peur à l'époque. Une littérature nègre en quête d'identité était acceptable, mais s'instituer en réquisitoire anti-colonial devenait une toute autre affaire.

Il aura quand même fallu 65 ans pour que l'Occident se décide à redécouvrir, à saluer, à honorer cette littérature.

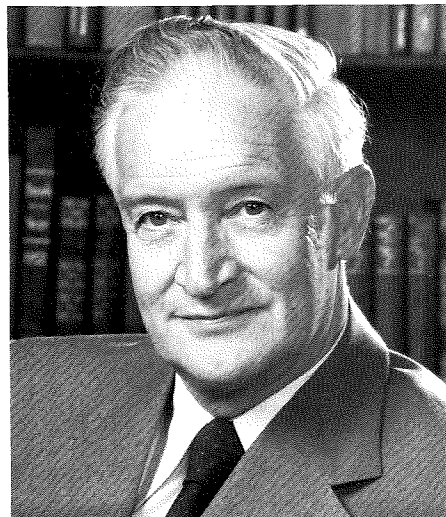
L'hommage à rendre aujourd'hui doit comprendre toute une oeuvre ignorée du public occidental. L'identité a été retrouvée, le réquisitoire anti-colonial s'est transposé au plan de la critique sociale, mais la saveur demeure. Des romans exceptionnels ne demandent qu'à être connus: "*Jusqu'au seuil de l'irréel*" d'Amadou Koné; "*La carte d'identité*" de Jean-Marie Adiaffi; "*L'étrange destin de Wangrin*" d'Amadou Hampate-

Bâ, dont l'oeuvre variée à elle seule constitue un monument à la négritude (voir Bout de papier; vol 4., édition été 1986); "*Les soleils des indépendances*" d'A. Kourouma, publié d'abord au Canada en 1968, puis à Paris (1970), a marqué le renouveau du roman africain d'expression française: "*Tribaliques*" d'Henri Lopès; le recueil de poésies exquises "*Latérite*" de Véronique Tadjo, qui s'est méritée le Prix Littéraire de l'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique; sans compter les Sénégalais et tant d'autres, ainsi que les écrivains anglophones, dont les Nigériens sont les chefs de file au plan de la quantité. (On sera particulièrement attiré par exemple par des titres comme "*My Mercedes is bigger than yours*" (1975) de Nkem Nwankwo.)

Il est à espérer que l'Occident, pris dans son sens culturel global, ne boude plus cette littérature qu'il a indirectement contribué à faire éclore. Il est également à espérer que les oeuvres africaines soient primées aussi par les grands prix littéraires connus et non plus confinées à des prix régionaux comme le Grand Prix Littéraire de l'Afrique Noire.

Leopold Battel a servi avec le PNUD en Algérie de 1974 à 1976. De 1982 à 1985, il a été premier secrétaire et Chef de la section d'aide à Abidjan. Il est présentement à la direction de l'Afrique francophone aux Affaires extérieures.

Rousseau cont'd from p. 17



Roger Rousseau

George Williams College à Montréal et il détenait le diplôme de "Master Business Administration" de l'Université de New York.

En 1941, il s'enrôla dans l'Aviation Royale du Canada, est fait prisonnier de guerre en Europe et est démobilisé en 1945 avec le rang de capitaine d'aviation.

Roger Rousseau était détenteur de la Médaille du Canada et en 1976 a reçu l'insigne de Compagnon de l'Ordre du Canada, pour sa contribution, en particulier, aux Jeux de la XX^e Olympiade du gouvernement du Canada; nous devons lui rendre un hommage bien mérité.

Ottawa, le 1^{er} décembre 1986.

Georges Blouin était ancien agent aux affaires extérieures. Il a servi à New Delhi, San Francisco, Athènes, Bruxelles, et comme ambassadeur au Cameroun, Ministre à Washington, Ambassadeur en Espagne, Ambassadeur aux Pays-Bas et sous-secrétaire adjoint.

Our Forgotten Anniversary

by Dacre P. Cole

China's leaders speak with missionary zeal of the significance of the 'Long March' in their country's unification, and this year celebrate its 50th anniversary. Americans derive national inspiration from the observance of their Declaration of Independence. Canadians could recall a less dramatic and revolutionary but no less significant Declaration of Independence in the proclamation of 'Dominion Status' just 60 years ago on November 18, 1926. But somehow we seem to have lost track of this event and when we might be celebrating our acquisition of equal status with Great Britain and the attainment of national sovereignty, we have reduced our National Day to a mere birthday bash (complete with fireworks) making us simply a year older.

Perhaps the cavalier dropping of the designation Dominion Day by a handful of legislators late one Friday afternoon a couple of years ago, removed the link between the creation of a New transcontinental Nation "from Sea to Sea" by our fathers of Confederation on July 1st, and Dominion status. This would have been an appropriate occasion for reference to our Diamond Jubilee by Governor General, Prime Minister or Secretary of State, but no such allusions appear to have been made, in any of the ceremonial observances.

Can ignorance and apathy be credited with another victory? Anyone can read about the independent sovereign relationship of Commonwealth members and Dominion status in Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary although some of our legislators have been less successful in getting much enlightenment from *le Petit Robert*, which lists Canada simply as a *specie of apple*.

Commemorative stamps have traditionally carried historic messages to the general populace, reminding us of events in our glorious past and inspiring us to envisage future shared achievements. The value of history it has been said, lies in the perspective it gives us as we take up the problems of the present. The easiest approach to an understanding of today's challenges may well be through knowledge of our past. A nation's history, after all, corresponds to an individual's memory, facilitating the linkage between past and future. This may suggest the possibly hazardous consequences of a lobotomy performed on an institutional memory. But one can search in vain through the plethora

of commemoratives in our stamp catalogues without even catching sight of a postal issue marking one of the most significant landmarks on our way from colony to nation. This is particularly strange given the frequent references to cultural and national sovereignty.

Neither the 50th anniversary of our Declaration of 'Independence' on November 18, 1926 nor its formal enactment some five years later in the Statute of Westminster (1931) have been recognized. Postal selections for the latter 50th anniversary date in 1981 portray reproductions of the Vancouver Island Marmot and a rare 18th century musical instrument on display in a Vancouver exhibition — no doubt revealing Ottawa's concern for the West. But no trace of the significant event marking the changed role of the Governor General — no longer performing the additional services as an agent of the British Government and signifying the radical transformation from Empire to Commonwealth, is to be found amongst the collection.

Perhaps in sweeping the embarrassing 'Customs Scandal' under the carpet in 1926, Prime Minister King managed a triple coup by including an altered role for the GG and his responsiveness to both the PM and Canadian Cabinet for Ministerial advice. Lord Byng of Vimy certainly acted in the best traditional role of protector of national conscience and interest in refusing to allow King to escape censure of the House of Commons by seeking a dissolution and new

elections — even though the subsequent election campaign was won on a very bogus 'constitutional' issue with which this wiley politician succeeded in pulling the 'colonial' wool over the eyes of a gullible electorate. Some inaccurate historical accounts continue to misrepresent these events, but our **Documents Series**, Vol. 4, pp. 10/11 (External Affairs DCER), reveals the naked truth.

It may not be too late to remind Canadians — and perhaps other Commonwealth members who have forgotten — of our political origins in the Commonwealth nursery where many developing countries (now over 50) have successfully achieved their goal of nationhood. We don't appear much better with 75th anniversaries either, and even missed marking our own with the publication of a history of the Department. Although we sent a three vessel flotilla of Canadian ships to take part in the Royal Australian Navy's 75th Anniversary regatta we let our own Navy's 75th slip by last year with very little fanfare. How can we develop a distinctive IDENTITY if we ignore all the elements which make us different, our roots? Perhaps Canada Post could demonstrate its improved capacity by rushing out a special Commemorative before the end of the year. Otherwise I guess we shall have to wait for a Centennial stamp in the year 2026 or 2031.

Dacre P. Cole is the historian for the Department of External Affairs.



Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice/Mackenzie King, Prime Minister/Vincent Massey, Minister Designate to Washington/Peter Larkin, Canadian High Commissioner

The Treaty Power and the Dominions
(*Canadian House of Commons Debates*,
March 30, 1927, pp. 1705-7)

Hon. Ernest Lapointe (Minister of Justice): Hereafter treaties will be made and signed, not by and for the British Empire, but by and for Great Britain and such other portions of the Empire as may be concerned in those treaties. Heretofore, even though we might be interested in any treaty of any description, if we were not represented during its negotiation and at the signing of it, the treaty was entered into nevertheless in the name of the British Empire as a whole. The change in the wording of the treaty in this regard is of the utmost importance. There will be no longer any need of the provision which has been known as the exclusion clause, such for instance as was incorporated in the Locarno Treaty. That clause was to the effect that the treaty in question could be enforced in any of the Dominions only after they had agreed to come within its provisions. Such a clause, as I say, will no longer be necessary; it will serve no useful purpose for the reason that we shall be involved in any treaty only if we are a party thereto. Treaties will be made by the King not in the name of the British Empire, but on behalf of Great Britain and whatever other section of the Empire may be a participant in and a signatory to the negotiations.

Another important change concerns the appointment of plenipotentiaries representing the King in connection with negotiations leading up to treaties and the signing of those treaties. When a few years ago I was appointed plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with the United States it was stated by constitutional writers that no real change had been made inasmuch as my appointment by His Majesty the King was the outcome of an Order in Council passed by the Imperial Government. The same with regard to the issuance of powers and the ratification that must take place after the signing of a treaty. That ratification was also made by His Majesty the King upon an Order in Council of the Imperial Government and not of the Canadian Government, even where Canada was concerned. Now treaties signed on behalf of Canada will be signed by a plenipotentiary appointed by His Majesty the King upon a recommendation of the Canadian Government, and the issuance of powers will be made also upon the recommendation of the Government of Canada. In the same way the ratification of treaties will be carried out upon the recommendation of the Government of this Dominion. All the other formalities which, according to constitutional writers, have been adhered to as symbolic of the unity of the Empire have been discarded as being no longer in harmony with the conditions now prevailing among the nations of the Empire; for, as I have pointed out, the one great symbol of unity now is His Majesty the King. Let me observe that for this as for most of

the other matters included in the report there is no need for any legislation; all that is needed is to harmonize the practice and usages with the present constitutional position of the Dominions . . .

Mr. Garland: Just how far does the principle of equality of status extend? Does it extend, for example, to treaties involving assistance in the event of war?

Mr. Lapointe: No, I am sure it does not, and this by reason of these words:

It must however, before taking any steps which might involve the other Governments in any active obligations, obtain their definite assent.

In any case where any other Government may be involved in active obligations — and the hon. member is referring to a case in which there would be such obligations — then the definite assent of the Government involved must be given.

Mr. Garland: Is this the implication of the Minister's remarks, that Canada in future will hold a neutral position unless she has given her assent to participation in such a treaty?

Mr. Lapointe: The discussion of that phase of the matter would lead me into a long argument.

Mr. Garland: But it is so essential.

Mr. Lapointe: I say that Canada will always be free to take whatever steps she thinks fit. She will not be bound to any active obligation.

Now, as to foreign affairs, the outstanding feature of the report is, I believe, the

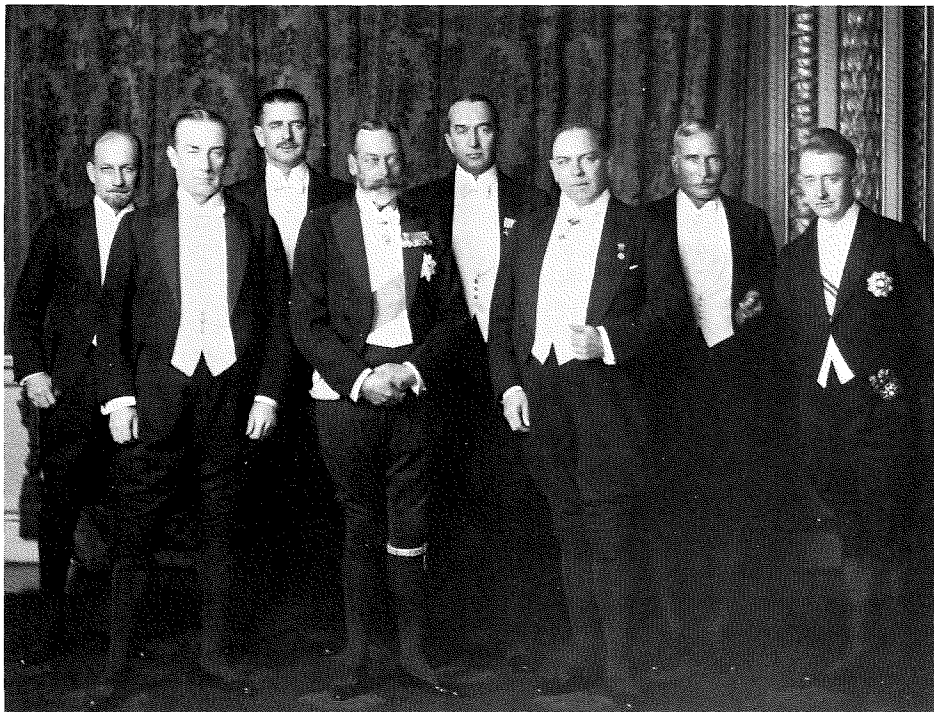
definite recognition that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions are committed to any active obligations except with the assent of their own governments or parliaments.

Report of the Imperial Conference, 1926

II. Status of Great Britain and the Dominions

The Committee are of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organization which now exists or has ever yet been tried.

There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development — we refer to the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. *They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.*



Imperial Conference in London, November 1926. Front row, L to R: Stanley Baldwin, H.M. King George V, W.L. Mackenzie King. Back row, L to R: W.S. Monroe, J.G. Coates, Stanley M. Bruce, J.B.M. Hertzog, W.T. Cosgrove.

The Young Bloods

by Grant Manuge

Their enthusiasm runneth over. They treasure the experience of researching revisions to the Canadian widget export policy. They eagerly volunteer for prestigious assignments such as developing a left-handed architect exchange policy for the upcoming Canada-Ruritania Bilateral Commission. They all yearn to draft the perfect memorandum, but content themselves for the moment with dotting the i's and crossing the t's of documents prepared by their superiors.

They are the newly-hired Foreign Service Officers — Level 1 (Developmental), commonly referred to as “FS1Ds” in a department with a passion for acronyms. By mid-November 1986 they numbered 38, and represented the first significant infusion of new blood into External Affairs since the massive 1982 recruitment. The Development Aid Stream accounts for three of the new officers, the Trade Commissioner Service and the Social Affairs Stream each have 11, and the Political/Economic Stream has received a lucky 13 FS1Ds.

Ranging in age from early 20's to middle 30's and drawn from all 10 provinces, this year's recruits contribute a broad range of skills and interests to the foreign service. In their university years they specialized in such disciplines as economics, law, communications, history, political science, languages, international relations, development studies and public administration, many at a graduate or even post-graduate level.

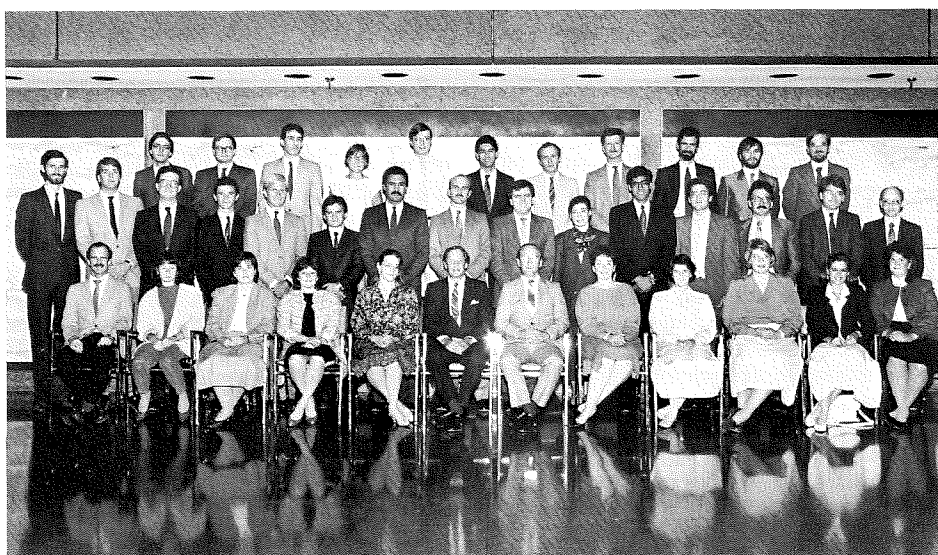
What leads otherwise normal young men and women to surrender their innocence to the vicissitudes of life in the Canadian Foreign Service? Reasons vary greatly across streams and among individuals. One new officer caught the diplomatic bug after several years as a locally-engaged employee of the Canadian Embassy in Paris; another decided to follow the path of his father, a seasoned diplomat; and several decided to take the plunge after satisfying experiences of overseas study or work.

Among the most common motivations voiced are the excitement of foreign postings, the attraction of continuously changing and challenging assignments, a keen interest in international relations, a desire to contribute to the shaping and execution of Canadian foreign policy, and the expectation of high job satisfaction. Not surprisingly in days of budgetary restraint, none of the new recruits mentions high salaries as an incentive, and indeed some accepted cuts in their annual income ranging from several hundred to \$12,000.

Public service hiring freezes produced an 18-month waiting period from the writing of the foreign service exam in October 1984 until the mailing of the first job offers in March 1986. Some candidates waited even

longer as the department sought authority for additional person-years.

This unanticipated delay in hiring coupled with a generally more mature age configuration among new officers has resulted in a group with more extensive work experience than in previous years. The new recruits have proved their mettle in CIDA and other federal government departments, consulting firms, the House of Commons Page Program, business associations, legal practice, the Parliamentary Intern Program, and various non-profit organizations.



1986 FS1Ds

At least two-thirds of the new entrants are at ease in both official languages, and at least half as many are fluent in one or more additional languages, such as German, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Japanese, Urdu and Portuguese.

However, most useful to them at this point in their careers are those qualities that assist them to smoothly integrate themselves into a large and complicated bureaucracy, and when all else fails, a sense of humour and an ability to laugh at one's mishaps. Below is a selection of anecdotes from the FS1Ds that reflects those first difficult weeks in the trenches.

“Over 18 months I tackled the foreign service examination with gusto, I underwent two intensive interviews replete with probing questions and role-playing, I submitted to a battery of medical tests and a psychological examination, I spent hours filling out forms for an exhaustive security investigation, and I witnessed two federal hiring freezes that taught me the virtues of patience.

“I thought this entire rigorous process must be deliberately designed to test my ability to sustain the stress of a glamorous life of high-powered international diplomacy. Only after my first week on the job did I realize that it was more likely aimed at assessing my ability to cope with the mountain of paper that magically appears on my desk each morning.”

“All was not bliss my first day on the job. As I walked down the long corridors doing the ‘rounds’, I tried to smile at everyone, not knowing which one might be my new or future boss. I soon gave up trying to

remember people's names, or trying to understand acronyms that made no sense. But my most vivid memory is of later in the day when I felt the pressing urgency to find a washroom. I spent several panic-stricken minutes stumbling through a maze of office warrens, BICOs, filing cabinets and photocopiers until I spotted one, and then it was the wrong gender. Can a posting in Lagos be this stressful?”

“During the first orientation week all the new FS1Ds were trying to be really diplomatic. All the suits were new with price tags still hanging from them. I myself had spent \$800 on new clothes — an obscene amount of money. Then we had a party at the end of the week. The one stipulation was that we all had to wear jeans, because we were all sick and tired of dressing up.”

“On my first assignment I was asked to get more copies of a form that had been specially printed for my division. When I went downstairs to pick them up, I was told they needed the number of the form. When I returned with the number they told me they

needed a signed requisition form. When I went back with that they told me they couldn't find the form I wanted. Finally I decided to white out the entries on a used copy of the form and to photocopy it. No one noticed the difference."

"I've heard so many people talk about selling widgets during orientation week that I'm sure we must be exporting millions every year."

"I found my first weeks of French language training a little difficult because I was pretty rusty. As I was discussing this one day, an obliging personnel officer happened to overhear me and suggested that I needed a French-speaking lover. I told him I was working on that but it wasn't easy to find one. "Yes," he replied after a moment's thought. "It's too bad. It's just not a service we offer here."

Mr. Manuge joined the Foreign Service in 1986 and is an officer in the Media Relations Division. Prior to joining External Affairs, he was Director of Communications with the Canadian Export Association.

The Exam

As more than 4,000 Canadians sat down across the country and in Canadian consulates and embassies in various parts of the world on October 25, to write the foreign service exam, Bill Bottomley could heave a well-deserved sigh of relief.

Bottomley, head of recruitment, employment and appraisal programs for External Affairs, has devoted a large part of the past two years to thoroughly revising the department's selection process.

"It was a good selection process overall," he says, "but I wanted to see if it could be improved upon to better meet the department's needs."

Bottomley canvassed a wide range of opinion in government and in the private sector for new ideas and journeyed to Washington for a closer look at the State Department's hiring practices. The raw material gathered in this way was worked over and fleshed out by a committee drawn from all four streams, and its recommendations approved by management committee.

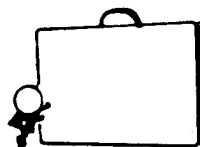
The result is a beefed-up recruitment process with several innovations. Gone is the old staple, a three-hour exam composed of 100 multiple choice knowledge questions, 35 judgment questions and a precis. In its place is a two-hour 150 question multiple choice exam made up of general knowledge questions and stream-specific knowledge questions arranged in random order.

Gone too is the screening mechanism by which selection teams would examine the résumés of the 1,000 highest-scoring applicants in order to decide who should be invited to interviews. This year interviews will be offered only to the 240 candidates with the best exam scores, and each candidate will have only one interview instead of two, as was commonly the case in previous years. Rather than returning for a second interview, aspiring foreign service officers will spend an entire day with their selection team. Following a morning interview that may last as long as two hours, they will be asked to write a short essay on a topic of departmental interest. Role-playing has been separated from the interview, and will instead take the form of an afternoon simulation in which up to six candidates state positions and negotiate with one another face to face.

Following the interviews, the department will check references, especially work references when they are available, and rate them. As a final step, scores will be calculated for education, experience and extracurricular activities based on the information contained in the applicant's résumé. Appropriately weighted scores for all the components will then be added together to prepare short lists of eligible candidates in each stream.

Bottomley acknowledges that new processes such as this one sometimes contain bugs that need to be ironed out, but he says the department will make corrections as needed in an ongoing process of fine tuning.

"It is not a panacea," he says, "but it may help to eliminate anyone who is really not cut out for the foreign service before problems develop in the probationary year".



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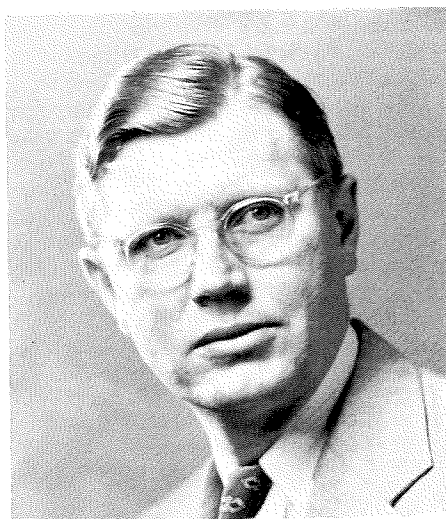
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Herbert Norman



Herbert Norman

Born in Japan, the son of missionaries, Herbert Norman joined the Canadian Foreign Service in 1939 and served in Tokyo, Wellington and Cairo, in the latter two posts as Canadian High Commissioner and Ambassador respectively. While posted to Cairo he committed suicide in 1957 in the wake of continued allegations raised by the U.S. Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security investigating "The Scope of Soviet Activity in the U.S." about his loyalties. Two books have recently been released on Herbert Norman and they will be fully reviewed in our next issue. The author of *No Sense of Evil*, Professor James Barros of Erindale College at the University of Toronto suggests that Norman may have been, at the very least, a Soviet agent of disinformation. He also raises questions about the behaviour of other Canadian diplomats of that era including former prime minister, Lester B. Pearson. In our next issue we will also feature an interview with Professor Barros.

Innocence is Not Enough The Life and Death of Herbert Norman by Roger Bowen (409 pp., \$24.95) is published by Douglas and MacIntyre. **No Sense of Evil, Espionage The Case of Herbert Norman** by James Barros (259 pp., \$24.95) is published by Deneau.

Because he failed to find a smoking gun, Barros has had to build his case on guilt by association, a dubious technique more suited to witchhunters than to academic historians . . . As an occasional student of the case, I have long believed that Norman was never disloyal, although there has always been enough circumstantial evidence to leave a scintilla of doubt. Barros has not changed my mind and I find

*Bowen's explanation more convincing. Charles Taylor, author of Six Journeys in the **Globe and Mail**.*

*Norman was guilty on two counts, neither of which figured among the American accusations against him. The first is the intellectual aberration of finding Marxism-Leninism a moral, logical, or even workable solution to society's ills . . . His second error was in consistently hiding his Communist past . . . One thing the Norman case did accomplish was to alert External Affairs to the need for a stronger security service if it was to have the confidence of its allies. It learned the hard way that "innocence is not enough". Robert Ford, formerly Canadian Ambassador in Moscow in the **Montreal Gazette**.*

*More evidence may yet come from Ottawa — not all the documentation has been made public, and some of the papers released were heavily censored. But the pathetic suicide note, secret for 29 years, is itself strong evidence that Herbert Norman's death was the result of a tragedy visited upon an innocent and devoted Canadian public servant. The Spy who never was Editorial in the **Kingston Whig Standard**.*

*Will McCarthyism never die? . . . The old half truths, innuendos and speculations about Canada's brilliant scholar and diplomat Herbert Norman have been revived . . . John Walker in the **Ottawa Citizen**.*

*Despite his scholarliness and intellect, I think there is no serious dispute any more that Herbert Norman was at very least a security "risk" and should never have been kept in sensitive government posts . . . It's essential to know if bureaucrats work for Canada or a foreign power. We know Pearson protected Norman — putting friendship ahead of country. The question is why? Peter Worthington in the **Financial Post**.*

*There is no firm evidence in either book that Norman committed suicide because of guilt about betraying his country or from fear of being found out. Rather in both books, there is much evidence of injustice caused by a cumulation of hearsay evidence in biased, rumourfilled and ignorant security investigation files that never allow for change and are never destroyed . . . Jack Cahill in the **Toronto Star**.*

*If Norman was a Soviet agent, supported by the biggest agent of all, who knows what lingering effects may still be eroding the Canadian establishment. It's time to find out . . . R. Glenn Martin in the **Edmonton Sun**.*

CONSULAR TALES

Stitches and Time:

By Daryl Copeland

Much like the weather, consular work in Thailand is typically hot and heavy. Complex, difficult cases, often punctuated by elements of the macabre or exotic, are frequent and exceptionally demanding, both personally and professionally. It was therefore with a profound sense of relief and unburdening that I headed one April morning towards Don Muang Airport on the outskirts of Bangkok to catch a flight to Phitsanulok in the North-East. There I was to link up with a team of Canadian toxicologists who were in Thailand in an attempt to determine, on behalf of the U.N., whether chemical or bacteriological weapons had been used in Laos. The media had recently been fixated on this question (was it mycotoxins or bee feces? Yellow Rain or Red Scare?) although, as I soon discovered, my newfound colleagues were far from sanguine as to the prospects for providing definitive proof either way. In the Pearsonian tradition I was to tag along as a "helpful fixer" who would provide an "embassy presence". For someone who had grown accustomed to spending extended periods in teeming prisons, sweltering courthouses and an astonishing variety of police stations and morgues, the opportunity to spend some time on the road, far removed from the hustle and bustle of concurrent consular crises seemed almost too good to be true. It was.

The drive northward from Phitsanulok provided dramatic and somewhat depressing evidence of the deforestation which has ravaged Thailand's interior. Nevertheless, the electric green of the paddy fields and shimmering elegance of the Buddhist temples made for compelling vistas. When we finally arrived in the dusty district capital of Loei sometime after dark, we decided to settle for a light meal and retire early in order to get a good start the next morning.

The following day was magnificent. While not gazing out over the Mekong river into the lush, mysterious hills of western Laos we busied ourselves among the string of military bases, police stations and refugee camps which dot the border. Our itinerary included a fascinating stop at Ban Vinai, the largest settlement of Hmong hilltribe people in South-East Asia (or, for that matter, anywhere else) and an unbelievably

fascinating crucible of human experience. For the Hmong, exile seemed a high price to pay for participating in the CIA's secret war, although by this point economic migrants were outnumbering genuine political refugees. In any case, although we found no shortage of persons purporting to have experienced "yellow rain", scientifically demonstrable evidence was scarce. As dusk approached we returned to Loei for the night.

Following a pleasantly spicy meal punctuated by several bottles of Singha (a local brew with roughly the same alcoholic content per unit volume as wine) we elected to visit the town's solitary nightclub where we hoped to experience some local culture. Alas, the best efforts of several crooning maidens were enough to convince us to move along. It had been a long day and we again returned early to our modest lodgings at the King's Hotel.

As we entered I was handed a message requesting that I contact one of my embassy colleagues at home on an urgent, emergency basis. My impulse was to pretend that I didn't understand, but I placed the call and was informed that post management had found it necessary to re-order my immediate priorities. I was to comport myself *ex post haste* back to Phitsanulok (a fairly rough six hour drive during daylight) and then on, by air, to Chiang Mai, the capital of Thailand's Golden Triangle. There I was to determine the whereabouts and well-being of a 29 year old Canadian who had disappeared from Suan Dok hospital, apparently without a trace, subsequent to his involvement in a serious motorcycle accident. With a sigh of resignation I threw my things together, gave our driver the bad news, and headed down the tortuous road to Phitsanulok. We arrived sometime before dawn.

I was fortunate to be able to catch a few winks before the first flight departed for Chiang Mai. Upon arrival I proceeded immediately to the hospital to speak to the physician who had been charged with the care of my latest client, Dennis (Denny) Phelps. He explained that my client had been drinking with a friend in a town outside of Chiang Mai and had suffered a serious head injury as the result of an accident which occurred on his way back. It had been necessary to remove approximately 40 cc of damaged grey matter from his brain and accordingly he was currently sporting a rather short hair cut. Of particular prominence were the 27 stitches around the portion of his skull which had been temporarily removed to allow the operation. Apparently identification would not prove too difficult.

I asked the doctor for an analysis of his former patient's medical prospects. The doctor was deeply concerned that in the absence of adequate care, the scalp could become infected and the infection might penetrate through the skull and into the brain. This, I was informed, would likely result in death. Furthermore, the probability

of infection had been heightened by the fact that Denny had merely yanked out the various hoses and other assorted medical paraphernalia to which he had been connected. By all accounts, he had simply had enough and therefore departed, adorned only in his hospital smock and slippers. He had little money, no identification (this was being held by the police, pending their investigation of the accident) and, I thought, a very bad headache. It didn't seem likely that he could get far, and I expected that he would probably turn up at a local guesthouse. I started looking.

I had some "wanted" posters printed and toured the traveller's haunts in Chiang Mai, sticking the notices to posts, billboards, walls and any other place that they might attract some attention. I also placed ads in the local newspaper and arranged for announcements to be made at hourly intervals on the local radio and television stations. Soon the town was buzzing with talk of the "Farang" (the colloquial Thai expression for a Westerner) who had escaped from hospital.

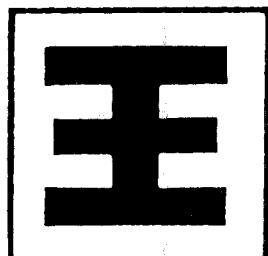
The following morning I received a call from the doctor who had performed the operation. He had been contacted by someone from Thai Airways who, in response to our identification campaign, recalled having been approached by someone resembling Mr. Phelps who wished to purchase a plane ticket to Singapore for 400 baht (about \$20.) and had no identification. He had been advised to try the bus station. The doctor and I hopped in a cab and started visiting the offices of all bus lines with regular service to Bangkok and points south. A few hours later we found what we were looking for — our client's name on a passenger list. Much to my chagrin, we discovered that he had left Chiang Mai the night of his departure from hospital. I packed my bags and reserved a seat on the next flight back to Bangkok.

Arriving at the embassy around seven a.m. (due less to my devotion to the work than to the imperatives of Bangkok traffic) I skimmed quickly through the several cubic feet of paper which had accumulated in my absence. I tried to arrange it according to the relative priority of individual cases, but in no time it was nine o'clock and Thai government offices were beginning to open. I shoved the papers aside and began the laborious task of informing the police and immigration authorities to be on the lookout for my client, particularly at border crossings. This process was completed shortly before lunch and I gathered my strength to dive into the burgeoning accumulation of sedimentary matter which was again threatening to overwhelm the last clear patch on my desk.

At that point the phone rang.

I was informed by the receptionist that a rather peculiar looking gentleman wanted to see me regarding the issuance of a passport and the acquisition of a ticket home — a description which fit the profile of a sizeable

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percentage of my customers. I approached the waiting room and was thunderstruck by the appearance of a tall, gaunt fellow with a stubble-covered shaved head and dirty clothes. What luck! I invited him into my office and much to his surprise, addressed him by name and enquired how and where he had travelled since leaving Chiang Mai. He replied that he had negotiated "standing room" with several different bus companies and had managed to get all the way down to the Malaysian border, only to be turned back because he had neither travel documents nor funds. He was now tired and wished assistance in returning to Canada. I gathered the details necessary for the issuance of an emergency passport, and felt certain that I was well on the way to wrapping up the case. I was wrong.

My client's scalp looked fierce — adorned as it was with stitches and scar tissue — and I felt it imperative that he check into a nearby hospital while arrangements were being made for his repatriation. It was necessary to exert a considerable effort in order to persuade him that his interests would best be served by this course of action, but he finally relented. After delivering Denny to the hospital, I returned to the embassy in order to organize the evacuation. Those who have shared this experience know that it is a time consuming exercise involving airlines, medical escorts, immigration clearances, insurance agencies, copious paperwork, and the prior arrangement of assistance both in Canada and at stops along the way.

By the end of the day most of the essentials were in place, and I was beginning to look forward to a modest dinner party which I had planned for that evening. I arrived home shortly past seven o'clock with just enough time to prepare for the arrival of my guests. It would be an understatement to suggest that I felt ready for some relaxation.

We had had a few apertifs, the conversation was easy, and we were sitting down to begin eating when I heard the telephone. On the other end was a staff doctor from the hospital that had accommodated my client. He explained, in rather agitated prose, that my client was demanding immediate transportation to the Honey Hotel, a local hostelry of dubious repute. To emphasize his enthusiasm, he was holding a nurse hostage at knife point. The doctor asked if I wouldn't mind dropping by . . . I excused myself, asked the forgiveness of my guests, and sped — to the extent this is possible in Bangkok — back downtown.

By sheer good luck the consular clerk and his wife had stopped by the hospital to enquire into my client's care and well-being, and they had arrived on the scene shortly after the doctor had contacted me. In the interim they had convinced Denny to put down his weapon and release the nurse. He was still, however, adamant about being discharged. After conferring with the

doctors, we tried patiently to convince him to stay, explaining that he was still in an elevated state of medical jeopardy as a result of his head injury. If he left the hospital the doctors could not be responsible for his health. Unfortunately, my client did not find any of this in the least persuasive. He insisted that he felt fine and, indeed, was in the mood for partying. He demanded immediate release.

We excused ourselves to discuss our next move with hospital staff. The doctors advised that sedation seemed the best course of action and therefore began slipping the appropriate medication into the seemingly endless cups of coffee which Denny drained with remarkable frequency.

Much to my dismay, three cups of coffee and an hour and half later we were still at it — exploring the outer limits of small talk — yet our client was, if anything, more agitated than ever. It was now quite late and the wiser part of the Embassy team departed. I again conferred with the medical advisors, who suggested switching to a more potent drug which, they believed, would ensure Denny's immediate repose. They discussed the issue among themselves and a few moments later produced two large and entirely intimidating tablets. With a faint smile the doctor informed me that if I could convince my client to take the tablets we would have no further difficulty until sometime tomorrow morning. My spirits soared.

I returned to Denny's room and explained that the doctors had finally consented to his release, on condition that he take the two tablets. He then snatched the tablets, tossed them into his mouth, washed them down with a gulp of water, stood up and announced he was ready to hit the Honey Hotel. He loaded his baggage into the trunk of my car and proceeded to drive.

And drive we did. Around and around ever-larger city blocks, I watched in amazement as Denny stared left, right and centre with eyes wide open at the Bangkok city lights. Ten minutes passed. Twenty minutes. After half an hour, with some relief, I noted that he appeared to be nodding off. Just as I was wheeling the car around, however, to plot a return course to the hospital, he snapped his head into the upright position and demanded to know why we had not yet arrived at the Honey Hotel. I responded that despite heavy traffic and a number of unavoidable detours we were nearing our destination and would certainly be there shortly. A moment later his head again went down, this time, I hoped, for more than a few moments. With great trepidation I again set a course for the hospital.

I had now spent almost one hour navigating in circles. It was past midnight and raining heavily. The gaudy, flashing lights of the bars and massage parlours refracted off the wet pavement. I thought of

Saigon in the Sixties, of *Apocalypse Now* and *The Deer Hunter*, and even, briefly, of my dinner guests, whom I hoped had been suitably sated and would by now be sleeping soundly. I was barely conscious, mesmerized by the motion of the wipers, and beginning to drift into a netherworld of strange themes and images . . . Reality suddenly intruded when the hospital entrance came into view, and I tried to clear my head in order to face the immediate task at hand. I pulled up to the front door and squinted at the bright, white light which spilled out into the wet, steamy darkness.

With the assistance of several orderlies we carried my client from the car to his room, placed him on the bed, closed the door and retreated down the hall, satisfied that the evening's travail was finally at an end. It seemed almost anticlimactic. Without warning, the stillness was pierced by the sound of screaming and breaking glass. We raced back to Denny's room. Through a small observation window, we were able to determine that he had regained consciousness, realized the ruse, and was expressing

his displeasure with a vengeance. He had thrown a chair through the window, smashed the mirror, flipped over the bed, stamped on his eye glasses, and was throwing the rest of the furniture around the room with furious abandon. What next?

I was then witness to divine — or perhaps merely chemical — intervention. Denny suddenly lay down on the mattress, which was now sprawled amidst the debris on the floor, and passed mercifully into sleep. I waited another 15 minutes, just to make sure that this time he would stay down. Finally, somewhat the worse for wear, I trudged off towards home.

When I stopped at the hospital on my way to work a few hours later Denny was feeling much better. I apologized to the hospital administrator over the matter of the destroyed room, and then left to pick up my client's air ticket and some clean clothes for him to wear on the flight back. Shortly before noon we travelled to the airport, where I escorted him through customs and immigration and on to the waiting aircraft. Moments later I watched as the great steel

bird slowly gained altitude, and I felt as if a certain weight was being lifted from my shoulders . . .

Several months later I received a phone call from Edmonton. It was my former client, fully employed and in fine form. He wished to thank me for the assistance. I told him that I was pleased to have been able to help and joked that he would have to return under more favourable circumstances for his "night in Bangkok". He assured me that as soon as he had acquired the necessary savings he would be back. I shuddered, smiled and said good-bye.

I was about to start vetting a large pile of passport and citizenship applications when the phone rang. I listened in disbelief as the color drained from my face and the pen slipped from my fingers. The afternoon was off to a great start. But that's another story.

Mr. Copeland is a vice president of PAFSO and career foreign service officer who has served in Bangkok.

Advice to Ambassadors

by Alfred Pick

Recently the British made a change of ambassadors in Washington, moving as usual from one knight to another, to occupy the palatial residence on Massachusetts Avenue designed by the famous Sir Edwin Lutyens. The new man, Sir Antony Acland, is reported as seeking advice from his predecessor, Sir Oliver Wright, and being told: "Always make sure the shower curtain is inside the bath". (The Manchester Guardian Weekly, September 7, 1986).

This reminds one of the older story of the young British diplomat being posted abroad and visiting Lord Vansittart, who had been made a peer for his distinguished service at the Foreign Office. The main advice given was; when you get an opportunity to visit the 'gents', seize it.

In preparing to take up my first ambassadorial post in Peru in 1958 I decided to consult a predecessor, Emile Vaillancourt, for any advice or counsel he might have to offer.

He had retired to the Haddon Hall on Sherbrooke St. in Montreal, a somewhat

lonely man whose wife had died a few years earlier and whose children were elsewhere. On a bright summer morning he greeted me expansively in his crowded apartment. It was filled to overflowing with Peruvian artifacts, wall hangings, wood carvings and a vast collection of pots — the famous Incan huacos. Objects covered all surfaces including the dining room table where obviously no dinner parties were held.

I pressed for his fatherly advice several times, but little was forthcoming. When I finally made a break to go clearly this was an occasion in his quiet life — he said: "Do not forget the Granja Azul." In answer to my query he explained that it meant the Blue Barn or Farm House, a restaurant out of town known for its chicken dinners.

On arrival in Lima I soon learned that "Don Emilio" had been something of a colourful character. He was known to all the art dealers, pedlars and the notorious traffickers in Archaeological relics (the huaqueros) who found him to be a ready market for articles old and new, true and false. (I understand the best are now in the

hands of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts).

He was a well-known figure at the Granja Azul, a large casual fried-chicken house where we sometimes took the children on Sundays. Its main feature was the menu fixe and the prix fixe — all you could eat for a modest flat sum. There was much discussion as to how many chickens the big Don Emilio had eaten at one sitting . . . I understand the Granja Azul is still a thriving business.

I suggest, Mr. Editor, that you invite readers to submit other examples of advice given to ambassadors, or lesser diplomats on going aboard. You could perhaps even be persuaded to offer small prizes. My story, for instance, would seem to be worthy of a meal ticket to a Scott's Chicken Villa or a Rotisserie St-Hubert.

Mr. Pick is a retired foreign service officer and member of Bout de papier's Senior Editorial Board. His postings included stints as Canadian Ambassador to Tunisia, Libya, Netherlands and the Organization of American States.

Freifeld On: "WIFE OF . . . "?

by Sidney A. Freifeld

Sondra Gotlieb, "Wife of" Canada's Ambassador to the United States, has written wittily about the ignominious fate of Washington wives who, however talented in their own right, become known simply as appendages of their illustrious husbands — "wife of" the Senator from, the Ambassador to, the Secretary of, or just the Supreme Court Justice.

But, amongst PAFSO members these days, the shoe is sometimes on the other foot.

Out in the Philippines, for example, Ben Pflanz arrived with family in 1981 happy with his appointment as Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Manila. In short order, he became known simply as

"husband of" Connie, the fleetest woman in the Philippines.

Just before the Philippines First International Marathon was to be held in Manila, the Foreign Office asked embassy people to do a short run to publicize the great event. Connie Pflanz, a mother of four from Calgary and in her '40's, turned out and caught the bug. During her four years in Manila, she placed first for women in the Third World Marathon at 3:16:30 and, only two weeks later with an even better 3:10:36 she ran the Philippines International Marathon. She won, or was up front, in dozens of other 10-20 kilometre events during her stay, all of them run in un-Canadian mid-'90's temperatures. As a housewife back home in Calgary, Connie's physical fitness consisted mainly in shovelling snow, cutting the grass, tending the garden and walking to the grocery store.

All this put Connie constantly on national TV and radio and on the front pages of the newspapers and she became a national figure not only for winning marathons: she single-handedly popularized running amongst Philippine women. She was invited twice to the Presidential Palace by Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. Connie must surely be the only PAFSO spouse who, if attending a reception after a marathon, had a painful struggle to get high-heeled shoes on her swollen runner's feet.

And Ben? He became simply "husband of" the champ. It took an official visit by Prime Minister Trudeau to get him invited to the Marcos Palace. When the Pflanz family departed the Philippines, Ben noticed that the newspapers read by fellow-passengers in their plane all front-paged fond farewells — to Connie.

This pathetic scene shifts to the other side of the world, to Norway, where Ed Skrabec arrived in 1981 to serve as Counsellor of the Canadian Embassy in Oslo, with his wife Iris. For their first Christmas Eve, they invited 125 diplomatic and local Canadian guests for a buffet dinner.

For this affair Iris, from Gimli, Man., planned to serve, *inter alia*, a 15 pound cold salmon. And how does a Manitoba housewife manage to prepare a large salmon in a modest kitchen, every facility of which would be strained to turn out hams, turkeys, trimmings, cakes and pies?

Back in Gimli, all Iris ever knew about salmon was to empty it out of a can. But the Ambassador's wife, Mrs. Kenneth Wardrop, had passed on a tip — don't boil a salmon but steam it, and the best way to do that is to wrap it in foil, place it in the electric dishwasher and just turn the washer on, not just for one cycle but for three or four. Iris' steamed whole salmon was the talk of the party and by Christmas Day had become the talk of Oslo.

Now in Norway, salmon figures large in the national consciousness, like beef in Argentina and snails and truffles in France. Any gimmick to improve the preparing or conserving of salmon takes on national importance.

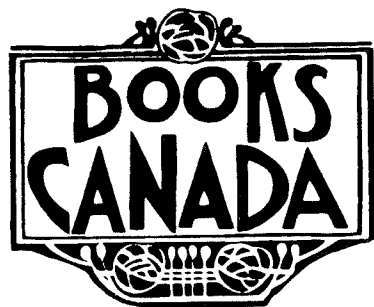
Iris was asked to dishwasher-steam salmon on national television, and for newspaper and magazine writers. She found herself greeted by complete strangers in buses and supermarkets. By New Year's Day, Iris and her dishwasher salmon had become famous throughout Norway, and in the great salmony Scandinavian beyond.

After that Christmas Eve dinner, and with his nose to the Embassy grindstone, Ed Skrabec became just one more Canadian "husband of".

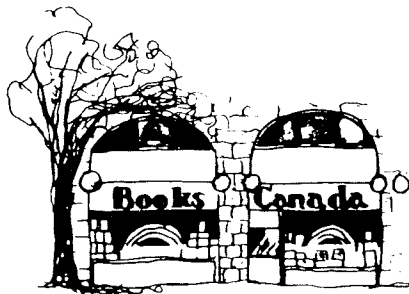
Around the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa, Sean Brady is well known as Joe Clark's spokesman. But while serving at the Canadian Embassy in Bangkok, where he married a Thai beauty, he found he was just "husband of" Thailand's leading lady of the stage, Patravadee Sritriratana, known across the nation as Lek — not only outstanding actress but also playwright, stage and film director, singer and dancer.

And what about Canada's ebullient Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Stephen Lewis? That indeed is how he is known around the U.N. building in New York. But to Globe and Mail readers across Canada, is he becoming simply "husband of" that paper's excellent Saturday morning columnist, Michele Landsberg?

If these trends continue, men in the Canadian Foreign Service may soon start to push for some kind of affirmative action program. Any way you look at it, Sondra Gotlieb's creation, viz. the ignominious "wife of" the masculine movers and shakers of this world, may yet end up as one more endangered species.



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Bout de papier readers will be familiar with Sidney Freifeld's vignettes about the amusing and sometimes bizarre things that can happen to us or to our colleagues while working in the Canadian foreign service. Sidney would welcome any accounts from Bout readers which might serve as a basis for future vignettes to be published in Bout and possibly in the Toronto Globe and Mail or Montreal Gazette for which he writes. These can be addressed to him c/o Bout de papier, Suite 1002-130 Albert St. Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4.

La Banque africaine de développement

par Jean-Yves Dionne

Au cours de sa dernière année financière, la Banque Mondiale, la plus grande source d'aide pour les pays en voie de développement, annonçait dans son rapport annuel des engagements de prêts et d'investissements pour elle-même et ses institutions affiliées pour un montant record de \$17 milliards EU.

Ces chiffres mettent en évidence l'importance de la Banque Mondiale dans le financement du développement. Ces fonds seront accordés en grande partie sous la forme de prêts d'ajustements en proposant des plans de redressement économique visant à inciter les pays emprunteurs à abandonner les barrières aux importations, à vendre les entreprises d'Etat et enfin, à ramener leur budget proche d'une situation équilibrée.

Parallèlement à la Banque Mondiale et à ses institutions affiliées, d'autres institutions financières multilatérales de développement étendent leur champ d'action à des

régions particulières ou à un continent. Ces organismes de financement dites **Banques continentales** et dont les plus connues sont la Banque Asiatique de Développement, la Banque interaméricaine de développement et la Banque africaine de développement, prêtent chaque année des milliards de dollars qui contribuent d'une manière ou d'une autre au développement de nombreux pays bénéficiaires de prêts. Le but de cet article est de vous présenter une de ses institutions continentales, la Banque Africaine de Développement, et ensuite décrire la participation effective du Canada en tant que membre non-régional de cette importante institution financière internationale du continent africain.

La Banque africaine de développement (BAD) fêtait à l'automne 1984 son vingtième anniversaire. Au cours de ces vingt dernières années, l'institution financière africaine a vu son capital autorisé passer de \$250 millions qu'il était en 1964 à près de \$6 milliards EU. Sa capacité d'emprunt sur les marchés financiers, à peu près nulle en 1974, se situe maintenant dans l'ordre de \$2 milliards EU. Ses réserves se chiffrent à plus de \$160 millions EU.

La création d'une banque régionale de développement en Afrique se discutait bien avant 1960. Cependant, c'est au cours du premier sommet de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA) à Addis-Abéba en 1963, conscients de l'insuffisance des apports extérieurs en capitaux, que certains chefs d'Etat africains décident de la création d'une banque régionale. L'objectif assigné par les fondateurs sera de contribuer au développement économique et au progrès social des Etats membres régionaux et collectivement par l'encouragement à l'investissement de capitaux publics et privés sur le continent africain.

L'accord portant sur la création de la BAD entre en vigueur le 10 septembre 1964 et ce, malgré les difficultés qui jalonnent son parcours. Les opérations de la Banque ne débuteront pas avant juillet 1966. Constituée à l'origine de 23 Etats africains et d'un modeste capital-actions, la Banque a choisi la voie du conservatisme et de la prudence en lançant en 1975 un premier emprunt de \$25 millions sur le marché des capitaux.

A. La Banque et ses institutions

A titre d'institution financière, la Banque consent des prêts, effectue des investissements et fournit de l'assistance technique pour l'élaboration, le financement et la mise en oeuvre des projets de développement. Ce faisant, elle peut opérer seule ou

conjointement avec d'autres institutions financières.

Le Groupe de la Banque est composé des institutions affiliées suivantes: outre la BAD ne prêtant essentiellement qu'aux pays membres dont le PNB per capita est supérieur à \$990 EU, i.e. Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon le Fonds africain de développement (FAD), créé en 1972, fournit des prêts à des conditions de faveur à plus d'une quarantaine de pays du continent africain.* Les ressources du Fonds ont été reconstituées en 1984 pour un montant de \$1.099 milliard couvrant la période 1985-1987. Il est à noter que le Canada, à titre de pays souscripteur, se situe au troisième rang, tant par son apport financier à cette troisième reconstitution des ressources du Fonds qu'au total cumulatif de ses souscriptions.

Parallèlement à ces institutions, mentionnons les efforts louables entrepris par la Banque au cours des dernières années pour régionaliser ses activités par l'ouverture de représentations à Yaoundé, Nairobi, Harare et à Londres, ou encore pour agir à titre de chef de file lors de la création d'organismes panafricains ou par la prise de participation importante du capital dans quelques-uns des organismes suivants correspondants à son objectif fondamental du développement économique de l'Afrique.

- la SIFIDA (Société internationale financière pour le développement en Afrique), en 1979;
- l'AFRICA-RE (Société africaine de réassurance), 1978;
- Shelter-Afrique en 1983; et
- la FECA (Fédération des consultants africains), en 1984.

Le Groupe de la Banque encourage le développement sous-régional par le financement de projets multinationaux qui représente environ 7% de l'ensemble de ses prêts. Ces financements concernent les projets d'infrastructure et se situent en grande partie dans la Communauté des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEDEAO), i.e. chemin de fer Côte d'Ivoire/Burkina Faso, liaison routière Liberia/Sierra Leone, etc. On s'attend d'ailleurs à un accroissement du volume des investissements par le biais de projets régionaux.

Priorité de la BAD

Depuis le début de ses opérations de prêts en 1967 jusqu'à la fin de 1984, le Groupe de la Banque a investi environ \$5.6 milliards EU dans les économies des pays africains, sur un total de 776 projets. Le montant des décaissements cumulés se chiffrait, en 1984, à près de 2 milliards EU.

Ce flux s'est accru rapidement suite à l'ouverture en 1982 du capital-actions aux membres non-régionaux dont, le Canada. En effet, le plan quinquennal opérationnel 1982-1987 du Groupe prévoit des investissements devant s'élever à \$7.3 milliards EU. À la fin de 1983, plus des trois quarts des pays régionaux auront bénéficié des prêts de l'une ou l'autre des institutions de la Banque.

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Parmi les différents secteurs et services financés par la BAD, on compte l'agriculture, le développement rural, les infrastructures urbaines et rurales, les installations médicales, les systèmes d'adduction d'eau et d'assainissement, l'énergie électrique, les transports, les télécommunications et l'industrie.

Les secteurs de développement privilégiés par la BAD sont l'agriculture, les équipements collectifs et l'infrastructure. En effet, ce sont ces trois secteurs qui ont bénéficié de la majeure partie des prêts octroyés par le Groupe de la Banque jusqu'à présent.

Secteur	BAD	FAD	FSN	Groupe de la Banque
Agriculture	9,20	40,00	17,80	22,70
Transports	23,50	25,40	36,20	26,70
Équipements collectifs	24,50	17,80	27,20	18,60
Industrie	35,20	1,00	2,10	22,30
Education et Santé	7,60	15,80	16,70	9,70
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Cette priorité accordée à l'infrastructure et à l'agriculture est conforme aux priorités définies par les gouvernements des pays africains dans le Plan d'action de Lagos (PAL) dont l'idée maîtresse est de réaliser le développement socio-économique du continent africain d'ici l'an 2000 en amenant les pays à unir leurs efforts par l'établissement d'une communauté économique africaine. En se donnant pour objectifs le renforcement de l'autosuffisance, la croissance économique et le développement auto-centré, le PAL insiste sur l'intégration des réseaux de transport et de communication en vue d'accroître les échanges commerciaux, de même qu'il attache une grande importance à l'autosuffisance en céréales et en produits de l'élevage et de la pêche.

Cette priorité se poursuit au cours de l'exécution du plan quinquennal 1982-1987. Le Président de la BAD annonçait au 20^e sommet de l'OUA que pour les deux dernières années de son programme quinquennal, 30,3% des ressources seraient consacrées à l'agriculture, 22% aux transports et télécommunications et 28,7% aux équipements collectifs. Le secteur Education et santé, i.e. hôpitaux, centres de formation, continuera d'évoluer lentement à hauteur de 9% du total du porte-feuille de la Banque.

Mobilisation du capital et co-financement

L'ouverture du capital-actions aux Etats non-régionaux s'est discutée pendant près d'une décennie chez les membres africains de la Banque avant d'être acceptée par le Conseil des gouverneurs en 1978 et rendue effective à Lusaka en 1982.

Pour conserver le caractère strictement africain de la BAD, l'ensemble des membres non-régionaux, dont le Canada, ne devra pas détenir plus du tiers du capital-actions

de la Banque. De cette manière, les membres africains pourront s'assurer non seulement du contrôle effectif des postes clés de l'institution mais aussi des aspirations qu'elle s'est octroyée à sa création.

L'ouverture du capital-actions aura eu des effets positifs immédiats. Le capital autorisé de l'institution s'est accru considérablement pour passer, depuis sa création, de \$2.7 milliards à \$6.3 milliards EU. L'Assise financière de la BAD, et partant sa capacité de mobilisation de capitaux sur les marchés financiers internationaux, a été élargie. Enfin, cette décision a créé un climat de confiance et amélioré la cote de crédit de

l'institution.

Il n'est donc pas étonnant que cette décision, associée étroitement à l'obtention en 1984 de la cote trois "A" décernée par la "Moody's Investor Service" pour l'émission de ses obligations, ait permis à la BAD de se hisser au tout premier rang en ce qui concerne le crédit, à l'instar des autres banques multilatérales de développement.

Outre les ressources financières qu'elle fournit, la BAD joue le rôle de catalyseur en attirant, avec des activités de cofinancement, des fonds additionnels provenant de sources multilatérales et bilatérales. Pour répondre aux besoins en développement du continent, des co-financements ont contribué à la réalisation de 20 projets s'élevant à plus d'un milliard EU pour l'année 1985. Au cours de son programme quinquennal, la BAD intensifiera son effort tendant à attirer des ressources supplémentaires sous forme de co-financement avec d'autres organismes privés et publics.

Succès et avenir

Après vingt années d'exercice, peut-on aujourd'hui qualifier la BAD de succès? La Banque s'est affirmée comme un outil fiable et crédible. Plusieurs indicateurs illustrent ces caractéristiques. Le nombre de ses membres est passé de moins de la moitié des pays africains en 1963-64 aux 50 Etats indépendants d'Afrique avec en plus 23 Etats non-africains. Le personnel qui en 1965 a démarré avec une vingtaine de personnes compte aujourd'hui environ 850 employés dont plus de 350 cadres africains hautement qualifiés dans divers domaines. Du point de vue opérationnel, c'est d'abord sa capacité d'intervention en tant que banque de développement et en tant que groupe s'exprimant par sa capacité d'emprunt sur le marché financier qui n'a cessé

de se consolider. C'est aussi le total cumulé des financements effectués se chiffrant actuellement à près de 800 projets.

D'un point de vue strictement financier, la BAD est sans aucun doute un succès, surtout en raison des normes et procédures commerciales et bancaires très strictes qu'elle s'est imposées (i.e. non rééchelonnement des prêts). etc. C'est au nom de cette même rigueur de gestion que certains membres régionaux reprochent à la Banque de ne pas tenir compte de la spécificité du continent africain en utilisant trop strictement les règles et procédures bancaires. A titre d'exemple, certains Etats emprunteurs sont en faveur d'une plus grande souplesse quant aux coûts locaux des projets qui leur sont imputés alors que d'autres désirent un affinage des politiques, méthodes et procédures de l'organisme vis-à-vis la classification des secteurs de priorité des Etats bénéficiaires ainsi que des définitions mieux adaptées au cas par cas. Dans cet ordre d'idées, la Banque se propose d'approuver de plus en plus de prêts "hors projets" pour permettre de venir en aide à un ou des secteurs en difficulté (i.e. projets d'entretien, lignes de crédit, etc.) ou encore, pour aider les pays les plus démunis à identifier de bons projets, ce que ces derniers n'ont parfois pas les moyens de faire. A cet égard, depuis 1981, un prélèvement de 5% sur les ressources du Fonds (FAD) est spécialement destiné à l'orientation d'opérations de préinvestissements (études . . .).

Le Canada et la BAD

Les vingt années d'existence de la Banque (1964-1984) ont permis au Canada de fêter pour sa part le deuxième anniversaire de son adhésion à la BAD en tant que membre non-régional. Le Canada peut d'ores et déjà se féliciter d'avoir joué un rôle de tout premier plan parmi les pays instigateurs pour assurer le plein succès de cette institution multilatérale de développement.

Le Canada contribue déjà au Fonds africain de développement (FAD) depuis 1972. Sa contribution totale dépasse aujourd'hui les \$200 millions EU, soit 9,5% de l'ensemble du Fonds et 4,88 % des voix attribuées. Notre pays se situe donc au troisième rang des pays souscripteurs après le Japon et les Etats-Unis. Grâce à sa participation en tant que membre de la BAD, le Canada est le quatrième actionnaire non-régional en importance au Conseil d'administration ex-aequo avec la France, après les Etats-Unis, le Japon et la République fédérale d'Allemagne. Avec 16,800 actions (\$12,000 EU par action), soit 9,6% du capital non-régional, le Canada, tel que prévu par l'accord d'adhésion, devra verser 25% de la somme au cours des prochaines années, c'est-à-dire \$50,5 millions EU; l'autre 75% (\$150 millions EU) demeurant exigible sert de caution lors des emprunts de la Banque sur les marchés internationaux.

Participation canadienne

Les raisons de la participation canadienne à la BAD sont nombreuses. En termes humains et politiques, l'adhésion à cette institution panafricaine solidifie les liens du Canada avec les pays de la francophonie et du Commonwealth. Elle permet à notre pays de participer à la coopération multilatérale complétant ainsi ses relations bilatérales. Cette participation du Canada lui permet de contribuer au développement des pays où sa présence bilatérale est peu importante ou inexistante. Plus globalement, la participation canadienne, avec celle d'autres pays non-régionaux, contribue à renforcer la réputation de la BAD et à lui donner l'envergure et l'appui nécessaire pour négocier des emprunts sur les marchés financiers internationaux. Ces prêts serviront à financer des projets dans des pays du continent qui normalement ne pourraient eux-mêmes emprunter. Donc, la participation du

Canada à la Banque renforce le mandat de catalyseur de développement africain que la BAD s'est octroyée à sa création. Quant au niveau commercial et économique, les projets de la BAD présentent un marché substantiel pour la vente des biens et services de notre pays. Les marchés offerts sont en pleine croissance, le potentiel est intéressant et parmi nos 200 sociétés officiellement enregistrées auprès du Groupe de la Banque, seules les sociétés expérimentées et agressives pourront à long terme se tailler une place parmi les autres concurrents internationaux.

Coopération bilatérale

Le Canada contribue à l'efficacité de la BAD par un apport financier supplémentaire de \$7 millions, échelonné sur la période 1984-1988. Cette aide liée, appelée le Fonds canadien d'assistance technique bilatérale (FCAT), vient en aide aux pays emprunteurs notamment par l'attribution de

financements à la préparation de projets viables d'une part, et, d'autre part, pour contribuer à la formation du personnel technique de la Banque.

En effet, ce fonds peut aider les pays membres du continent africain à effectuer des études de préinvestissement, compte tenu de leur capacité relativement limitée à présenter des projets économiquement et techniquement viables; à financer des consultants canadiens sollicités pour se joindre aux équipes d'experts de la Banque principalement dans l'élaboration de termes de références et pour l'évaluation des projets; au financement d'experts pour renforcer l'efficacité opérationnelle de la BAD (le Canada comptait deux de ces experts en 1984) et pour subventionner des programmes de formation et améliorer les méthodes de gestion de la Banque.

Conclusion

D'ici l'an 2000, on estime que les prêts du Groupe de la Banque pourraient atteindre en termes réels un montant de l'ordre de \$3 à \$5 milliards EU. Le défi que posera l'avenir à la BAD n'est pas tant la distribution des ressources financières que l'adéquation des ces ressources aux besoins les plus essentiels du continent.

Dans la très difficile conjoncture économique que traversent actuellement la plupart des Etats africains, les vingt années de la BAD apparaissent donc comme une lueur d'espoir pour le développement futur du continent africain car la BAD est parvenue à faire l'unanimité autour d'elle. Pour les élites africaines, elle demeure un véritable modèle, une preuve tangible de l'unité et de la fraternité africaine.

M. Dionne a servi de 1982-1985 comme deuxième secrétaire commercial à Abidjan, où se trouve le siège de la B.A.D. L'adhésion récente du Canada comme souscripteur à cet organisme multilatéral africain l'a amené à concentrer ses efforts de liaison auprès de la communauté des gens d'affaires canadiens, l'ambassade et la BAD. Il a publié un guide intitulé "Attribution des contrats et possibilités offertes par la Banque africaine de Développement-Guide de l'expert-conseil et du manufacturier canadiens." M. Dionne est présentement à la Direction de l'Expansion du Commerce/Asie de L'Est.

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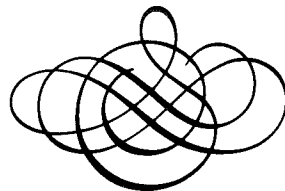
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Gens d'Affaires

Interimco

by Robert Kelly

The Interimco companies acknowledged their 13th birthday on 'April Fool's' day this year. It has done so many things in such a broad range of commercial activities over the year, that those who ask — what is Interimco? (in spite of its longevity) may be excused.

The fact is that, as with the major consulting engineering firms today, in order to grow, the Interimco companies have had to cast their net wide while at the same time striving to maintain their basic directions. The severity of competition abroad coupled with diminishing cash and commercial markets and general economic limitations in the third world have forced hard realism and overt opportunism onto those who survive in the international arena. In their growth and performance over the years involving the completion of many projects and the sale of large quantities of Canadian goods and services, the companies have watched operating costs explode as much as tenfold. It has not been possible to adjust profit margins at anywhere near the same rate during the same period.

Fortunately, the companies' varied and extensive experience has permitted them to succeed and to survive. Evolving from the original consultancy status, through marketing of equipment, to "packaging" and finally to project management and turnkey project implementation, has endowed the companies with a unique and progressive character and with a staff of highly qualified professionals.

Interimco companies have had a continuing close and beneficial relationship with EDC and have been able to relate a considerable portion of their success to EDC financing and to follow on business from participation in Trade Missions. The company has utilized successfully the PEMD programs and has "paid back" on several programs. Over 98 per cent of its business over the past 13 years has been on a purely commercial (non aid related) basis.

Today there are in fact two major operating "Interimcos": Interimco Projects Engineering Corporation and its subsidiaries and associate companies owned 100 per cent by C.R.D. Kelly and operating essentially in the agriculture sector; and Interimco Machinery Corporation and its subsidiaries and associate companies owned by J.T. Morris and operating essentially in the mining, heavy equipment and electronics and communications sectors.

Through their respective sectors the individual companies primarily implement projects but also continue to export

products as in the case of ongoing road construction equipment to Algeria or agricultural equipment to Sudan.

Their major activities today are in:

- specifying, financing and supplying equipment in "packages" such as their 1985 five million dollar mining equipment sales to Brazil.
- project implementation including the design, engineering, equipment supply, installation, training and operation of complete projects such as large scale farms in Saudi Arabia, grain handling systems to China or the materials handling segment of the three billion dollar Cerrejon coal project in Colombia.

Their major geographic areas of concentration in the mining and equipment sectors are in South America, the Far East and Algeria.

Grain handling and storage is concentrated on the Far East and Central America.

Major projects in grain crops and livestock production are centered in China, Sudan and Saudi Arabia.

The Interimco companies do provide consulting services but, almost without exception, only as an integral part of projects which they aspire to implement.

Interimco has been devoted exclusively to doing business overseas. The value of projects successfully completed and of the supply of goods and services to 57 countries around the world exceeds \$550,000,000.

Today there are subsidiaries or branches in Ottawa, Alberta, Hong Kong, Singapore, Cyprus, Brazil, Colombia and Algeria.

Mr. Robert Kelly is President of Interimco Projects Engineering Cooperation

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Canada in World Affairs 1971-1973

by Peter C. Dobell, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, Ont.

I haven't read all the books written about the period while I was in the Cabinet. But I read this one as a former actor would read the review by a leading critic of his stage appearances years before — with some trepidation. It covers two of the six years while I was SSEA — 1971-1973.

I enjoyed reading it, which implies that I thought Peter Dobell wasn't too tough on my performance. I commend it, however, not for that reason but because of the thoroughness of the coverage of events and the clarity, grace and objectivity of the writing.

Volume XVII will become the standard that authors of future volumes of the CIIA series will strive to attain. Already, I turn to it as a reliable reference work when trying to recollect events of the early 1970's.

In writing this book, Peter Dobell had the advantage of being at one time an External Affairs official, but, even more important, of being actively associated, since October, 1968, as head of the Parliamentary Centre, with the activities of Parliamentary Committees studying Canadian foreign and trade policy. On every page is evidence of his understanding of the process of policy-making and of his objectivity as an informed, outside observer. Although it is not without flaws, it is a first-rate piece of work, credit for which Dobell shares with staff of the Parliamentary Centre.

Anyone who attempts to write about Canada's participation in world affairs has to contend with the fact that there are two spokesmen for our foreign policy; the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. And there were times when Mr. Trudeau and I did not say the same things, although we agreed on the essentials. Canada's attitude to the Commonwealth was a case in point, to which Dobell draws attention. I went with the Prime Minister to London in 1969 to attend the first Heads of Government Meeting since the general election of 1968. I did not attribute great importance to his meeting in terms of Canadian foreign policy. Quite frankly, I expected the Prime Minister to share my view. But he didn't. He was much more enthusiastic, principally because it gave him an opportunity to have frank discussions — a form of personal diplomacy — about world affairs with leading Third World figures like Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia and Lee of Singapore.

So I differ with the conclusion that Dobell reached when he said "Compared to his light-hearted, sceptical approach to his first meeting of prime ministers in London in 1969, Mr. Trudeau's subsequent statements and actions, and more particularly the

evident commitment of the government to the 1973 Ottawa conference, revealed a major conversion." Publicly, Mr. Trudeau may have said something that could be considered light-hearted and sceptical about that 1969 meeting. He didn't convey that attitude to his fellow delegates or to me. Mr. Trudeau's conversion, if there was one, was well underway in 1969. I remained of the opinion throughout my term as SSEA that the Commonwealth was not central to Canadian policy though it "is an excellent place to have discussions about world problems" particularly North-South relations.

This was the only Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting that I attended except, of course, the 1973 meeting in Ottawa. I remarked to Mr. Trudeau at the 1969 London meeting that "one of us is superfluous and I know which one it is".

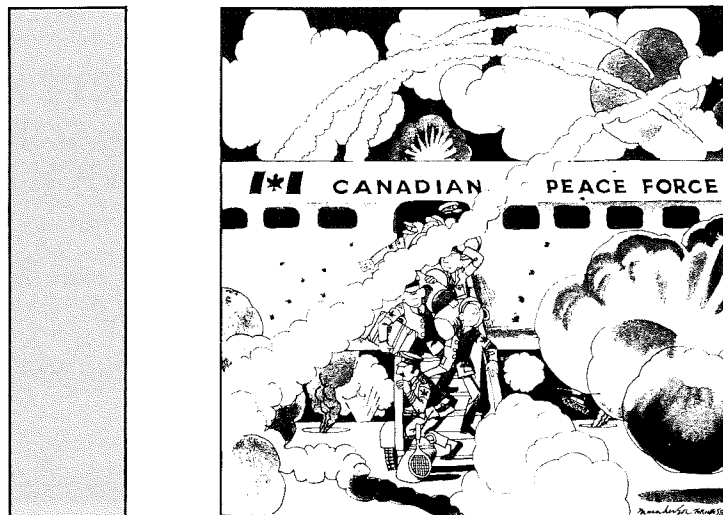
Dobell deals in some detail with Mr. Trudeau's influence on Canadian foreign policy and I agree with his conclusion that "no previous Canadian Prime Minister devoted as much personal attention and effort to international questions." I add only this, that his attention and effort varied from time to time as urgent domestic matters competed with international questions for his consideration.

As to Dobell's assessment of my performance as Secretary of State for External Affairs, I am sensitive on only one point, namely his reference to the NATO review which resulted in a reduction in the number of Canadian troops in Europe. Dobell says I was overruled in that 1969 decision. This is not so. After all, Canada decided to stay in NATO and with troops in Europe, I was quite reconciled to a major reduction in our European contingent and

so was Leo Cadieux, the Minister of National Defence. We were overruled only on the timing of the announcement. We wanted to delay the announcement until we had had an opportunity of informing our allies and explaining that the reduction did not mean any diminution in our support of the Alliance. In view of the European and U.S. reaction to our blunt announcement, and the later evolution of Canada's attitude towards relations with Europe, it is a pity our advice on timing was not accepted.

There were four distinct strands in the efforts made by Canada to strengthen our relations with the European Community during the early 1970's. First, to affirm to the EC that Canada had interests separate and distinct from those of the United States; second, to promote trade particularly with the Federal Republic of Germany which was expanding so vigorously; third, to try to establish machinery for regular bilateral consultations between Canada and the EC to which Britain adhered in 1973 (resulting eventually in the establishment of the contractual link); and fourth, to improve relations with France, which had been badly damaged during the Presidency of General de Gaulle.

All of this is well described in Dobell's chapter "Canada looks again to Europe". I add one anecdote that confirms the change in the attitude of the French Government. In April 1970, I went to Paris to open the Canadian Cultural Centre attached to our Embassy. Although he was under no obligation to do so, Maurice Schumann, the French Foreign Minister, met me at the airport and hosted a lunch in my honor at the Quai d'Orsay. After lunch, he took me to his office for the ostensible purpose of showing me a pen that had belonged to



Talleyrand. He showed me the pen but added that was only an excuse to tell me privately that President Pompidou was determined that France should have better relations with Canada.

At about the same time as we were promoting our interests in the European Community, I published in October 1972, under my name as SSEA, a study on relations between Canada and the United States which became known as the Third Option paper. This study stimulated the effort to diversify trade and thus to reduce our vulnerability to developments in the United States (the application by Secretary Connolly of a tax on imports from Canada in effect ended the special relationship). But as those who have read the study are aware, trade diversification was only one way of achieving that goal. In the future, when I am asked by students and journalists to explain the Third Option, as I have been asked so often in the past, I shall begin by referring them to Chapter 3 of Volume XVII of the CIIA series. Not that Dobell gives me or the government high praise for the way in which the paper was published. He doesn't. Nor because he believes the acceptance of the Third Option had much effect upon government policy. He doesn't. I commend the chapter as an honest and objective attempt to describe and analyse the contemporary circumstances that led to the development, publication and acceptance by the Government of the Third Option. Whatever view one takes about the appropriateness of the Third policy option, — and its principles are enjoying a modest revival now that Canadians are facing up to the implications of a free trade agreement with the United States — the paper itself constitutes an "articulate and logical approach to the problem of dealing with the enormously complex bilateral relationship", thanks mainly to Klaus Goldschlag, who was the principal draftsman.

The Second Option was integration with the United States, including a free trade agreement. Within the Government there were doubts about the wisdom of adopting the Third Option. Many preferred a pragmatic approach, which is the First Option. It is significant, however, that I cannot recollect there being any support at that time within Cabinet or among the senior civil servants for the Second Option, which is now being pursued as one possible outcome of the current trade negotiations with the United States.

Before the period covered by this book, Canada had established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. This was an example of the Prime Minister and the SSEA each making his appropriate contribution to the formulation of Canadian foreign policy. In the election campaign of 1968, Mr. Trudeau had announced the aim of the government to recognize the People's Republic of China government as soon as possible and to enable that government to occupy the seat of China in the United

Nations, taking into account that there is a separate government in Taiwan, a statement that I had helped to formulate as SSEA.

This was an ambiguous statement since it seemed to imply separate representation at the United Nations, and separate recognition by Canada for the Nationalist government in Taiwan. When the negotiations got underway with the Chinese, it soon became evident to the Department of External Affairs and to me that if we were to exchange diplomats we had to accept the full implications of recognition and abandon any ideas of a two-China policy, or a one China, one Taiwan policy. Cabinet accepted our recommendations and agreement was, in due course, reached for the exchange of Ambassadors.

Dobell describes how recognition led to a change in our attitude towards the replacement of the Nationalist Chinese by a delegation from Beijing in the China seat at the United Nations. In some respects, this was a painful episode for me personally because I had to explain to William Rogers, the U.S. Secretary of State, that Canada no longer considered this an important question, that is, one that required a two-thirds rather than a simple majority, as we had in

the past. When he asked me why, I did my best to explain that although the question was still an important one in the normal sense of the phrase, our recognition of the People's Republic as the government of China required us to support its occupancy of the China seat and thus to vote for a clear and simple resolution and against one that required more than a majority vote of approval. He looked at me sadly and said "Mitchell, I hope I'm not around when you make that explanation." Our Permanent Representative, Yvon Beaulne, in New York did the job for me.

I liked Rogers, whose term as Secretary of State more or less coincided with mine as SSEA. He performed quietly and well. It is a pity he was so overshadowed by the more dramatic Henry Kissinger, operating from the White House.

Which reminds me of an exchange that has nothing to do with Dobell's book, but may entertain the readers of *Bout de Papier*. At one regular meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers in Brussels, it happened that I was the first speaker and, as such, had to welcome the foreign ministers who had taken office since last we met. After doing so, I remarked on the rapid rate of turnover

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of foreign ministers and added that although I did not consider myself a veteran, I was surprised to find that I had been in office longer than any of those in attendance. When it came Roger's turn to speak, he disputed my seniority. (I had in fact taken office a short time before him.) Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the former British Prime Minister who became Foreign Secretary for the second time, intervened: "Far be it for me to insert myself in this dispute between the Canadian and American foreign secretaries, but: do resurrections count?"

Another minor quibble with Dobell's book. He describes my talks with the Chinese Foreign Minister when I was in Beijing in August 1972. Surprisingly, he does not mention the three hours I spent with Zhou En Lai, which to me was the highlight of my official visit. The Chinese Premier opened our conversation in French, but quickly reverted to Chinese and the use of an interpreter. At the beginning, we exchanged views on a number of issues and then, seizing upon some remark I made, Zhou launched into a bitter monologue against the Soviet Union lasting a full hour and detailing China's grievances item by item, year by year.

It was during this conversation that, much to my surprise and the surprise of the officials who, like me, had been reluctant to raise such a mundane matter with the Prime Minister of China, Zhou En Lai referred to the Ming Sung ships, originally delivered to the Nationalist government but still afloat, and offered to pay for them.

When I was in China last year, I had the privilege of an interview with Li Peng, one of the rising political stars in modern China and an "adopted" son of Zhou En Lai. I referred to my interview of 13 years ago and asked the Deputy Prime Minister about the state of relations between China and the Soviet Union today. Improved, he replied, but there will be no return to the situation that prevailed when the Soviet Union and China were allies.

In earlier published books in the CIIA series, attention was concentrated — and rightly so — on the activities of the Prime Minister, the SSEA and the Department of External Affairs in world affairs. Volume XVII is much broader in its coverage. As Dobell points out, "since the 1960's the number of government departments and agencies actively involved in external relations has grown dramatically." As SSEA, I was acutely aware of that fact and from time to time of the lack of consistency in Canadian external policy. We tried hard to improve co-ordination, but, as one retired Ambassador is quoted by Dobell as saying: "External Affairs has responsibility without matching authority."

I do not know the answer to this problem, which continues to grow in complexity. The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs should not, in my view, be burdened with the administrative responsibilities which result from treating External



"OUR PEACE COMMISSION OVER LOOKED ONE ITEM MITCH — THE WAR IS NOT YET OVER."

Affairs as a central agency. I felt great sympathy for Ed Ritchie when he had to chair the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations (ICER) in addition to acting as my principal adviser on policy.

The present government is trying a different approach by the three-pronged structure consisting of the SSEA, the Minister for International Affairs and the Minister for International Trade, which at least brings trade policy formally within the ambit of external policy, although to an outsider the structure appears clumsy and complex. Even so, it leaves outside some of the principal Ministers engaged in external relations, such as the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources.

Those were the years when Canada began to play an increasingly influential role in the international discussions on the Law of the Sea and the pollution of the environment. I cannot add anything significant to the account given by Dobell of these activities. I feel, however, that I made my personal contribution by ensuring that Alan Beesley remained as Legal Adviser of the Department of External Affairs. The Department of Justice did not acquiesce readily in the arrangement whereby External Affairs appointed its own legal advisers, rather than accept advisers from Justice, as was the practice with respect to other departments. Beesley defended his turf with great energy against intrusion from the Department of Justice and threatened, in writing, on more than one occasion, to resign because of what he considered interference. Fortunately, for Canada, I managed to persuade Beesley to stay.

It is seldom that a Canadian SSEA is long enough in office to be at the beginning of an international operation involving Canada and to see it through to completion. I had

this opportunity with respect to Canada's participation in the second Control Commission in Viet Nam. When the invitation came at the end of 1972 to participate in that Commission, my departmental advisers were unenthusiastic; some were strongly opposed. I myself had described the first Control Commission which was still in existence when the invitation came to join the second, as a "farce". So we established conditions for our participation and when experience demonstrated that these conditions were not observed we withdrew, having helped in the supervision of the withdrawal of United States forces, which was in itself worth doing.

We had agreed originally to participate for 60 days. As the date for our withdrawal approached, the pressure to postpone our departure was intense, not only from the United States government but from our NATO allies and from Japan. So we agreed to stay for another 60 days. We kept our friends informed of our intentions and just before I was to make a final statement announcing our withdrawal, I received a call from Henry Kissinger in the White House asking me to delay the announcement. I did not accede to his request but did offer to extend our participation in the ICCS for an additional 30 days. When, on May 29, I did finally make the announcement of our withdrawal, there was no international pressure for us to continue. Dobell remarks that the issue died domestically; so it did internationally. Many years later, in a casual conversation with Kissinger, he made comments to the effect that he agreed with our assessment of the ICCS and did not question our decision to withdraw when we did. He was puzzled as to why the Iranians should have agreed to replace us. So was I. When Canada withdrew, our Michel Gauvin, the head of our mission ceased carrying out our open-mouth policy of public reports. Nothing more was heard of the ICCS until its members had to scramble to get out of Saigon before the collapse.

In his preface, Dobell says that Volume XVII is forbiddingly long. It is long — over 400 pages of text plus notes and index. I suppose it could have been shortened by, for example, dropping chapters on Parliament and the role of the provinces in international affairs. Serious students of Canadian foreign policy should be happy that Dobell opted for comprehensiveness, because I can testify as the SSEA at that time, that Parliament and the provinces did, during the years 1971 to 1973, make important contributions to the evolution of Canadian policy. I encouraged Parliament to do so. I didn't encourage the provinces, but I had to learn how to accommodate their interests in the formulation and execution of our foreign policy.

Mitchell Sharp was Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1968-72. He is currently Commissioner of the Northern Pipeline Commission.

What Manner of Men?

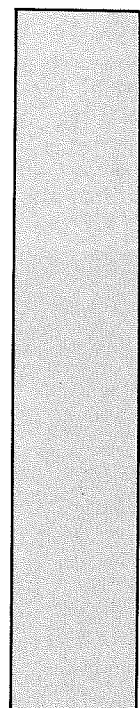
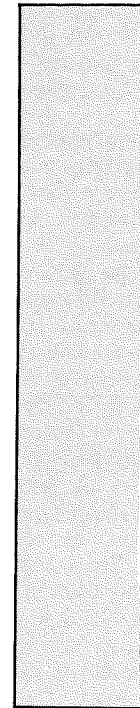
John Turner, *The Long Run* by Jack Cahill, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 234 pp. \$19.95; **Mulroney and the Making of the Prime Minister** by L. Ian MacDonald, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto 1984, 332 pp. \$21.95; **Brian Mulroney: The Boy from Baie Comeau** by Rae Murphy, Robert Chodos and Nick Auf der Maur, James Lorimer and Company, Toronto, 1984, 226 pp. \$24.95.

*God give us men! A time like this
demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and
ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the sports of office cannot
buy;
Men who have opinions and a will;
Men who have honour; men who will not
lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue.
And damn his treacherous flatteries
without winking!
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above
the fog.
In public duty and in private thinking . . .*

God Give Us Men
by Josiah Gilbert Holland.

It was Carlyle who championed the biographical approach to history arguing that great events were really just the story of great men. Greatness is an elusive quality; many aspire to it but few succeed. Trudeau's long hold on office and many accomplishments place him among the great. He stands with Macdonald, Laurier, Borden, King, St. Laurent and probably, Pearson. But what of his successors, John Turner and Brian Mulroney? What manner of men are they? And can they too lay claim to the title great?

There are three good biographies available which were published around the time of the last election; the two on Mulroney have recently been released in paperback for the cost-conscious. Foreign service officers have to know about the leaders of those countries in which they are posted; they should also know a little about our own first ministers. On the surface Brian Mulroney and John Turner have a fair bit in common (this, of course, being the



argument the NDP use in each election when they attack the two principal parties). Each comes from humble origins, both are Catholics, both are lawyers who have made their fortune in the corporate world, both came in third in their first leadership try, became heirs apparent and then won the next time round. They are both competent tennis players. Each has four children, the oldest a daughter followed by three sons. Each possessed, at least at one point, that ephemeral quality 'charisma'. Both have been prime ministers; the next election will disappoint one or the other.

Australian-born Jack Cahill has worked for various Canadian newspapers since 1957 and first met Turner in the early Sixties. His book **The Long Distance Runner** was written in the wake of the 1984 Liberal convention when fortune still smiled on the man who was always seen as one of life's winners. It is the best researched of the trio and would undoubtedly have sold better if Turner had not lost the election shortly after the book's release.

John Turner had a short but reasonably spectacular success as a 100 yard man during his college days. It is from this sporting achievement that the books takes its title. As such, it is a bit of a misnomer because the 100 yard dash is not usually seen as long distance. The label is probably

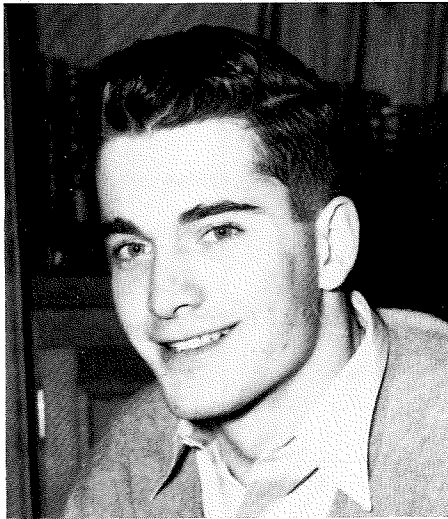
one, however, that Turner hopes proves prescient. Thus far, he has not gone the distance. In his last big race, before he injured his knee in an auto accident, he only completed 70 of the 100 yards he set out to run. As prime minister he only lasted 80 days; only Sir Charles Tupper had a shorter tenure.

If looks counted for votes there is no doubt he would win the contest for prime minister hands down. But then so would have George Drew. The classic handsome features, piercing steel blue eyes and hair coloring of a matinee idol warrant comparison to the patriarchal Blake Carrington of Dynasty fame. And of late, his travails have matched anything a Hollywood scriptwriter could contrive.

Despite looking to the purple born, his origins are rather unpretentious. Born in Richmond, Surrey on June 7, 1929, he was the first of Leonard and Phyllis Turner's three children. The early years were tinged with tragedy. His only brother, Michael, died shortly after birth and when he was three, his father, a gunsmith at the Ginnings factory, died of malaria and goitre. His sister suffered from polio and his mother now lives in a nursing home on Saltspring Island, oblivious to all about her, a victim of Alzheimer's disease.

After her husband's death, Phyllis Turner

returned to Canada, first to her home at Rossland, British Columbia and then to Ottawa where she became an economist at the Tariff Board. John was schooled first at Ashbury and then at St. Patrick's College because of slim family finances and Phyllis's desire to have her son educated in a Catholic school. His classmates included foreign service officer Michael Shenstone. Cahill quotes Shenstone as remembering Turner for being "very bright, very athletic, and very good-looking but there was no rivalry between us . . . It was a terrible pity that he had to leave Ashbury. His mother was a widow you know and she couldn't afford it". As a woman, Phyllis Turner was only paid two-thirds the salary of her male counterparts in the civil service.



A Young Turner

Summers were spent at Kirk's Ferry in the Gatineau with Mike Pearson's children. By the early Forties, Phyllis had become the country's senior woman public servant. The wit and beauty of the young widow brought the country's leading politicians, R.B. Bennett, C.D. Howe and Mackenzie King with his dog Pat, to the dinner table. From them, Cahill speculates that the young Turner developed a philosophy of politics that was quintessentially Forties: very male and depending more on pragmatic accommodation between elites than the intellectual rationalism of a Trudeau. Gradualism, respect for business and a sense of noblesse oblige to those less fortunate would be the Turner approach.

In 1945, Phyllis married Frank Ross, one of C.D. Howe's dollar-a-year men and moved to Vancouver. At UBC, Turner cut quite a figure. He wrote a sports column — "Chalk Talk by Chick" — that was second in readership only to Eric Nicol's humour piece, and served on the student council. The nickname 'Chick' had been given to him during street-hockey days in Ottawa. It was so much a part of him that his lockermate at UBC, Peter Worthington, said he never learned his first name until he met him years later in Ottawa. In 1949, he won the Rhodes

scholarship for British Columbia. At Oxford, he read law at Magdalen College and was part of a circle that included Roger Bannister (the famous runner), Jeremy Thorpe (later leader of the British Liberal party) and Australian Malcolm Fraser (later Prime Minister of his country). In 1953, he spent a sojourn at the Sorbonne. There, says Diana Kirkwood, now an Ottawa real estate agent, he went to mass in the morning, studied French during the day and "took some lovely girls out every night". Life, suggests Cahill, was the stuff of which dreams are made.

Returning to Canada, Turner joined the Montreal law firm of Stikeman and Elliot. He became President of the Junior Bar, succeeding Jerome Choquette and Philip Casgrain, and immersed himself in the delights of the city. In 1958, he gained national coverage for dancing with Princess Margaret at a ball in Victoria given for her by his step-father, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Politics began to beckon. Invited to the Kingston Conference of 1960, he impressed Liberal organizers. Paul Martin took him to dinner at the Mount Stephen Club and asked him to consider a career in politics. Allan J. MacEachen, then Pearson's special assistant, dined him at Chez Stein and persuaded him to run for the Liberals in St. Lawrence-St. George. Turner's 1962 campaign was modeled after that run by John F. Kennedy, and the media made much of the similarities between the two men. The campaign worked and Turner came from behind to beat the Tory incumbent, Egan Chambers (husband of *Gazette* columnist Gretta Chambers and father of Clark aide Bill Chambers).

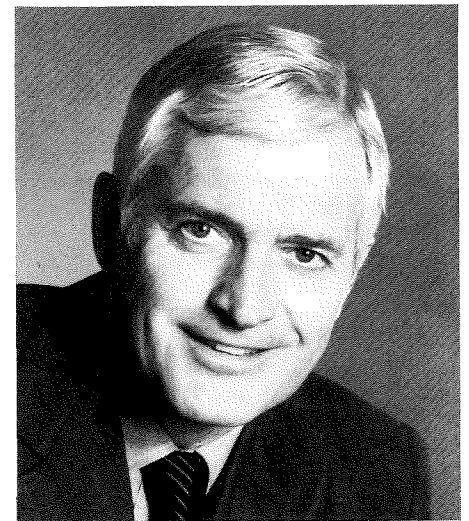
The campaign had another benefit: it introduced Turner to his future wife, Geills Kilgour, the daughter of the President of Great West Life Assurance Company. An attractive Winnipegger, she had been schooled at McGill, Radcliffe, and the Harvard Business School. A systems engineer with IBM helping to install the computers at the Bank of Montreal head office, Geills and another computer expert introduced computers to Turner's campaign. They married at St. Ignatius in Winnipeg. Privacy Commissioner John Grace, then associate editor of the *Ottawa Journal*, was best man.

Turner's maiden speech was an attack on the Diefenbaker government's support of the 92.5 cent dollar and a call for new parliamentary rules. During the election, he had gone on television holding up a dollar to the cameras and blaming Diefenbaker personally for reducing its value and accusing the Old Man of "committing a fraud on the Canadian people". Later, the Diefenbakers and the Turners met, by coincidence, during a winter holiday in Tobago. The Diefenbakers invited the young M.P. to dinner and the couples became friendly. A couple of years later, again by coincidence, they met at a beach in

Barbados. One day, reports Cahill, Turner saw Diefenbaker being swept out to sea and he swam out and brought him to shore. Rivals in politics, the two were both parliamentarians who shared a love of the House of Commons. Turner was the only Liberal appointed an honorary pallbearer at Diefenbaker's funeral.

In the 1963 election, Turner was easily reelected, once again beating Chambers, and he became parliamentary secretary to Northern Affairs Minister Arthur Laing. He was one of the Liberal's young Turks, a group of new M.P.s that included Richard Cashin, Jack Davis, Herb Gray, Pauline Jewett, Donald MacDonald, John Munro, Jean-Luc Pepin, Gerry Regan and Maurice Sauve. For a young man in a hurry, promotion was slow, but his patience earned him the tribute of party brokers. While it sounds a bit odd in light of his recent efforts to topple Turner from the party leadership, Keith Davey, the Liberal Rainmaker, had kind words for him in Christina McCall-Newman's classic study, *Grits*: "If Turner had been nothing more than the pretty boy the backbiters said he was, he would have buckled in the early Sixties. But he didn't buckle. He learned. How to be a politician. How to roll and punch and roll again. How to be a winner."

Named to the cabinet as Minister without portfolio in 1965, Turner became Registrar General, where he participated in the drafting of the bill removing the barriers against the import and manufacture of low-priced generic drugs. Pearson later named him the first Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister in 1967. The next year he ran for the leadership of the Liberal Party. At the convention, he gave what Peter Newman in his second chronicle of the Diefenbaker/Pearson years, *Distemper of our Times*, called "a tough, gutsy speech — the toughest and gutsiest in a deliberately bland career". Turner told the delegates that he was "not running just in this race so



An Older Turner

you will remember my name at some future date. I'm not here now for some next time; I'm not bidding now for your consideration at some vague convention in 1984 perhaps when I've mellowed a bit. My time is now, and now is not the time for mellow men. "Turner came third on the final ballot. Turner's decision to hang in until the end did two things: by standing still he stopped any flow of momentum to Robert Winters and thus helped to ensure Pierre Trudeau became leader. It also created the myth of the 195 Club (named after the number of ballots he got on the last ballot), a sort of Round Table of errant knights ready to take up the call when the clarion sounded.

Trudeau appointed him Justice Minister after the 1968 election. There Turner enjoyed perhaps the most productive period in his political career. He pushed through a major reform of the Criminal Code and followed Trudeau's lead by abandoning party patronage in the naming of judges. One of his first appointments was former CCFer John Osler, partner to the late David Lewis, to the Ontario Supreme Court. He created the Law Reform Commission, abolished the rich man's Tax Appeal Board and replaced the Ottawa-based Exchequer Court with the Federal Court, and brought in the Anti-Hate law (latterly used successfully against Ernst Zundel and Jim Keegstra) and the Protection of Privacy legislation.

Turner was also responsible for making law the Official Languages Act; he took over its handling from Secretary of State Pelletier whose Cartesian method worried the caucus and caused threats of legal action from the western provinces. Turner was more pragmatic, he felt that ramming bilingualism down the throats of English Canada was dumb politics and sure to ensure its failure. (Ironically, he thought he had adopted a similar approach in 1984 over the Manitoba language question, but that put him at odds with the official opposition and his own party. It also earned him opprobrium in French Canada, contempt and hostility from central Canadian editorialists, and indifference from anglophones who had long since recognized, if not embraced, the new reality.)

In 1972, Turner went to the portfolio that has become the graveyard for aspirant prime ministers — Finance. (Only two other Finance ministers, Sir Charles Tupper and R.B. Bennett, have subsequently become prime minister.) There he teamed up with Simon Risman, the lion of the deputies. As Finance Minister, Turner brought in four budgets; the four year average deficit during his hold on the portfolio was \$719 million. Turner also apprenticed on the international stage as chairman of the IMF's interim committee on economic policy at a time when the problem of recycling petrodollars was paramount. The associations he made during this period were to serve him well in the future. George Shultz, for example, was the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. After he

left to become executive vice president of Bechtel, Shultz had Turner named to the Bechtel Board of Directors.

On September 10, 1975 Turner made his famous walk to Pierre Trudeau's office and resigned from the Cabinet. While the full account of their conversation is now steeped in controversy and dispute, there is no doubt the two quarreled. Turner left for the more financially-rewarding position of partner in the Toronto law firm of McMillan Binch. There, he held court in his alcove at Winston's, the famous Toronto luncheon spot, and came to embody for Liberals who were fed up with Trudeau, the role of King Across the Waters. Turner turned down their call in 1979, when Trudeau had first resigned, but succumbed in March, 1984.

The rest of the story is well known. The missteps on language rights, the fight with Trudeau, the bumpatting, a media which changed its tone from adulation to mocking the man with the apparently clay feet, a victory in which even the Party President identified his principal opponent as the one who had won the delegates' hearts, the patronage appointments for which he had 'no option', a disastrous election campaign and the worst defeat suffered by a Liberal leader in our times. Since then, he has endured constant carping from the sidelines and his leadership has been under continued and constant scrutiny. The solid party endorsement of his leadership in their review at the recent policy convention have put these critics to rest until after the next election.

The two great influences on John Turner have been his mother and the Catholic Church. He seriously considered the priesthood and Cahill says he still goes to mass regularly and reads a chapter from the Bible daily. The Church and his mother have helped to instill in John Turner an irrevocable sense of discipline and duty to his country. "Every Canadian has a duty to serve our country" were the words he used when he announced his candidacy for the leadership in the Blue Room of the Chateau Laurier in March 1984.

Turner has been dismissed by many pundits as a tinman from yesterday, a throwback to an earlier era. Perhaps he would have been more comfortable and more successful in the era when politics was the preserve of a male elite among whom experience and connections were everything. Cecil Rhodes is one of Turner's heroes. When asked why, Turner defined Rhodes in terms that could apply equally to himself: "He believed with Aristotle that the definition of happiness is activity in excellence, and he set forth in his final will the main characteristics he wanted in his scholars — moral character, leadership, and interest in one's fellows."

When last put under the magnifying glass, Turner was tried and found wanting. The players, the rules and the style of politics had changed. Turner had not. When blown off course, his helmsmanship de-

generated into a series of reckless manoeuvres designed to regain ephemeral popularity but which only served to undermine further the sense of confidence required in the Queen's First Minister. If he has had his try at the brass ring, then he will probably go down in history as the Anthony Eden of Canadian politics. Such a fate would also fulfill Donald Gordon's definition of a Rhodes scholar: a boy with his future behind him.

Like Christian in John Bunyan's celebrated work, **Pilgrim's Progress**, Turner has certainly gone through the valley of humiliation this past two years. He has met adversity. He recently emerged from a debilitating leadership review in a stronger position, a process which also served to shake loose some of the skeletons of the last election as well as discredit the fixers and hangers-on of the Trudeau era. At least for now he is first in the hearts of his party and has the opportunity to build the party in his own fashion. But whether next time he will have what it takes to finish running the course is for the voters to decide. He must cross several more rivers and climb mountains before he reaches his celestial city.



Prime Minister Mulroney

"It was at a public event, on stage of the Arcade Theatre, that Brian Mulroney gave an early indication of his career . . . Brian got up on the stage and he sang 'McNamara's Band' or something recalled an old friend . . . Then (the emcee) leaned down to him with the microphone and asked what (Mulroney) wanted to be when he grew up. 'Prime Minister of Canada', he replied." Thus reads the flyleaf from L. Ian MacDonald's **Mulroney the Making of the Prime Minister**. That this breathless you-are-there approach is maintained for the next 317 pages is a testament to the author, the former principal political colum-

nist with the Montreal Gazette, who has since cashed in his chips as a journalist to become a speechwriter and consultant in the Office of Prime Minister Mulroney. His is an intimate biography for which there were probably tradeoffs of access and approval. Nonetheless, it is a better read than **Brian Mulroney The Boy from Baie Comeau** by Rae Murphy, Robert Chodos and Nick Auf der Maur. The first is a journalism professor, the second a writer and the third a columnist for the Gazette, well-known boulevardier, and unsuccessful Tory candidate in the last election. They wrote their book shortly before the 1984 election. Its emphasis is on Mulroney's background and the events around which he grew up. Less flattering to Mulroney than MacDonald, their book is also less enthralling.

The story of Canada's eighteenth prime minister begins in the little town at the mouth of the Manicouagan and Outardes Rivers, where in the early Thirties Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*, decided to create a new pulp and paper operation to feed his growing dailies. Ben Mulroney and his recent bride Irene, both third generation Irish-Canadians, made the Colonel's decision their livelihood. Ben later became foreman at the mill while running an electrical repair shop on the side. Four years after their arrival, on March 20, 1939, their first son and the third of six children was born in the local hospital.

In a town where half the neighbours were French-speaking the young Brian grew up with complete familiarity in both languages. It is a fortunate circumstance from which he has profited ever since. Around the kitchen table he also learned to sing. This skill was turned to profit rather early when he would sing, at \$50 a gig, Colonel McCormick's favourites — 'Dearie', 'Danny Boy' and 'When Irish Eyes are Smiling'. The latter has gained a permanent association with Mulroney ever since he joined with Ronald Reagan in singing a chorus at the Quebec Summit. Today his repertoire reputedly includes the best of Tin Pan Ally, Irish and French Canadian ballads and every one of the songs made famous by Vera Lynn in her *Hits of the Blitz* album. His own favourite is said to be 'Dear Hearts and Gentle People'.

Schooled by the nuns of St. Amelie and brothers of the Clerc St. Viateur, he followed the lead of his two older sisters and completed his secondary education with the diocesan priests of St. Thomas College in Chatham, New Brunswick. Summers were spent in Baie Comeau working as a security guard, a labourer in the Cargill Grain Elevator and later as a driver for one of the bosses on a big construction site and helping his father with the family electrical shop. Mulroney would later name his oldest son after his Dad. His biographers say his father, who died of cancer in 1965, was the principal influence on Mulroney. Ben Mulroney instilled in his son a "sense of dedication to whatever you are doing" and

utter loyalty to your friends and family. But while admiring his Dad, Brian was determined not to follow his example, says Rae. Growing up in a company town, Mulroney told his brother-in-law, had shown him that while his Dad was a "great guy" he "is not a guy who moves things, makes things happen." Politicians did and so, writes Rae, he began to think about his long-term goal — a career in politics.

In September 1955, the young Brian looking less college student than "scrawny, scared, baby-faced kid with a brushcut" arrived on the campus of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Politically the region was Liberal. As Mulroney later recalled, even "all the nuns were Liberals, a bunch of god-damn Grits". St. FX's most famous graduate of that time was Angus L. Macdonald who had died in 1954 after 16 years as Liberal premier and a stint as Defence Minister for Mackenzie King. The sitting M.P. was another St. FX man, Allan J. MacEachan, who had won election in 1953.

Nicknamed 'Bones' because of his sparse physique by his pal Sam Wakim, he tried hard to make himself part of the community. Rae cites one onlooker as remembering him in almost pathetic terms: "I can still see him arriving with his cardboard suitcase . . . He didn't know anybody and he wanted so hard to be liked. The older kids would shove him around a bit and he'd look at them with eyes like saucers and keep trying to be accepted."

Mulroney rapidly developed a set of chums who would remain his supporters and friends. His roommate was Lowell Murray (now Mulroney's Federal Provincial Relations Minister, Senator Murray was the only one of the St. FX gang who did not fall behind Brian in 1976 and MacDonald says "Mulroney never really forgave him for it"). The rest of the gang, besides Wakim (now a partner with Weir and Foulds, the former M.P. acts as a legal agent for the EDC), included Pat McAdam who made Mulroney sportswriter for the *Xavierian Weekly* (McAdam now handles caucus liaison out of the PMO), Fred and Gerry Doucet (Fred is now senior advisor for the foreign policy in the PMO while Gerry is a prominent Halifax lawyer and former Minister in the cabinets of Nova Scotia premiers Stanfield and Smith), Bernard Lavoie (a major GM dealer who supplied Opposition Leader Mulroney with his Buick) and Paul Creaghn (a former minister in the Hatfield cabinet and now senior solicitor for New Brunswick Electric Power Commission).

Mulroney worked on the successful campaign that made Robert Stanfield premier in 1956, and in December of that year travelled to Ottawa as national vice-chairman of Youth for Diefenbaker in the convention that chose the Chief to succeed the patrician George Drew. There, Mulroney worked for Diefenbaker's national youth chairman, Ted Rogers (of cable television fame) and Hal Jackman (now a prominent

Tory and Chairman of Empire Life Assurance Co.). He returned to St. FX armed with a photo of himself and Diefenbaker which he would later use in the 1976 campaign, to the latter's horror. His relationship with the Chief had its ups and downs. He used to make great play of it while he was at Laval where he would regularly call the PM, a fact which greatly impressed his friends. Later, he was involved in the Dump Dief campaign. At the end, however, he was an honorary pallbearer at the state funeral and as Prime Minister, Mulroney has seen to it that Diefenbaker was honoured by a statue on Parliament Hill.)

Elected President of the St FX Tories, Mulroney also gained the university's oratorical championship using as his theme the corrupt dealings of Duplessis, the subject of his final thesis. Throughout his time at St. FX, he would spar with the campus leading Liberal, Richard Cashin of Newfoundland (who went on to become a Liberal M.P. and is currently head of the Fisherman's Union). Rosann Earl (who has since made a career as a CBC reporter on the rock and is the wife of Cashin) was his date at the senior prom.

From St. FX it was on to law school, first to Dalhousie with time out to help in the reelection of Stanfield and then to Laval to spend, as Mulroney calls them, the "golden years". He struck up a friendship with Daniel Johnson and as he told MacDonald "many a night, many, many a night", he'd spend the evening in the bar of the Chateau Frontenac with the Union Nationale leader where they would "chat and shoot the breeze". He also developed another set of friends that have stuck by him.

'Les inconditionnels de Mulroney' as Lucien Bouchard (now our ambassador in Paris) called them, they included Michel Cogger (now senator), Bernard Roy (now his principal secretary) Jean Bazin (co-chairman of the 1984 election campaign he was named to the Board of PetroCanada, a Q.C. and now Senator) and the 'Englishmen' from Westmount, Michael Meighen (later president of the Conservative Party) and Peter White (latterly in charge of patronage in the PMO and now with Dominion Stores). They spent their hours between classes writes MacDonald, "doing a good deal of drinking and womanizing" or, as Mulroney puts it, leading "bohemian lives in the Quartier-Latin . . . hell, we were having the time of our lives". At the same time he kept his sights on his goal and maintained a political profile.

Participating in a Maclean's panel on the future generation of politicians, Mulroney was asked what he thought about patronage: "I think his attitude is going to be drastically changed from the attitude of those who are in government today . . . the young people are going to strengthen the nation at the cost of partisan politics and they are going to take a much more idealistic view of things 20 years from now". With White as president,

Mulroney, Cogger and Meighen as vice presidents (and former foreign service officer Nicole Senecal as secretary), they organized the Congrès des affaires canadiennes in November, 1961. Featuring Davie Fulton, Jean Lesage, René Levesque, Andre Laurendeau, Eugene Forsey, Gerard Pelletier, and Marcel Chaput it became one of the seminal events of the Quiet Revolution. It was a time for idealism.

While Turner was running in Montreal in the 1962 election, Mulroney was out west working for Alvin Hamilton. And if John F. Kennedy was influencing the young Turner, he had even greater influence on Brian Mulroney. "In many ways," writes MacDonald, the Kennedy influence was "the most profound of all". Kennedy was, says Mulroney, "absolutely unique . . . I think it was his style, the human quality, the sense of romance and public service . . . he did a great deal to dissipate the stereotype of Irish Catholics". Today, Mulroney readily acknowledges the influence of the dead President and his style of oratory on his own speeches.

From Laval it was on to Montreal, and the labour department of the law firm of Howard, Cate and Ogilvy. "When he wasn't", writes MacDonald, "cutting deals, hatching conspiracies and squiring a steady stream of attractive women around in a succession of big cars", he was making a name for himself as an able negotiator. He first worked for the Maritime Employers Association (MEA) and later, after he had met and impressed Paul Desmarais, for the latter's newspaper, *La Presse*, and for the transportation branch of the Power Empire, Voyageur buslines and Canada Steamship Lines.

It was while engaged on one of the MEA cases that Mulroney met the 18-year-old Mila Pivnicki at the pool of the Mount Royal Tennis Club. She was, he recalls, wearing a bikini and while she could not go out with him that night because she was babysitting, the romance blossomed. They were married a year later, May 26, 1973; Bernard Roy was best man, and the ushers were Michel Cogger, Lowell Murray, and Yves Fortier (now a senior partner with Ogilvy, Renault.) Both biographers agree that Mila has become Mulroney's perfect consort and best friend.

Mulroney's full role in the 'Dump Dief' movement is uncertain. It was, Mulroney told Rae et al, "a sad and tragic period for the party. And one of the most tragic aftermaths of the affair was that a most decent man and brilliant politician, Dalton Camp, became a pariah in his own party". (Camp has since found rehabilitation as a Mulroney top civil servant.) MacDonald writes he "was not remembered as having been on either side of that debate" and Mulroney says he is uncertain as to whether he was a delegate but that he "would have voted for the idea that Dalton was trying to put forward . . . his position deserved a hearing". The chronicler of the period, Peter

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Newman, writing in his **Distemper of our Times** (published in 1968), is slightly more revealing — he claims Mulroney was one of Camp's chief strategists along with Lowell Murray, Flora MacDonald and Norman Atkins. During the subsequent leadership race, Mulroney was one of Davie Fulton's campaign managers and went with him when Fulton swung the race to Stanfield on the last ballot.

In the 1972 election campaign, Mulroney was a co-chairman and played an apparently leading, if murky, role in the effort to get Claude Wagner to be a candidate by providing him with a \$300,000 trust fund. In 1974, Mulroney was named as one of the three commissioners to the inquiry into violence and corruption in Quebec's construction industry. His old professor, Robert Cliche, by whose name the Commission would become known, was named chairman. Mulroney hired his friend Bouchard as counsel. The Commission made Mulroney a public figure and positioned him nicely for his first run for the Tory leadership in the wake of Bob Stanfield's decision to step down.

In declaring his candidacy, Mulroney said he could win and he started "from the premise of an indivisible Canada. There can be no compromise on this point. I shall attempt to bring to the ongoing debate regarding Canadian federalism and its attendant problems (a) sense of civility and responsibility". The "candidate from whimsy" as Fotheringham dubbed him did well, even if he personally did not have a vote, thanks to the Wagner team's machinations. But the appearance of a too-slick and obviously moneyed campaign (the press reported the chief sources of funding were financiers Paul Desmarais, Conrad Black and Charles Bronfman), the private jet and limousines, the obsequious courtiers, all contributed to the criticism he was the product of image-makers and big money. A second walk-through at the convention simply for the benefit of the TV cameras, for example, was portrayed as 'plastic' and opportunistic. He held second place behind Wagner on the first ballot and then was passed by Joe Clark on the third. He refused to back either of the two finalists on the last ballot.

MacDonald says Mulroney took the defeat hard. In an interview with the *Financial Post's* Stephen Kimber which appeared in the June 1978 issue of its magazine, he was savage in his portrayal of leader Clark: "I didn't run for the leadership because I needed a house (Clark moved to Stornaway from an apartment), . . . And I didn't run because I needed a job. I had a job. I ran because the Conservative party needed a winner." Bitter and bored, his biographers suggest he succumbed to the curse of the Irish. Mila is cited as the principal behind his rehabilitation and his drink is now soda water over ice. He cut out the two packs of du Maurier after the 1983 leadership campaign.

After the convention, he took up the offer from the Hanna Mining company in Cleveland to become initially executive vice president, then president, of its Canadian subsidiary, the Iron Ore Company of Canada. The deal was a back-loaded five year contract which provided equity, a pension, and a dollar-a-year mansion at the top of Westmount. It assured him the financial security he sought and provided perks like four box seats behind the Canadiens bench, a fishing camp in Labrador, the company plane and, perhaps most importantly, prestige. MacDonald skates quickly over Mulroney the CEO. The closing of the Iron Ore mine in Schefferville in November 1982 gets a paragraph. Rae goes into considerable more detail but both contend that Mulroney acquitted himself well.



Brian Mulroney and John Diefenbaker

His involvement in politics circumscribed by the 1976 defeat, Mulroney's energies were put to raising \$11 million for St. FX development campaign and the occasional political event. Rae reports that Trudeau offered him a seat in cabinet, while Joe Clark wanted him to run in the 1979 election. Mulroney chose to keep a low profile. Mulroney disagreed with Clark's decision to play only a limited role in the referendum and it was the subject of his September 1980 speech, the first of importance since the leadership debacle. Sam Wakim began to send to selected friends the speeches which would later form the basis of **Where I Stand**. And he kept in touch with friendly journalists like Brian McKenna, Robert McKenzie, Peter Newman (who has been named Mulroney chronicler), Richard Doyle (who he named to the Senate), Bill Fox (his current Communications Chief), Allan Fotheringham, Doug Fisher, Bruce Phillips (now in Washington as Minister), Michel Gratton

(his press secretary) and, of course, biographers MacDonald and Auf der Maur. Mulroney's fixation with the media and what they are saying about him has been recorded often; MacDonald calls him a "news freak" who reads and watches everything. The contacts helped him stay attuned to the shifting sands of Tory fortunes.

And the leadership was soon to reopen. The February 1980 defeat revived what political scientists have euphemistically called the Tory syndrome. What role Brian Mulroney played in fanning the fires of discontent is open to speculation. Neither biography is helpful. Mulroney's endorsement of Clark in December 1982, only 53 days before the Winnipeg review decision which forced Clark to call the leadership convention has, in retrospect, a certain

hollow ring to it. As MacDonald points out, the friends of Mulroney were actively involved in the Dump Clark campaign. The principal ringleader was Frank Moores (named to the Board of Air Canada, Moores later resigned over appearances of conflict of interest with his lobbying firm, Government Consultants International), who had backed Mulroney in 1976 and included Elmer McKay (who would later resign his seat in Nova Scotia to give Mulroney a place in the Commons). Michel Cogger and Rodrigue Pageau had been busy gathering review delegates and discussing the results, as MacDonald reveals, in Mulroney's home in early December. The announcement by Mulroney in Montreal, two days before the vote in Winnipeg, of the generous package for the Schefferville workers was, says MacDonald, "understandably cause for suspicion as to his motives".

On March 21, 1983 Mulroney declared once again he would be a candidate for the Tory Crown. It was purposely a less

ostentatious campaign and he carried his own luggage and travelled economy. About to make the announcement, MacDonald relates how the candidate was almost thrown off by the appearance of "the only goddamn Cadillac cab in the city of Ottawa". Aide Michael McSweeney (now an Ottawa alderman and aide to Associate Defence Minister Paul Dick), whose father was general manager of Blue line cabs, "paid the guy off". Mulroney was able to begin his successful campaign in "an appropriate Plymouth". Campaign headquarters became an office in the Ritz-Carleton where hotelier Fernand Roberge (also named by Mulroney to the Board of Air Canada) kept the secret as secretary Ginette Pilotte cranked out the speeches and letters. To make it clear he was the Quebec candidate and Montreal was his home, the coming-out party had been held in the hotel a fortnight before the Ottawa announcement. The 'Friends of Brian Mulroney' drew 3,000 and the endorsements included those of Bobby Orr (whom he had met through his friend the President of Standard Brands, Ross Johnston), Lucien Bouchard (then chief negotiator for the PQ), Paul Desrochers (a former advisor to Robert Bourassa) and Phil Cutler (prominent union lawyer).

The campaign team was made up of his old friends from St. FX — Doucet, White, Wakim and Laval; Cogger, White, Roy, Meighen, and Bazin and the '76 campaign — Nantel (as Communications chief, whose advertising firm has since been given the contract for dispensing government contracts), Moores and Pageau. The chief fundraisers were Senator Guy Charbonneau, David Angus (since named a Q.C. and to the Board of Air Canada, he is chairman of the PC Canada Fund), and Don Matthews. (His daughter Shelley is married to Premier David Peterson.) The "intellectual bodyguard" was Charley MacMillan, who had met Mulroney at a Tory policy conference in 1969 and then gone to work for the candidate in 1976. His provincial organizers included Lee Richardson from Alberta and Janis Johnston in Manitoba (now a Board member of CN, her father was recently named Manitoba lieutenant-governor). In Ottawa, he was able to garner caucus support from 20 M.P.s and a few senators.

MacDonald details well the leadership campaign and the convention although the definitive story of the '83 convention remains **Contenders: The Tory Quest for Power** by Globe reporter Patrick Martin, pollster Allan Gregg and Queen's professor and historian George Perlin. If in 1976 he was perceived as a Red Tory, this time he was seen as the choice of the Tory rednecks. Mulroney complained about the "swedenization of Canada" and promised to throw out the wretched bureaucrats with "a pink slip and a pair of running shoes". Nonetheless, Martin argues he was actually much closer to Joe Clark in ideology than Peter Pocklington or even Michael Wilson,

both of whom swung their support to Mulroney after the first ballot, thus ensuring Mulroney, not Crosbie, became the best placed to depose Clark.

During the campaign, Mulroney released **Where I Stand**, his prescription for the nation's problems. In it Mulroney emphasizes the family home and Canada as a civil, orderly country where there is a spirit of generosity and the community helped the individual get ahead while supporting the less fortunate. Economically, his vision of Canada is that of the 1950's and 60's where investment flowed in and private enterprise flourished. We had this once, he argues, we can have it again. Martin says the heart of the book and the center of Mulroney philosophy is in "A View from Baie Comeau" where Mulroney defends individualism. It is a testimony to those who took the risks in developing the North Shore:

Was it a demeaning life experience — as some fancy pants leftists would lead us to believe, those who would discourage new capital entering Canada and penalize the existing pool — for you, for me, for many others who found here a sense of belonging; important degree or tolerance and pride; moral strength; a legitimate ambition to do, to build, to acquire and to share, the capacity to suffer defeat; and, to start again toward new challenges.

These are the qualities that are instilled into us, perhaps unknowingly, by an independent and audacious life on the North Shore. Such are the values and liberties we have acquired here, and which are slowly being taken away from us, quietly, gradually, surreptitiously, by our leaders behind a smokescreen called 'democratic collectivism'. For me, it is just like an insidious illness which will, inescapably, diminish our strength and our duties as independent citizens.

The rest of the story is well-known. Mulroney won the leadership on the fourth ballot and then a seat in the Commons on August 29, taking his place in the House when parliament resumed on September 12. In the months that followed, he was particularly active in defending French language rights in Manitoba and in opposing the Liberal Government's plan (subsequently dropped) to limit provincial agencies to a 10 per cent share in provincial transportation and pipeline companies, the latter an effort to prevent the Caisse de depot from gaining control of Canadian Pacific. When the election was finally called, he was ready.

Brian Mulroney is Canada's first Irish Catholic Prime Minister (Meighen and Mike Pearson were Protestant Irish, quite another kettle of fish; St. Laurent comes closer, his mother was Irish) and his approach to life betrays his roots. A knack for politics is the one thing that many Irish Americans, pugnacious yet gregarious by nature, have inherited from their native land. Great sentimentalists, their appeal is very much based on emotion, family and community. This has been the appeal of the likes of William Marcy Tweed, George Washington

Plunkitt (whose plain talks on practical politics have been well practised by Mulroney), Honey Fitz Fitzgerald, Smiling Jim Donovan, Jimmy Walker, James Michael Curley, Richard Daly, the Kennedys and Ronald Reagan. The formula has been used with varying success.

Rae compares Mulroney to Lyndon Johnson, not a terribly flattering comparison. Mulroney, they say, "believes one gets what one wants by demonstrating power, doing deals and making trade-offs". Most pundits draw parallels between Mulroney and an earlier populist prime minister, John Diefenbaker. A political touch far superior to their rivals, a gift of human warmth, of wit and mimicry, a sure instinct for crowds and headlines, the trombone voice defending outraged virtue, downtrodden justice and the Canadian spirit are all shared in common. Like Diefenbaker in '57 and '58, Mulroney completely possessed the Conservative Party and made it his own. He revived the barnstorming techniques of earlier times, skilfully deployed them with the able techniques of Norman Atkins, the most able of the back-room boys, and flinging promises right and left, won the biggest majority in Canadian history.

But if Mulroney has taken pages from the Diefenbaker playbook, he has also learned from his old friend, the Irish-French Canadian Daniel Johnson and studied well the style of le Ancien Chef, Maurice Duplessis. Their style of governing, characterized by a tight grip over their followers, is rooted in the belief that the essence of politics is power exercised by one man. But government, even provincial, has become vastly more complicated and sophisticated. It is no longer practical or even possible to keep the affairs of state on a tight leash. In Edwin O'Connors **The Last Hurrah**, the defeat of Mayor Frank Skeffington, loosely modeled on Boston's Curley, was attributed to the sophistication of government as a consequence of the New Deal. "The old boss," he explains "was strong simply because he held all the cards. If anybody wanted anything — jobs, favors, cash — he could only go to the boss, the local leader. What Roosevelt did was to take the handouts out of local hands. A few things like Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, and the like — that's what shifted the gears, sport."

Son of the working class, Brian Mulroney has become rich, famous and powerful. Charming and quick, he has shown talent for the art of political intrigue. His silver tongue, touched with a generous dose of political flatulence, has generally served him well. Like the old nursery rhyme, when he is good he is very good. That there is an element of blarney is obvious. The problems arise over his penchant for exaggeration or as the pundits put it, the 'lying Brian' factor. Neither biographer is much help in exploring this side of the man, although Rae says in doing their research they discovered that Mulroney's portrayal of himself as a

rough and ready rogue when he was a youngster was not that of those around him. He was, said his first teacher, a nice boy and a good student, "exceedingly ambitious and gloried in attempts at public speaking and other types of competition."

The first Conservative leader since Confederation with any real ties to Quebec, Mulroney understands well that to break the Liberal's stranglehold on power he must hold his home province. This is something Diefenbaker never fully appreciated, despite the best advice of the 20-year-old at Laval. Mulroney knows that the only times this century that the Tories have formed a majority government (with the exception of 1911) 1930, 1958 and 1984, they took a majority of the seats in Quebec. "Keep your eye on the ball" is one of his favourite expressions; his eye is on Quebec and this preoccupation can be seen in decisions like that on the CF-18, Domtar, Hyundai, DRIE grants and his Trudeau-like evocation of 'French power'.

Mulroney's loyalty and generosity to his friends have been illustrated. Mulroney defends his rewards to his friends arguing "ya dance with the lady that brung ya". They, too, now occupy positions of trust, importance and power, many on their own merits. But there is a fine line between rewarding talent and encouraging cronyism. His critics remind him that Irish-American politicians who have built their base on their friends and charm often suffer from an inability to handle power. The current senior senator from New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, himself an Irish-American, has warned that: "the very parochialism and bureaucracy that enabled them to succeed in politics prevented [the Irish] from doing much with government. In a sense, the Irish did not know what to do with power once they got it." For Brian Mulroney winning the 1984 election was easy. Keeping that power will require consummate skill, a real record of achievement and the support of at least some of those 'dear hearts and gentle people' who chose him last time.

Colin Robertson is a career foreign service officer who edits Bout de papier.

Children Abroad: a guide for families travelling overseas by J. Losos, A. Clayton, N. Gerein, and Ruth Wilson, Deneau, Toronto, 1986, \$9.95.

The book is notable for two reasons: it is not comprehensive, it is comprehensible. Not often do these two virtues coincide. The medical information is explained in everyday language and includes everything from shots to snake bites to schistosomiasis. Keeping a child healthy is only half the

challenge of raising children outside their own culture and I am pleased to find a reference work that also addresses some of the emotional impact of being a TCK (third culture kid).

The book contains short sections on, for example, saying good-byes, living with servants, nannies, travelling, staying in hotels, tropical clothing, education, reactions to the stress of relocation, foreign adoption and returning home.

Although "Children Abroad" is primarily concerned with the medical implications of living in a developing country with a tropical climate, there is enough general information about moving children out of their home culture to make it relevant to anyone relocating with their family.

The book is obviously written by people who have not only professional credentials but first hand experience with real children. It is not an amalgam of material gleaned from other texts. The style is straight forward and unpretentious with an occasional humorous twist. I found it entertaining as well as very informative and wish it had been available 20 years ago.

Laurel Pardy is a regular Bout de papier columnist.

In Flander's Fields: Canada in the Great War

Bill Dymond on Vimy by Pierre Berton, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1986, 336 pp., \$24.95.

Sir Arthur Currie by Daniel G. Dancocks, Methuen, Toronto, 1985, 332 pp., \$29.95

Gas! The Battle for Ypres, 1915 by James L. McWilliams and R. James Steel, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario, 1985, 247 pp.

Beyond Courage: The Canadians at the Second Battle of Ypres, George Cassar, Oberon Press, Toronto, Ontario, 1985.

In modern memory, the Great War is the poor cousin to the Second World War. The former is remembered as war of endless mud and unmitigated, fruitless slaughter fought to a stalemate. The latter shines forth as the victory of righteousness over evil, the emergence of civilization into the broad sunlit upland plains in Churchill's phrase.

The Great War is the single dominating event of this century. It was a tragedy for the old World and a triumph for the new. It shattered some empires and sent others into irremediable decline. It brought forth revolution and set forth a chain of events which continue to tremble the world. For Canada, the Great War made us a nation to

ourselves and gave us identity and presence in world affairs.

Films and television make little contribution to bringing the Great War to modern consciousness. With the film based on Timothy Findlay's "The Wars", an honourable exception, there are few feature films made of the Great War and the war footage reflects the primitive state of the art in its flickering, shadowy depiction of figures moving with a Charlie Chaplin gait. Whether the expression of Canadian cultural identity or the product of the crass American entertainment industry, there is an abundant collection of documentary and feature film on the Second World War, much of it with a white hats versus the black hats view of great events.

These books mark an overdue resurgence of interest in the 1914-1918 conflict which took 60,000 Canadian lives. All of them observe Lord Trevelyan's dictum that the narrative is the essence of good historical writing. Their aim is to penetrate the dry, detailed and dusty if impeccably accurate accounts of the official histories and biographies by combining the strategies of the commanders with personal accounts of the soldiers and in that they largely succeed. They are welcome additions to a growing Canadian library of modern Great War history written both for the amateur and professional reader.



Sir Arthur Currie

At the battle of Vimy Ridge in 1917, the Canadian Corps in one of the most brilliant feats of the Great War achieved the first decisive victory of Allied arms in three years of war on the Western Front. Berton's latest book is the story of the Canadians who fought in the battle and what the victory meant to them and to Canada. It combines a bird's eye view of the battlefield with the blood and guts view of the soldiers who fought in and on it.

The opening chapters briskly recount the recruitment of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and its transformation into a Corps of four divisions and 100,000 soldiers

by the autumn of 1916. Berton captures the chaos of the first few weeks of war in Canada as carefully laid mobilization plans were swept aside and 25,000 volunteers rushed to a hastily built camp at Valcartier near Quebec. The character of Sam Hughes, Borden's Minister of Militia is tellingly depicted. Hughes was bombastic, tyrannical, a would-be Napoleon. On the morning of August 4, 1914, Hughes ordered the Union Jack lowered from the militia building on Sparks St. to mark his disgust that the Imperial Cabinet had not yet declared war. In London, two months later Hughes is reputed to have faced down Lord Kitchener by insisting that Canadians fight together rather than being distributed into British units.

The Canadians embarked for England on a misty October morning in 1914. In 1915, this force of citizen volunteers with a few months of training, a British general and the imposing title, the First Canadian Division, was inspected by the King and Lord Kitchener and shipped to the Front. By 1916, there were four Canadian divisions on the Western Front. Appalling casualties had been suffered in bloody battles in Flanders and on the Somme but the Canadians had acquired confidence and the reputation as the elite of British forces. In October and November 1916, the Corps entered the trenches on the slopes of Vimy Ridge. They were commanded by General Sir Julien Byng of later Byng-King fame.

Vimy Ridge, "a low, seven mile escarpment of sullen grey, rising softly from the plain below, a monotonous spine of mud, churned into a froth by shellfire, devoid of grass or foliage, lacking in colour and detail . . ." had been held by the Germans since 1914. The Ridge was the critical anchor point of the German defensive position in Northern France and its capture was essential to protect the allied left flank for the 1917 British and French offensives. The French lost 150,000 men at Vimy in 1915. The Germans considered the position impregnable.

Berton describes the meticulous preparations through the five month runup preceding the attack. The Canadians mounted large and small scale raids on the German position to gather intelligence and keep the enemy off balance. Massive tunnels sheltering whole battalions were run up to front lines — in some places a bare 25 yards distant from the German trenches. The four divisions rehearsed the attack in the back areas so that every man knew his job. Over the previous days and weeks, artillery had reduced German front line positions to rubble and destroyed German counterbatteries.

At 5:30 a.m., April 9, Easter Monday, 1917, 983 artillery pieces and 150 machine guns began the attack. "The shells and bullets hurtling above the trenches formed a canopy of red-hot steel just above the heads of the advancing troops . . ." Twenty-thousand men, the first wave stood up and

under heavy packs walked slowly in driving sleet and snow behind a creeping barrage.

Berton devotes a chapter to each of the four divisions in the battle. For each . . . "the style and method of attack differed depending on the frontage, the distance to be covered and the state of the German defences. There were four simultaneous mini-battles on the Canadian front, all interconnected." The Germans were completely surprised. Within a few hours, most of the Ridge was in Canadian hands and two days later the rest had fallen. By Great War standards, the cost was light when measured against the gain. Still, the Canadians suffered over 11,000 casualties of which some 3,500 were killed.

The art of writing about battles is to explain why the battle happened, who fought in it, what happened and what were the results. By this measure, Berton has produced a fine book. He has skillfully blended the principal events of the battle from the official histories and unpublished memoirs with recollections of the survivors. Some of the battle scenes are especially gruesome. "Suddenly, a dud shell whizzed by . . . It sliced off the head of the machine gunner . . . and the headless corpse, blood sprouting from the severed arteries actually took two steps forward before toppling into the muck." War is a grim business and Berton leaves little to the imagination.

Map making and photograph selection is a skill which eludes many editors of military history. Good maps inserted where they are most relevant to the narrative are essential to readers of both a general and specialized interest. Berton's editors deserve high marks. The battle lines of each division are at the head of its chapter, the main features clearly set out and the progress in the day of battle succinctly presented. Of photographs, there are none, not even of the Vimy Memorial and this is a serious omission.

The book is written in the high coloratura style for which Berton is famous. He makes heavy weather of the high proportion of soldiers who were not really Canadian when they volunteered but British immigrants who became Canadian after Vimy. He describes Sir Arthur Currie, commander of the First Division at Vimy as shaped like a pear. He glories in the loose easy going egalitarianism in the Canadian divisions compared to "their stiffnecked British counterparts . . . and social divisions . . ." how Vimy convinced the Canadians that they were the finest troops on the Western Front. There are elements of truth in all of this but the overwriting and hype about Canada the colony before the battle and Canada the nation after Vimy detracts from what is otherwise a fine book.

According to Berton, at the end of the battle Canada "no longer considered herself a vassal of Great Britain. And, of course, she had never considered herself a colonial vassal of the United States." This must mean that free traders did not fight at Vimy.

Sir Arthur Currie is a genuine Canadian hero. Few, today, remember his name. Fewer still recall his deeds.

Currie was a soldier of the Great War. Full time real estate promoter and part time soldier of the Militia when war broke out, he went to France in 1915 with the Canadian Expeditionary Force commanding the Second Brigade of the First Division. After Vimy Ridge, he succeeded Byng as commander of the Canadian Corps until demobilization in 1919.

Dancocks has written an admirable biography of Currie from his beginnings in Strathroy, Ontario to Victoria where he settled and had made and lost a fortune in the great boom days of Victoria's growth from 1909 until the crash in 1914. Currie's war years are accurately recounted with emphasis upon his epic and successful



Photograph taken during Battle of Vimy Ridge, April 1917

encounters with the higher British command and its traditional ways of making war.

*If I were fierce, and bald and short of
breath,
I live with scarlet majors at the base,
And speed glum heroes up the line to
death.*

Those few lines, written in 1917, by the war poet Siegfried Sassoon, capture the modern image of the 1914-18 general — past his prime, professionally choleric, impeccably turned out in the red tabs of the staff officer, comfortably housed at the base safely distant from the trenches, his only contact with the troops, their passage to the killing grounds. Currie was a different kind of general.

Dancocks shares the view of Currie's contemporaries that Currie was one of the greatest generals to emerge from the war from either side of the trenches. He won the trust and confidence first of Byng and then of Haig, the overall British Commander on the Western Front. He lived close to the line with the troops, planned his operations with meticulous care, expended artillery instead of men's lives and in the words of his Australian counterpart delivered the goods. He was responsible for remarkable innovations in its time that today seem common sense — that troops should rehearse the battle before it was fought, that the men should be trained to fight in platoons, that anyone in a position of responsibility down to the level of corporal should be issued with detailed maps and briefed on the plan of attack.

Dancocks also reveals the meaner side of Canadian politics. Currie was continually subjected to political pressures from all quarters on appointments, on leave requests, on demands for special duty usually far from the firing line. As Corps Commander, he earned the hatred of Sir Sam Hughes, by refusing to promote his son to divisional command. During the Conscription crisis, Borden encouraged Currie to make a public statement on the need for reinforcements and when the Liberals called for Currie's dismissal as a political general, the government was silent. Currie, unlike victorious British and French generals was granted no special vote of thanks nor given a gift from a grateful country. When he was libelled in 1928, citizens from all over Canada sprang to Currie's defence but again the government stood on the sidelines. Recognition came only after death.

Currie was Principal and Vice Chancellor of McGill from 1920 until his death at the age of 58. He brought the same indefatigable energy and organization to the affairs of the great university and played a major role in persuading Wilder Penfield to establish the neurological institute at McGill. Throughout this period, he fought for better pensions for veterans and for that his old soldiers were grateful and remained loyal. Like our

modern retired generals and admirals, he became a passionate advocate of disarmament.

Currie resembles other Canadian heroes, for example, Sir John A. in that he came to his moments of greatest accomplishment with a past. He was virtually bankrupted by the real estate crash in Victoria when war broke out. Dancocks is rather kind to Currie on this matter alleging that he borrowed, rather than as others would have it, embezzled funds from the Regimental budget to fend off his creditors. These funds were, however, paid back and if his real estate holdings were worthless at war's end in part due to an unscrupulous partner, his war record and his principalship of McGill covered all blemishes.

Currie suffered a stroke in November of 1933 and died a few weeks later without regaining consciousness. A quarter-million people, one fourth of Montreal's population attended his funeral in 1933.

Dancocks concludes by quoting the tribute of Stephen Leacock, Currie's early teacher in Strathroy and colleague at McGill. From that, a fitting excerpt for a life well lived of service to his country:

*"He lived, in peace as in war, with the
consciousness of the imminence of
death. For him, life was but a
pathway to something else, and he
walked that path with a sense of
meaning and its end that never left
him for a day."*

Most Canadians know the story of Vimy Ridge. In school, we all learned the moving poem, *In Flanders Fields*, by the Canadian doctor, Captain John McCrae.

Vimy Ridge was a 1917 battle fought by a Canadian Corps of 100,000 seasoned soldiers who were the elite of British forces on the Western Front. *In Flanders Fields* is about the battle fought by the Canadian soldiers of 1915.

The books by McWilliams and Steel and Cassar tell the story behind the poem — how Canadians troops stood fast against German gas attacks in April 1915. This was the first battle Canadians fought in the Great War and their heroic defence played a major role in preventing a German breakthrough which would have trapped 200,000 British, Canadian and French troops in a small pocket from which there would be no escape.

Like the Berton Book, the opening chapters of both cover the early days of the Canadian Expeditionary Force through recruitment and training to their arrival at the front for trench training with the Imperials as the Canadians called the British regulars. In April 1915, 10,000 Canadians entered the trenches northwest of Ypres, one of the great cloth towns of the middle ages. Its adjacent territory running in a North, East, South, arc — the Ypres salient — was the killing ground of all armies who fought there in the Great War. It is a place of

grim memory and evil deed.

The battle began on April 22, a warm and sunny Spring day. At 5.00 p.m., the Germans released chlorine gas from long hoses connected to pressure tanks embedded in their trenches. A green and yellow cloud rose in the air and advanced slowly carried by a sluggish wind, creeping languidly close to the ground in heavy swirling billows, ominous, patient, unhurried, portentous, loathsome, deadly. On the left of the Canadians, the gas scattered the surprised and unprotected French divisions like chaff before the wind. A huge gap opened in Allied lines and presented the Germans with a glittering opportunity.

In succeeding days, the Germans launched severe gas attacks on the Canadians. Using simple cotton pads pressed over their noses and mouths and wetted with trench water or in some cases with their own urine, enough Canadians survived to beat off massive frontal assaults. The line wavered but held in the face of a 10 to one inferiority in men and artillery. Counterattacks by Canadian and British reserves prevented disaster and the battle petered out with a reduced but secure Ypres salient. When the Canadians were withdrawn after five days of desperate struggle and replaced by fresh British units, they had suffered fearful losses of killed, wounded and missing, more than half their initial strength.

If both books concern the same events, the emphasis is different. McWilliams and Steel's account of the complete surprise achieved by the Germans is the story of a classical intelligence failure. Abundant warnings from deserters and agents of a German gas attack were ignored by French and British generals much as the evidence of a surprise attack was ignored by the Americans at Pearl Harbour and the Israelis at Yom Kippur. McWilliams and Steel also underline how the use of gas was a strategic blunder by the Germans. The prevailing winds in Western Europe flow from West to East. As the war progressed, it was the Allies who made the greater use of this terrible weapon.

While McWilliams and Steel concentrate on the battles fought by units and individuals, Cassar gives more attention to the strategy and tactics of both sides. From these accounts, the fog and confusion of the battle comes forth clearly. Neither the Allied nor German generals had more than an incomplete and frequently inaccurate understanding of the dynamics of the battlefield. Orders were issued when they were already out of date. Reinforcements arrived too late and in the wrong place. Artillery and infantry assaults were uncoordinated. The Allied position was largely saved by field commanders especially Currie.

Both books contain graphic accounts of the heroism of Canadian units and individual soldiers. Thus, Cassar tells how Canadian troops fought desperately to recapture the northern edge of the battlefield. "With

bayonets fixed and rifles at the port, the Canadians moved forward . . . As enemy machine guns ripped out and rifles crackled, the Canadians fell in swaths . . . Captain John Geddes, who although mortally wounded, struggled valiantly on hands and knees shouting 'Come on! Come on! . . . they recovered their balance and with a wild shriek rushed forward.'

McWilliams and Steel have collected gruesome scenes from survivors. One describes the peculiar sour, heavy and penetrating smell of corpses. "Men that were killed last October lie half in the swamp and half in yellow sprouting beet fields. The legs of an Englishman, still encased in puttees stick out into a trench, the corpse being built into a parapet a soldier hangs his rifle on them."

Cassar's editors rate a high grade for clear and uncluttered maps which capture the essentials. McWilliams and Steel's editors have much to learn. Their maps are awkwardly placed, cluttered with hard to read trench lines, strong points, battalion numbers and arrows racing off in all directions to show attacks and counter-attacks. Both books have a good selection of photographs.

McWilliams and Steel have a fondness for searching for biblical analogies to lend light and color to their story. Citations from both the Old and New Testaments adorn the headings of each chapter. Some of these are apposite as in the heading to the chapter which describes the most desperate phases of the battle. "Yea, though I walk through the shadow of the valley of death . . ." Others are less obvious. While McWilliams and Steel are to be applauded for employing the King James' version rather than the pedestrian modern translations, there is such an abundance of moving if bitter Great War poetry, they would have been better advised to draw on McCrae, Sassoon, Owen and many others for their chapter headings.

If McWilliams and Steel can be faulted on maps and chapter headings, they have a powerful conclusion: "The . . . battle . . . was a miniature of the entire First World War. In it were seen all the elements of war — the heroism, the atrocities, the total destruction of a way of life and the achievements of centuries, the terrible toll in maimed and killed, the missed opportunities, the callousness of the leaders towards those they led . . . so many died to achieve nothing."

It is a fair judgment. From the start, the attack was a half hearted affair pursued by the Germans to test their new weapon. The German General Staff had already transferred a major part of their strength to the East for an offensive against the Russians. No reserves were available to exploit the holes created by the gas or overpower the Canadians and close the trap. Like so many battles of the Great War, it was a bloody struggle for small advantage.

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Cassar's book concludes with the story of how McCrae's poem came to be written. McCrae was a Montreal pathologist serving in the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Working round the clock, he agonized over the suffering of the wounded and the growing number of small wooden crosses of the dead. One night, he scribbled a few words on a scrap of paper, looked at what he had written and threw it away. His companion retrieved the poem and had it published in *Punch Magazine* in December 1915. The last stanza captures the bitterness and bravado of the Canadian soldiers of the Great War.

*Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies
grow
In Flanders Fields.*

The Vimy memorial between Arras and Lens in Northern France is about a two hour drive from our Paris and Brussels posts. Standing at the Northern end of the Ridge, it is the tribute to the 60,000 Canadians who fell in the Great War. On its marble walls are engraved the names of the 11,000 Canadians who have no known grave. Close by there are impeccably maintained Commonwealth graveyards. For politicians, diplomats, for old soldiers, and for the French who live nearby, Vimy is a place of pilgrimage.

The Memorial to the 2,000 Canadians who were killed in five days of battle in April 1915 is the half figure of a soldier, head bowed mounted on a column. There are no Commonwealth graveyards for the dead of this battle. They are buried in what Sassoon calls the "soul-clogging" soil of Flanders. The memorial stands at a cross roads near Ypres where the first shock of battle took place. In eloquence unusual for a government publication, the Canadian Battlefields' Commission captures the mood:

*There is a mysterious power in this
brooding figure drawing you from the
things that are to the things that
were. It does more than command
the landscape, it orders the spirit.
This is the soul of those who fell.*

Bill Dymond is currently assigned to the Trade Negotiations Office. His last posting was Brussels (EEC) close by the battlefields of the Great War. Bill is the Canadian representative of the Western Front Association, an organization devoted to perpetuating the memory and courage of the soldiers who fought in the Great War. New members welcomed.

Both My Houses

by Sean O'Sullivan,

Key Porter Books, 235 pp., \$22.95.

Sean O'Sullivan is an audacious, articulate, and impressively intelligent Canadian. Power, both sacred and profane, intrigues him, and his desire to participate in mainstream activities is a driving force in his character.

O'Sullivan's **Both My Houses** is a book of considerable merit and avoids many of the toadying aspects that frequent autobiographies. It is a story of self-examination, tenacity, courage, and political criticism. O'Sullivan is someone who makes things happen simply because he is driven by inner instincts, and has been influenced at major turns in his life by mentors who fascinate him.

There are lots of ego-books on the Canadian book market at present. Some are pretentious like Eugene Whelan's **Whelan**. (He really does care about world hunger, but green stetsons do not a leader make.) Some are cloying like Patrick Gossage's **Next to the Charisma** (he hopes that some benefits might rub off from the extraterrestrial leadership of his former master, Prime Minister Pierre E.T.). Some are prickly like Sheila Copps' **Nobody's Baby** (she hopes we are interested in what her spleen has done for Canadian Parliamentary democracy). Some are condescending, like Senator Keith Davey's **The Rainmaker** (he presumes Canadians don't want "sunshine" in their politics). Some are a minor contribution to recent non-intellectual Canadian history like Jean Chretien's **Straight From the Heart**, and some are benignly contrite like René Lévesque's **Memoirs**. But most are half-baked and lack the depth and wisdom of Ron Graham's **One Eyed Kings**, by far the best recent book on Canadian political life written in English.

Both My Houses is neither an apology for past political misdemeanors nor a trial balloon for a career path to higher office. It is a milestone at the beginning of a journey; a personal voyage into power, politics, pain, and priesthood. It is a valuable insight into the Canadian way of doing things, which is particularly useful in 1986 when a crisis of leadership in both major political parties has sent shock waves across the country, and threatens public trust in the institutions of our government.

O'Sullivan's pert and self-assured mind can belie his ability to serve (sic) the major mentors in his life — John Diefenbaker, Roman Catholic Father Joseph Lupo, and Cardinal Gerald Emmett Carter. The author has all the potential sycophantic characteristics of a typical executive assistant, but his personal respect for his mentors tempers his obvious ambition and he remains a personality in his own right. At one point he talks of being a fan of John

Diefenbaker rather than a friend, and the implications are many that Dief was a cussed man with a tendency towards vindictiveness. Yet throughout his years with the Chief, and particularly at Dief's funeral, O'Sullivan sees himself as the protector of the Chief's reputation and a combatant against his detractors. Diefenbaker, we infer, was a great Canadian because he instilled in a generation a pride in the traditional institutions of Canada without unnecessary fawning over Empire and Eurocentric history. His "Ides of March" at the hands of Dalton Camp and the conspirators was perhaps the main subconscious reason O'Sullivan left politics for a higher calling. But, in the spirit of reconciliation, which is the main ethical feature of the book, O'Sullivan, in the tradition of Mark Anthony, implies that Diefenbaker's detractors were "honourable men".

O'Sullivan at first regards success in politics as a "badge of honour". He then, during his residence at the Irish College in Rome, admits to being a "victim of vaulting ambition". He notes that most politicians he knew came to Ottawa "with good sound principles and good causes they want(ed) to forward". The outward signs of power, like the expense accounts and the private jets, soon got the better of all but the most honest of men and women. "Politics can be a dirty business that treats people badly — even those with a strong inner core of decency."

Both My Houses deals extensively and implicitly with personal and political ethics. Loyalty to mentors is born of a certain chemistry including greed, but service to country is an ethical decision which should sublimate personal ambition. Most Canadians remember Diefenbaker as a histrionic patriot. His smashing election victory in 1957, his jowls, his appalling French, his Western background, his dog Happy, and his Churchillian rejection at conspiratorial hands in 1963, all testify to his wholesome and slightly eccentric reputation. But, for those of us who do not remember William Lyon Mackenzie King, Diefenbaker was uniquely Canadian, reflecting in his bravado and his vulnerability a personification of his Canada. O'Sullivan's description of Diefenbaker's relative poverty at his death (in spite of a controversial trust fund) is very moving. Our Prime Minister did not even have a pair of matching socks readily available.

Diefenbaker was the last pre-television prime minister, the last of the whistle-stop campaigners before the electronic media replaced the railway as the east-west zip fastener of Canadian Confederation. O'Sullivan won his spurs during this sea-change in Canada's technological (and cultural) awakening. There have been since then too few true leaders among the many pretenders to political management. For example, O'Sullivan says of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, whom he genuinely likes, that he is

"... so scarred by the political process that sometimes he lets paranoid advisors convince him to be mean-spirited". Sadly, this book will not appeal to those who are naively confident in the direction of Canadian politics today. But nothing in Sean O'Sullivan meteoric rise from young campaign worker to the youngest M.P. in Canadian history would compare to the trial that now faced him.

Cancer is surely the cruellest contemporary disease without a known cure. Cancer is the closest men and women can come to hell and survive. O'Sullivan's chapter "To the Brink and Back" is a very personal and powerful exposé of despair, pain, and survival. He describes the devastating realization that his body has failed him and that he will probably die. But his lively brain continues to function and dream, creating hallucinations and doubts as the body chemistry contorted by cancer torments the balance of his life.

Sean O'Sullivan was the last person you would have thought might fall victim to such a disease. I first met him in Rome at the home of the Canadian Embassy's RCMP Attaché. The young novice lived up to his reputation for fast wit and humour making me realize that if Canada had received more Irish immigrants in the past, our sense of humour might now rival that of Australia. He often came to our house on the Appian Way in Rome, and on many occasions, after a family dinner, I would drive Sean home to the Irish College in the small hours of the morning. It was long after curfew; I kept the car's high beams trained on the gate of the

College as Sean scaled it. He was always careful not to lose anything as he rounded the spiked top, and he would disappear into the shadows with only one more obstacle—a very alert dog with a loud bark.

On one occasion Sean was not himself and complained of being tired and weak. He booked into a retreat run by the Blue Nuns at Fiesole in the hills overlooking Florence. Ten days later he returned to Rome refreshed but still not up to scratch. We recommended our Canadian doctor, Rosemary Harris, who was much sought after by the diplomatic community, and is a woman of extraordinary grace and professional acumen. Her diagnosis was privy to her patient, but I don't think she suspected cancer at this point.

Sean returned to Canada to become a parish priest and later to run the priest vocation programme in Toronto for Cardinal Carter. The billboard depicting Christ on the cross with the caption "Dare To Be A Priest Like Me" became a topic of much conversation and controversy. It was classic O'Sullivan. His political days had helped to make the beaver Canada's national symbol. He now captured the imagination and the devotion of a new constituency, and today his cancer is in remission.

Both My Houses is a voyage from youth to adulthood, and from politics to priesthood. It is a view of Canada through a personal prism with all the subjectivity and omission that that entails. But it is worth every page because, together with the personal pronouncements and recollections, there is a refreshing magnanimity that

prevents the kind of Monday morning quarter-backing which often tarnishes autobiographies. The author shares his own weaknesses and, by doing so, shows that he has surmounted them. His vignettes of Canadian personalities are refreshing and enlightening, critical but without bitterness.

It is a powerful book of ecstasy and agony, and it ends with the Christian pronouncements of a man committed to his Faith and to his Church as a centurion in the Pope's Divisions. His political knowhow will be essential as he stickhandles the ecclesiastical bureaucracy as capably as he did the political one in Canada, and his stubborn personality will be the great strength for future challenges.

In St. John's Gospel is written, "... in My Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you". With his future now dedicated to the preaching of Christian mystery, we can safely predict that there are more mansions to be built in Sean O'Sullivan's house.

David Anido is Cultural Officer in the Department of External Affairs and Secretary of the Canadian Mediterranean Institute.

Don Jamieson cont'd

from p. 15

Mr. Jamieson's view of the Department was frankly nuanced. He was not distant and aloof. He saw his role, however, as political, giving broad guidance, while leaving to the Deputy Minister the operations of the Department. Particularly he did not wish to be involved in administrative matters. There was little he liked less than to have a Head of Mission appeal to him, while travelling, on the insufficiency of the residence or the inadequacy of staff or to have a matter that he considered purely routine or administrative referred to him

when he considered it should be resolved by officials.

A career diplomat, Derek Burney is Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

David Elder was Departmental Assistant to the Hon. Don Jamieson in 1978-79. He has served in Dakar and Harare. He is currently Director of the International Economic Relations Division.

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René Maran:

La première et lointaine consécration de la littérature négro-africaine

par Leopold Battel

La consécration, tardive, de la littérature négro-africaine par l'attribution du prix Nobel à l'écrivain nigérian Wole Soyinka aura eu pour effet, d'une part, de jeter une lumière nouvelle sur une littérature riche, originale mais combien ignorée, et d'autre part, de souligner les tares de notre culture occidentale.

Il nous est évidemment plus aisé de nous familiariser avec la culture locale lorsque nous sommes en poste. Les livres des écrivains nationaux côtoient ceux des auteurs européens ou américains. C'est alors une révélation que de s'initier à une nouvelle culture, à une façon de penser différente. C'est aussi une déception que de faire le constat de l'autocentrisme de notre culture, et de son quasi-monopole au détriment de cette partie du patrimoine culturel mondial.

Cette indifférence de l'Occident étonne. Dès le milieu du 19^e siècle, on le sait, une littérature "nègre" se manifeste pour s'engager, sous la plume de l'Américain W.E.B. Du Bois, dans le mouvement de la négritude qui culminera vers les années 50, avec l'oeuvre de Cheik Anta Diop.

La littérature nègre d'expression française reçut sa première consécration en 1921, lorsque l'Académie Goncourt couronna "*Batouala*" du Guyanais René Maran. Je n'ai malheureusement pu mettre la main sur cet ouvrage mais j'ai pu lire de lui le remarquable roman "*Un homme pareil aux autres*", (publié en 1947. Editions Albin Michel, Paris.) Histoire poignante d'un Noir, de citoyenneté française, qui se rend en Afrique en tant qu'administrateur colonial. Tout comme dans "*Batouala*", René Maran y dépeint les effets pervers du système colonial sur les sociétés traditionnelles, mais l'emphase, comme son titre l'indique, est davantage sur l'expérience d'homme dans sa peau noire. Le succès cependant arriva plus par le scandale en raison surtout de sa préface retentissante. Il écrit dans préface "*d'Un homme pareil aux autres*" (1947), une introduction qui reprend le ton accusateur, le style observateur (les Noirs jugent les Blancs) de la préface de *Batouala*.

"... Le nègre que je suis a peut-être tort de publier les confidences qu'on va lire. On m'a pourtant conseillé de le faire, parce que le moment semble venu d'en saisir l'opinion publique."

"... Je crois entendre déjà les critiques qu'elles susciteront. Le Français, affirmera-t-on, n'a jamais eu de préjugé de couleur. ... Il est indéniable qu'il existe aujourd'hui, ... des traces plus ou moins profondes de racisme.

... L'Européen en général, le Français en particulier, non contents d'ignorer le nègre de leurs colonies, méconnaissent celui qu'ils ont formé à leur image ... Les nègres ne cessent, au contraire, de les étudier et de les approfondir." etc.

Avec "*Batouala*", qui avait pourtant obtenu le Goncourt, la critique ne lui avait pas été tendre en effet. Toujours au sujet de "*Batouala*" le "*Crapouillot*" écrivait: "C'est une oeuvre élémentaire très honorable pour un nègre ..."

Pourtant, à la lecture d'*Un homme pareil aux autres*, on y découvre un style profond, serein, une qualité d'écriture rare dans la plupart des romans. Sans doute le contenu faisait peur à l'époque. Une littérature nègre en quête d'identité était acceptable, mais s'instituer en réquisitoire anti-colonial devenait une toute autre affaire.

Il aura quand même fallu 65 ans pour que l'Occident se décide à redécouvrir, à saluer, à honorer cette littérature.

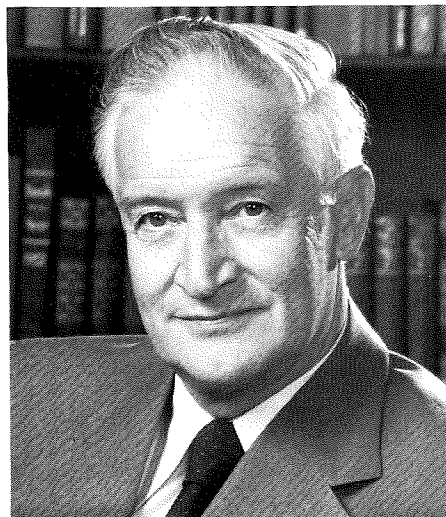
L'hommage à rendre aujourd'hui doit comprendre toute une oeuvre ignorée du public occidental. L'identité a été retrouvée, le réquisitoire anti-colonial s'est transposé au plan de la critique sociale, mais la saveur demeure. Des romans exceptionnels ne demandent qu'à être connus: "*Jusqu'au seuil de l'irréel*" d'Amadou Koné; "*La carte d'identité*" de Jean-Marie Adiaffi; "*L'étrange destin de Wangrin*" d'Amadou Hampate-

Bâ, dont l'oeuvre variée à elle seule constitue un monument à la négritude (voir Bout de papier; vol 4., édition été 1986); "*Les soleils des indépendances*" d'A. Kourouma, publié d'abord au Canada en 1968, puis à Paris (1970), a marqué le renouveau du roman africain d'expression française: "*Tribaliques*" d'Henri Lopès; le recueil de poésies exquises "*Latérite*" de Véronique Tadjo, qui s'est méritée le Prix Littéraire de l'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique; sans compter les Sénégalais et tant d'autres, ainsi que les écrivains anglophones, dont les Nigériens sont les chefs de file au plan de la quantité. (On sera particulièrement attiré par exemple par des titres comme "*My Mercedes is bigger than yours*" (1975) de Nkem Nwankwo.)

Il est à espérer que l'Occident, pris dans son sens culturel global, ne boude plus cette littérature qu'il a indirectement contribué à faire éclore. Il est également à espérer que les oeuvres africaines soient primées aussi par les grands prix littéraires connus et non plus confinées à des prix régionaux comme le Grand Prix Littéraire de l'Afrique Noire.

Leopold Battel a servi avec le PNUD en Algérie de 1974 à 1976. De 1982 à 1985, il a été premier secrétaire et Chef de la section d'aide à Abidjan. Il est présentement à la direction de l'Afrique francophone aux Affaires extérieures.

Rousseau cont'd from p. 17



Roger Rousseau

George Williams College à Montréal et il détenait le diplôme de "Master Business Administration" de l'Université de New York.

En 1941, il s'enrôla dans l'Aviation Royale du Canada, est fait prisonnier de guerre en Europe et est démobilisé en 1945 avec le rang de capitaine d'aviation.

Roger Rousseau était détenteur de la Médaille du Canada et en 1976 a reçu l'insigne de Compagnon de l'Ordre du Canada, pour sa contribution, en particulier, aux Jeux de la XXII^e Olympiade du gouvernement du Canada; nous devons lui rendre un hommage bien mérité.

Ottawa, le 1^{er} décembre 1986.

Georges Blouin était ancien agent aux affaires extérieures. Il a servi à New Delhi, San Francisco, Athènes, Bruxelles, et comme ambassadeur au Cameroun, Ministre à Washington, Ambassadeur en Espagne, Ambassadeur aux Pays-Bas et sous-secrétaire adjoint.

PAFSO NEWS

par Christine Manseau

Congé de maternité

Depuis la signature de la convention collective des agents du service extérieur le 4 novembre 1985, les agents du sexe féminin peuvent se prévaloir d'une clause de congé de maternité. Plusieurs options leur sont offertes en vertu de l'article 14.05 de la convention collective.

L'employée enceinte peut choisir d'utiliser ses crédits de congé de maladie accumulés, ses crédits de congé annuel accumulés, ou de demander à recevoir les indemnités prévues au Régime de prestations supplémentaires de chômage y incluant une indemnité égale à la différence entre la somme brute du taux de bénéfice hebdomadaire payable en vertu de la Loi sur l'assurance-chômage et 93% de son traitement hebdomadaire.

L'employée peut choisir chacune de ses options indépendamment de l'autre ou une permutation des deux ou des trois options décrites ci-haut. L'employée doit aviser l'employeur par écrit de son intention de prendre un congé payé ou non payé 4 semaines avant la fin de sa grossesse.

Les indemnités prévues au Régime de prestations supplémentaires de chômage peuvent être versées pour une durée maximale de 17 semaines. La durée maximale du congé de maternité est de 26 semaines. L'employée serait donc avisée de faire utilisation des indemnités prévues au Régime de prestations supplémentaires de chômage en premier lieu et, par la suite, d'utiliser ses crédits de congé de maladie et de congé annuel accumulés. Pendant toute cette période, la nouvelle maman est considérée comme une employée et a droit de recevoir toute augmentation de salaire négociée ou reliée à la prime au rendement qui lui est due.

Prestations de maternité versées dans le monde entier:

Des prestations de maternité peuvent être versées aux Canadiennes dans le monde entier. Il suffit d'avoir accumulé 20 semaines d'emploi assurable en vertu de la Loi canadienne sur l'assurance-chômage et avoir travaillé au moins dix semaines entre le 31e et la 50e semaine (inclusive) précédant la date prévue de la naissance de l'enfant. Aux États-Unis, vous présenterez votre demande de prestations de maternité à n'importe quel bureau d'indemnisation du chômage (State Employment Security Office).

Si vous remplissez les conditions requises pour toucher des prestations de maternité et vous rendez à l'étranger, vous pouvez présenter votre demande avant votre départ, au Canada même, ou à tout Consulat ou ambassade canadien dans le monde. Toute demande de prestations de maternité doit être accompagnée d'un certificat médical confirmant votre grossesse et la date prévue de la naissance de l'enfant. Les prestataires qui quittent le Canada temporairement doivent continuer de se rapporter par la poste au Centre d'Emploi du Canada où elles ont fait leur demande initiale.



Un Centre d'Emploi du Canada acceptera un certificat médical délivré par un médecin ou canadien ou américain. En dehors du Canada et des États-Unis, les fonctionnaires canadiens des ambassades ou hauts commissariats fourniront aux prestataires une liste des médecins approuvés par Santé et Bien-être Canada qui peuvent délivrer un certificat médical. Une fois la demande de prestations déposée et approuvée, les mandats de prestations peuvent être envoyés à l'étranger. Les demandes faites de l'étranger doivent être envoyées au Centre d'Emploi du Canada de l'Esplanade Laurier, 300, avenue Laurier ouest, 3e étage, Ottawa, K1A 0J6, Canada.

Lorsqu'à l'étranger toutefois, l'employée peut faire face à des difficultés eu égard aux allocations prévues aux Directives du service extérieur et au logement qu'elle occupe surtout s'il s'agit d'un logement de la Couronne. On nous a indiqué qu'il est possible que le ministère considère qu'une employée en congé de maternité recevant les indemnités prévues au Régime de prestations supplémentaire n'est pas une employée salariée et partant n'ait pas droit aux allocations prévues aux Directives du service extérieur et au logement, ces directives étant liées directement au salaire (DSE 69.06).

L'Association est d'avis qu'il pourrait s'agir là de discrimination dite systémique et qu'il serait indiqué de poursuivre cette question assidûment au sein du Comité sur les directives du service extérieur. Nous aimerions que tout cas nous soit rapporté de façon à illustrer le cas échéant le bien-fondé de nos représentations.

Maternity Leave Options:

Any employee considering maternity leave can elect to use either sick leave, annual leave, the Supplemental Income Benefit Plan or a combination thereof. Given the special conditions of rotational service, it would be advisable to plan maternity leave well in advance so as not to find oneself in a difficult situation. The general consensus is a combination of sick and annual leave guarantees one is on pay roll thus entitled to allowances and shelter when abroad. Another tip could be to plan pregnancy in a third world country where decent medical facilities are available or accessible and household help is easy to find for after the birth. Costs of decent day care in Western Europe and the United States appear to be extravagant to say the least.

These considerations excepted, maternity leave is available to Foreign Service female employees. It is an entitlement under the collective agreement. PAFSO's secretariat would appreciate being advised of any difficulties encountered in the application of this clause of the FS Collective Agreement.

Maternity Benefits Worldwide:

Maternity benefits can be paid anywhere in the world. You need 20 weeks of employment insurable by Canadian UI, and you must have been working for at least 10 weeks between the 31st and 50th weeks (inclusive) before the expected date of birth. In the U.S. apply for maternity benefits at any State Employment Security Office.

If you qualify and are going abroad, you can claim maternity benefits in Canada before leaving or at any Canadian Consulate or Embassy around the world. A medical certificate confirming the pregnancy and the expected birth date of the child must accompany all maternity claims.

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Maternity claimants leaving Canada temporarily should continue to report by mail to the Canada Employment Centre where they first filed their claim.

A Canada Employment Centre will accept medical certificates issued by either Canadian or American medical doctors. Outside Canada and the U.S., Canadian officers at an Embassy or High Commission will provide claimants with lists of physicians approved by Health and Welfare Canada who can issue medical certificates. Once the claim is filed and accepted, the benefits can be mailed to claimants abroad. Claims filed from outside Canada and the U.S. should be sent to the Canada Employment Centre at l'Esplanade Laurier, 300 Laurier Avenue West, 3rd Floor, Ottawa, K1A 0J6, Canada.

Dental Plan:

PAFSO has received numerous inquiries as to the date at which the Public Service Dental Plan will come into force.

PAFSO is currently in consultations with the Treasury Board under the umbrella of the NJC on the details of a dental plan. We expect it will be in place by the time you receive your next issue of the *Bout de papier*. Details of the plan will be communicated to you in an Employee booklet soon to be published by Supply and Services. Payroll deductions will be made as soon as enrolment is completed and coverage will be retroactive to the date of implementation.

Le plan dentaire:

L'APASE a reçu de nombreuses demandes de renseignements eu égard au plan dentaire.

L'APASE est présentement en consultations avec le Conseil du Trésor sur les particularités d'un plan dentaire sous les auspices du Conseil national mixte. Nous espérons qu'il soit en place d'ici à ce que vous receviez le prochain numéro de *Bout de papier*. Une brochure préparée pour les employés vous sera distribuée sous peu.

PAFSO Regrets Continuing Abuse of Diplomatic Appointments

In noting the appointment of former Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau as Canadian Ambassador to UNESCO in Paris, the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) regrets, once again, the use of diplomatic assignments as a source of patronage.

No other Government since confederation has made as many political appointments to the Foreign Service during its first term in office. Never have there been so many political appointments serving at one time in the Foreign Service. PAFSO is troubled both by the number and the frequency of these appointments. As a consequence, the Department of External Affairs has now been at the receiving end of more non-career order-in-council appointments than any other agency or department of Government. Even the Senate, the traditional source of political reward and recognition, has received fewer appointments during this period than the Foreign Service.

PAFSO has written to the Prime Minister on various occasions reminding him of his promise, in a letter dated October 2, 1984 that "the standard of professionalism so characteristic of our foreign service will be maintained by my

Government and reflected in the diplomatic appointments we will be making." PAFSO would also draw to the attention of the Prime Minister the recent report of the Special Joint Parliamentary Committee on Canada's International Relations which endorsed the concept of a "highly professional" career foreign service, as a "valuable national asset, strengthening Canada's hand in international dealings."

While PAFSO recognizes that there will be occasions when the government will want to draw upon individuals of outstanding ability from outside the career foreign service for specific assignments, the use of amateur diplomats should be sparing. Within the Foreign Service are many talented men and women. They come from all parts of Canada and have dedicated their careers to serving Canada's interests abroad. Over the years, Canada's foreign service has earned a reputation for excellence. We do not believe the national interest is furthered by using foreign service assignments as a political reward. Canada's international reputation and effectiveness is best promoted by experienced and professional representation.

Managing Your Money

Estate Planning

It's Never Too Early To Plan Your Retirement

by John Boville and Bruce Etherington

For many of us, the most significant assets we will have as we approach our retirement years will be the equity that has built up in our principal residence and the capital and benefits that we have accumulated or that have accrued under our individual Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP) or employer-sponsored Registered Pension Plan (RPP).

There is a great deal of confusion, uncertainty and frustration among many individuals when it comes to understanding how they might best meet their goal of providing an adequate, inflation-proof income at age 60 or whenever they retire.

We will deal briefly here with some of the proposed changes in pension legislation and with the role of the RRSP and its potential advantages.

The RPP is the vehicle used by most employees and employers to provide for future retirement income needs. There are two basic pension plan designs utilized in Canada today. The Money Purchase Pension Plan allows the employee and employer to contribute specific amounts, normally stated as a percentage of the employee's income. The current maximum deductible contribution is \$3,500 each per year, for a total contribution of \$7,000.

A Defined Benefit Pension Plan is the type employed by most large employers in Canada today. As with the Money Purchase Pension Plan, the maximum employee contribution is limited to \$3,500 per year. However, the employer contribution is not restricted to \$3,500, but is the amount in addition to the employee's contributions required to fund the pension benefit that has been promised under the Defined Benefit program. It is estimated that the annual combined contributions of the employee and employer to fund the maximum pension benefit of \$60,025 over a 35-year period would be \$15,500.

The table on page 56 is an extract from the May, 1985 Budget papers which shows the contribution limits available in 1985 under an RRSP, Money Purchase Pension Plan and a Defined Benefit Pension Plan, and the estimated annual pensions that could be accumulated over a 35-year period. As you can see, under the pre-1986 legislation those participating in a Defined Benefit Registered Pension program were in a much superior position to those employing an RRSP or participating in a Money Purchase Plan.

As a result of these findings, significant

pension changes have been introduced to more effectively equate the opportunities available to all individuals seeking to accumulate capital for retirement regardless of the retirement vehicle they employ.

The next table summarizes proposed changes in contribution limits that are due between 1986 to 1990. You will note that both the RRSP and the Money Purchase Pension Plan are to have their annual contribution limits raised systematically over the next five years. In 1990 the annual contributions will be more closely related to the limits in place for Defined Benefit Plans at that time. The contributions for an RRSP or Money Purchase Pension Plan are limited in 1986 to the lesser of 18 per cent of earned income of the maximums noted.

It is proposed that the annual contribution limits under the Registered Retirement Savings Plan and the Money Purchase Plan from 1990 onwards be indexed to the increase in the Average Industrial Wage (AIW). With the Defined Benefit Pensions Plans, the current maximum pension benefit of \$60,025 annually will, as well, be indexed to the increase in the AIW.

Along with the changes in the contribution limits, there were a number of other amendments introduced which could have a significant impact on retirement strategies.

One question that many employers will have to deal with is whether they should continue to structure their RPP on a Defined Benefit basis. For many younger and middle-aged employees, the opportunity for tax deferral under a Money Purchase Pension Plan or an RRSP may exceed that available under a Defined Benefit program. For those employees in their '50's and '60's, the Defined Benefit route may continue to offer the most attractive alternative.

For other reasons, there may be employees who choose to opt out of the employer pension plan (if permitted) and establish their own RRSP. The employer, if agreeable, could redirect their previous pension contributions to the employee as income which would then be deducted from income by the employee when contributed to an RRSP. The use of an RRSP allows individuals to directly control the investment strategies of their retirement pools; it also offers greater flexibility in terms of the options available upon plan maturity.

For example, under an RPP the only option available to an employee at retirement is a single or joint life annuity with varying guarantee periods. It would be possible for an individual to defer receiving income from an RRSP until the end of the

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year in which he or she turned age 71. At that point the RRSP funds could be converted into a joint or single life annuity, a term-certain annuity to age 90, or cashed out, with the funds brought into income and fully taxed in the year of receipt.

Alternatively, assets could be transferred to a Registered Retirement Income Fund (RRIF) and paid out in accordance with a predetermined formula through to age 90. This last option may be utilized in combination with the purchase of a life annuity to provide the required balance between the guaranteed income provided by an annuity, and the opportunity for control of capital and improved investment performance potentially available under an RRIF.

Another attractive aspect of the RRSP is the possibility of income splitting by contributing to a spousal RRSP. The contributing spouse continues to take full tax relief on all contributions but the ultimate pension revenue will be split, reducing the impact of tax. The absolute level of tax savings depends on the marginal tax rate of the spouse. Of course, there are some potential negatives associated with placing funds in the hands of your spouse, particularly if the relationship changes.

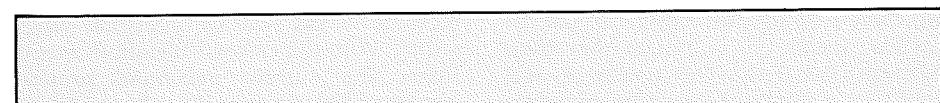
Another very valuable planning alternative that's been introduced with recent proposed changes in our pension vehicles is the fact that you may carry forward unused RRSP deductions from 1987 onward for up to seven years. Many Canadians wrestle with the question as to whether they should pay down non-deductible mortgage debt or make an annual contribution to an RRSP. Under previous legislation, an RRSP contribution had to be made in any given year. With this new carry-forward provision, it may now be more advantageous in certain circumstances for individuals to forego annual RRSP contributions and accelerate the pay down on outstanding mortgages. Having eliminated the non-deductible debt on the home, you could then concentrate your resources on optimizing both current and previously unused RRSP limits.

With the new limits applicable to RRSPs and Money Purchase Pension Plans, it becomes extremely important that the investment performance of the accumulating funds be monitored closely to ensure the optimum return consistent with the level of risk you are prepared to assume. All too frequently, Canadians spend little, if any, time evaluating the investment alternatives for their current year's contributions and in most instances, simply deposit funds with the most conveniently located institution. Assuming you make an annual RRSP contribution, the single most important factor in determining the ultimate income you will receive at retirement, and therefore, the lifestyle you will enjoy during the last 15 to 20 years of your life, is the return you are able to earn on this capital. Even a two per cent improvement in return over a 20-year period



Plan	Effective Maximum Annual Contribution Employer/Employee	Effective Maximum Annual Pension After 35 Years
RRSP	\$ 5,500	\$21,000
Money Purchase RPP	\$ 7,000	\$27,000
Defined Benefit RPP	\$15,000	\$60,000

TOTAL ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION LIMIT EMPLOYEE/EMPLOYER					
Retirement Vehicle	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
RRSP	\$ 7,500	\$ 9,500	\$11,500	\$13,500	\$15,500
Money Purchase RPP	\$ 7,000	\$ 9,500	\$11,500	\$13,500	\$15,500
Defined Benefit RPP	\$15,500	\$15,500	\$15,500	\$15,500	\$15,500



produces a substantial additional amount of capital. You work hard for your money and your money should work as hard for you.

Typically, most Canadians will make their 1986 RRSP contribution during the last week of February. This is done not because the funds were unavailable earlier in the year, but because of habit or because we wait until the deadline. It's possible to increase the assets you will accumulate in your RRSP by making your annual contribution at the beginning of the year rather than the end. If a 45-year-old did nothing more than that, there would be an additional \$68,000 of capital (at eight per cent), or \$104,000 (at 10 per cent) upon retirement, if the maximum allowable contribution were made each year.

One point often overlooked is the appropriate beneficiary designation under the alternative retirement vehicles. Those of you with numerous RRSP accounts should write to the holders of your funds to confirm the beneficiary designation on record. If our own experience is accurate, you'll be shocked to find that in many instances there is no recorded beneficiary designation. Providing your will adequately covers the transfer of registered funds at death, this may not be a costly oversight. On the other

hand, if your current will does not specifically deal with this subject, the additional tax burden at your death could be significant.

Don't wait until you're 45 to initiate your retirement plan. Take the time now to sit down and identify your expected income needs in today's dollars at your planned retirement age. Using a simple compound-interest table, inflate these 1986 income needs into the future at a rate of growth consistent with what you expect inflation to be. Keep in mind that inflation is a factor after retirement, as well as before. Identify the various sources of income that you might realistically expect to be available to you. Quantify the income gap and then determine the additional capital you will require to reach your retirement income target. Then, employing an investment rate consistent with your risk level, determine the level of savings that must be put aside each year to fund this capital need.

Take control of your future. Act now to ensure that you can attain the goals you've set for your retirement years.

Mr. Boville and Mr. Etherington are with The Etherington Group, Toronto, Ont.

In Memorium

M. Jacques Cousineau, survenu à Ottawa le 4 novembre. M. Cousineau est entré au service du Ministère en 1954. Il a été en poste à Vientiane, Beyrouth, Rome, Addis Abéba, Washington et Libreville.

Margot Franklin on September 30, 1986. During a 38 year career in this department, Margot became well known to many colleagues at headquarters and at posts abroad where she served. These included San Francisco, Los Angeles, London, Port of Spain, New Delhi, Bangkok, Kingston, San Jose. She retired from the department in the spring of 1986.

Mr. Sam McKelvey, Counsellor (Commercial) and Consul, Cairo, on September 26, 1986. Mr. McKelvey joined the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce in February 1968 and served abroad in New York, Minneapolis and Chicago.

M. J.P. André Séguin, survenu à Ottawa le 25 septembre. M. Séguin est entré au service du Ministère en 1957. Il a été en poste à Genève, Bruxelles, Phnom-Penh, Beyrouth et La Haye.

PAFSO Elections

On October 2, PAFSO counted the ballots for its first-ever election for its Board of Directors. There were 21 candidates for the 15 positions. (Results below) At its first meeting, the new Executive asked Len Mader to continue as President (he had taken over from Jean-Paul Delisle when the latter was posted to Paris) and as vice-presidents, Daryl Copeland, Scott Heatherington, Jean-Marc Duval, John Lobsinger. Gordon Morrison remains as Treasurer. At subsequent meetings, Jon Fried was prevailed upon to take up the organization of the Contract Negotiations. He is being assisted by Jon Allan, Francois Laberge, Daryl Copeland, David Edwards, Rodney Briggs and Gregory Kostrysky. John Lobsinger has taken on the coordination of the Foreign Service Directives.

Upon the resignation of Rob Mackenzie who has entered management exclusion as Executive Assistant to Gerry Shannon, Deputy Minister for Trade, the Executive decided, after much debate and a divided vote, to choose the candidate from the

Commercial/Economic Stream who received the next highest vote. Richard Crouch was asked and he has accepted a place on the Executive.

Len Mader	375
Colin Robertson	372
Jon Fried	369
John Lobsinger	307
Jean Roberge	301
Gregory Kostrysky	295
Jean-Marc Duval	294
Robert Mackenzie	290
Gordon Morrison	287
Cécile Latour	282
Scott Heatherington	273
Jon Allen	266
Daryl Copeland	262
Susan Howell	252
David Edwards	245
Antoinette De Kir	237
Yves Brodeur	233
Terry Jones	219
Michael Welsh	213
Harry Van der Veer	182
Richard Crouch	176

CAPTION CONTEST

Last issue winner:
Bryan Burton (ESN)

"Yes, Your Highness, the tires are Uni-ROYALS"



AND NOW



Flecker is Missing!!

A puzzle of far-away places by A. Aalto

Boris Kropotkin had struck again!! The wily KGB agent had purloined the latest External Affairs estimates and spirited them away to his secret headquarters in Soviet Central Asia. We had to get them back before Kropotkin cracked the code (high bureaucratese) and discovered that every one of Canada's posts abroad is being reduced by the A (Base) Team to a receive-only telex machine, a life-size cardboard cut-out of the Prime Minister and a subscription to the local edition of TIME. We of course put our own best man on the case: J.E. (Jimmy the Turk) Flecker — poet, diplomat and scoundrel. Somehow he got in, found Kropotkin's HQ, came back with the goods and then (as usual) screwed up on the paperwork. All we got was this:

GA YSA CHA FOWZSONR, NYRCAS; GA RHYWW ZE
YWG YUR Y WOCCWA VISCHAS; OC NYU PA
PAUEMB CHYC WYRC PWIA NEIMCYOM PYSSAB GOCH RMEG,
YJSERR CHYC YMZSU ES CHYC ZWONNASOMZ RAY,
GHOCA EM Y CHSEMA ES ZIYSBAB OM Y JYDA
CHASA WODAR Y FSEFHAC GHE JYM IMBASRCYMB
GHU NAM GASA PESM: PIC RISAWU GA YSA PSYDA
GHE CYXA CHA ZEWBAM SEYB CE RYNYSXYMB.

Before Flecker goofed off again (something about Arms and the Imam), he said his report explained how he got past the border patrol and where he had found the estimates. This information is urgently needed so that Ambassador Turner knows when to deny the Kremlin's accusations and when just to smile knowingly. We at

first thought the report was in one of the many obscure languages Flecker speaks, but eventually determined that it was in fact a poem in cipher, with the same letter consistently substituted for each letter in the original text. Going through his notes we also found the following:

- (1) Irish free-for-all (10/BX)
- (2) Force into Asian service (8/RO)
- (3) The perfect spot, More or less (6/IY)
- (4) Man running from Greek battle (10/NS)
- (5) Incompetent Near Eastern bird (6/CU)
- (6) Sightless Italian at the window (8/DM-5/PB)
- (7) Tough way for Luther to thin down (4/BC-2/EV-5/GR)
- (8) Earl, islands and snack (8/RH)
- (9) Pale isthmusian topper (6/FY)
- (10) Musical Low Country sea-ghost (6/VZ-8/BM)
- (11) Revolutionary cry of Caribbean drunks (4/JY-5/WA)

The notes indicated that each of the 11 lines refers to a "geo-word" or words containing or derived from the name of a country, city or town. The number(s) at the end of each line indicate the number of letters in the missing geo-word(s). The letters after each number indicate the first and last letters of that geo-word, but **Flecker has enciphered these letters using the same cipher he used for his poem-report.** For example, if one of the geo-words was BALACLAVA, and the cipher equivalents for B and A were Y and T respectively, then the related clue would be something like "Crimean knitted cap (9/YT)".

Yes, Flecker has a weird sense of humour. But can you help us? Can you decipher his report and work out his 12 geographic references (11 clues and Boris's HQ)?? *Bout de Papier*

Solution to Previous Puzzle

Winner: Michael Small, Brazilia

LAURENTIAN NEGOTIATING TEAM					
NAME	COLLINS	BEAUMIEL	DeRETZ	TILLY	ZAK
AGENCY	AGRIC	FINANCE	TRADE	EXTERNAL	INDUSTRY
PET PROJECT	CUT FARM SUBSIDY	TRADE IN SERVICES	REDUCED TARIFFS	BILATERAL MECHANISM	OPEN PROCUREMENT
PET PEEVE	OPEN PROCUREMENT	STABILIZED EXCHANGE	DISCUSS CULTURE	DISCUSS CULTURE	AUTOPACT REVISION
CHAIR	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
	west TABLE east				
CHAIR	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10
NAME	SHARP	McTEAGUE	O'TOOLE	PAYSON	HUNNICUTT
AGENCY	AGRIC	COMMERCE	STATE	TREASURY	DEFENCE
PET PROJECT	OPEN PROCUREMENT	AUTOPACT REVISION	REDUCED TARIFFS	STABILIZED EXCHANGE	AUTOPACT REVISION
PET PEEVE	CUT FARM SUBSIDY	OPEN PROCUREMENT	BILATERAL MECHANISM	TRADE IN SERVICES	OPEN PROCUREMENT
LIBERTATIAN NEGOTIATING TEAM					



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AN INVITATION

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Liz Hinke and Bob Wootton,
Residential Sales Representatives.



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Halldon Square, 2255 Carling Avenue, OTTAWA K2B 7Z5, Canada.

Our name is: _____

Our address is: _____

We expect to be arriving in Ottawa (date): _____

The areas we prefer are: _____

We require a: bungalow ☐, split level ☐, 2-storey ☐, semi-detached ☐
condominium garden home ☐, condominium apartment ☐, hobby farm ☐

We would like a home in the price range of: _____

Special features desired: number of bedrooms _____, bathrooms _____, fireplace _____,
dining room (larger, separate etc.) _____, family room _____, den _____,
finished basement _____, garage (single or double) _____, swimming pool _____,
other particulars: _____

We have _____ members in our family. Our children's ages are: _____

We require: Catholic Schools ☐, Protestant Schools ☐, French Schools ☐, Other _____

Remarks: _____



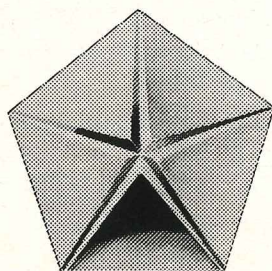
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