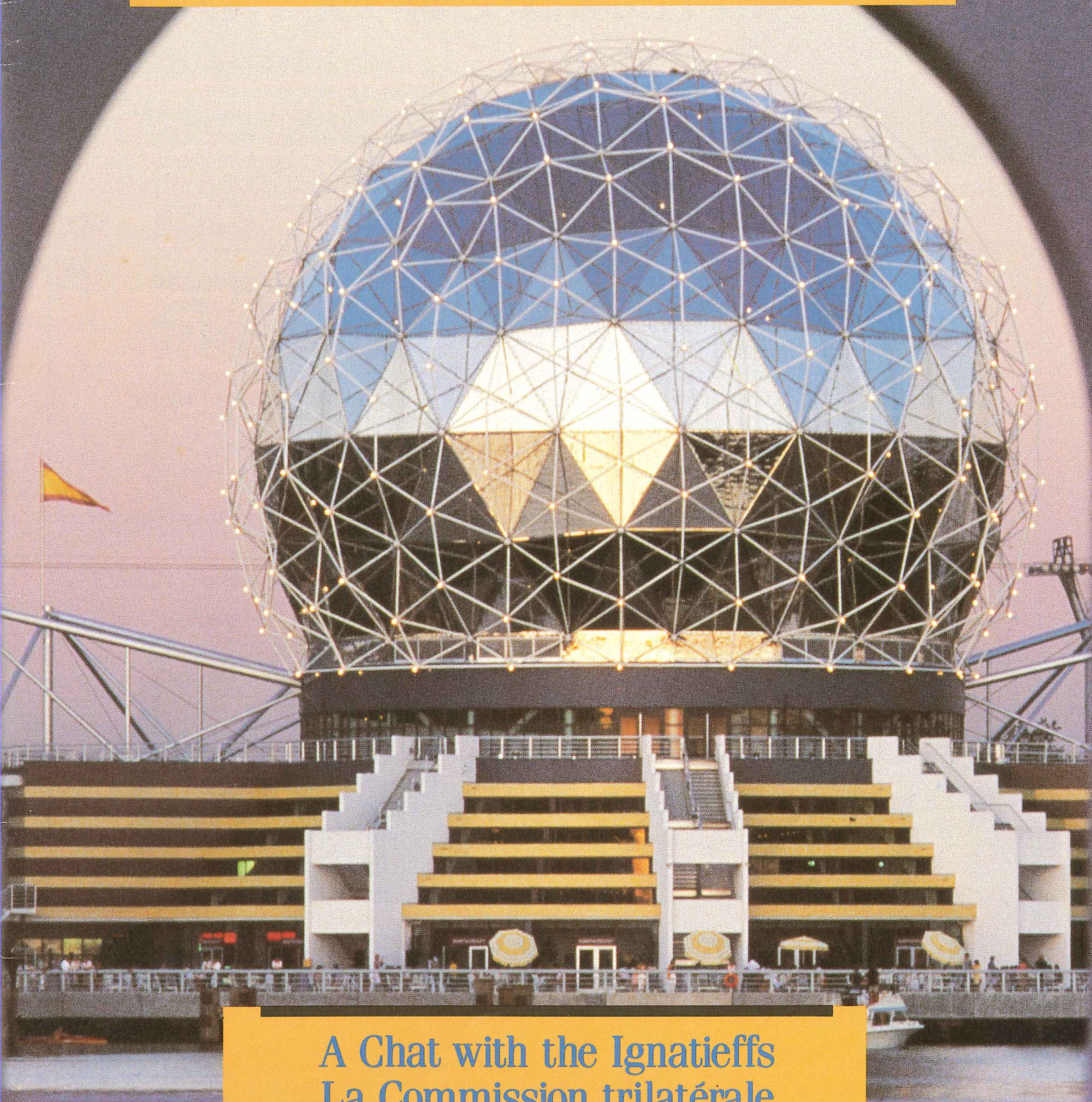


Spring/Printemps 1987

bout de papier

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Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

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A Chat with the Ignatieffs
La Commission trilatérale
Paddy Reid: Lessons of Expo 86

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Courtesy of: Regional Industrial Expansion/Expansion industrielle régionale

Our cover photo this issue is of the EXPO Dome at EXPO 86 in Vancouver, Canada.

Notre photo couverture: le dome à l'EXPO 86 de Vancouver, Canada

In Our Upcoming Issues

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The Ignatieffs: Part Two

Containment: 40 Years On

Pickersgill on Frank Underhill

Mitchell on Sir John Thompson

Herbert Norman

Smith on Whelan

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Editorial Note/Note de la rédaction: Given the bilingual background of our membership, PAFSO's policy for *bout de papier* is to publish all articles in their original language. Subscriptions: one year \$8.; two years, \$15. PAFSO itself remains at your service to provide any assistance you require in the language of your preference. Opinions expressed in *bout de papier* are not necessarily those of PAFSO.

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Technical Consultants/Conseillers techniques: Acart Graphic Services Inc.

Sound the trumpet, beat the drum. Led by Jon Fried, the negotiations committee is ready for battle. The team, which includes François Laberge and Daryl Copeland (Framework), David Edwards and Cécile Latour (Leave), Rodney Briggs and Rob Brocklebank (Pay) and Jon Allen (Employee/Employer relations) deserve tribute and garlands for their hard work. The big issue remains our pay increase. Last time we got 7.5% over two years. This time we can probably bargain for something in the same range with perhaps a sabbatical year provision. The consumer price index is hovering around the 4% mark and Treasury Board President de Cotret is on record as saying wage settlements should keep pace with inflation.

The foreign service did not keep pace with the rise in the cost of living during the seventies and the pay increases awarded most other bargaining units were higher. Salary, especially at the FS-1 and lower end of the FS-1 level is low when compared to the qualifications of the incumbents as well as their responsibilities. For a profession that places high value on negotiating skills, there was apparently a reluctance in earlier times to fight on our own behalf. Like a grand old lady who has come down in the world, a sort of shabby genteelism descended upon us. Part of the problem was a misguided, if laudable, belief that the Department would see us right in the end. The Department has little to do with the process. It is the Treasury Board which represents management; generosity of spirit (and pocketbook) is not in their mandate.

The Foreign Service Directives are up for their triennial review in the National Joint Council. John Lobsinger is handling our brief. In looking over the problems of the last few years (besides the outrageous rent share increase) one item which deserves entrenchment in either the FSDs or the contract is the right to private communication between employees at post and their personnel officer at headquarters. As the system currently stands, the Ambassador has the right to see all communications sent from post. On a couple of occasions, this has caused unnecessary hardship to employees who want to ensure privacy in their dealings with personnel. At headquarters this right is taken for granted. Not so at post. It should be.

Daryl Copeland has spent much time and effort on something he calls the Professional Evaluation Guide. PEG, for short, would provide foreign service officers with a guide to how fellow FSs have judged their managers. Copeland's efforts build on an idea originally floated in these pages two issues

ago by himself and co-author Michael Small. The great difficulty with this proposal is how to be fair to those appraised. The dangers are obvious: it must be more than a beauty contest or an outlet for revenge. The concept, however, has much to recommend it. But the touchstone of true worth is not always success. It may be an idea whose time has not yet come.

PEG has generated much discussion and in our last issue we ran a letter by Maldwyn Jones on the idea. Alas, it has created some ugly feeling because of comments contained in his letter about a former manager. Some readers thought that parts of Mr. Jones' passionate prose were an insult to francophones and that they should have been censored out. To insult francophones was not the intention of the fluently bilingual and francophile Mr. Jones.

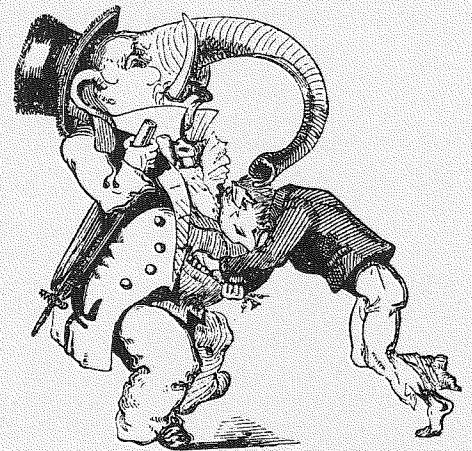
As for our editorial policy? Well, we subscribe to the credo ascribed to Voltaire: we may disapprove of what one says, but we will defend your right to say it. We publish on issues of interest to our readers. Occasionally these are controversial, but we believe debate is healthy. It is not a platform for insult. Letters to the Editor are just that; they do not represent the views of *bout* nor PAFSO.

That being said, hindsight suggests the author might have been wiser to omit certain imprudent passages, as the main point of the letter was apparently obscured. And Mr. Jones' complaint deserves a hearing. A bad appraisal from bad managers can prevent the promotion of good officers. Our system is peculiar in that candidates for a higher position, unlike the rest of the public service, are neither interviewed nor invited to apply for promotion. Everything depends on our evaluations. Resort to the grievance procedure or appeal to the Public Service Commission does not seem the best solution.

A former Undersecretary, Gordon Osbaldeston, has written about the public service and its relationship to our political masters in the January issue of *Policy Options*. A strong proponent of an apolitical civil service, he recounts that the main reason behind the creation of a permanent Public Service was to stop patronage and thus improve the quality and efficiency of government services provided to the people. He notes that those who seek its politicization diligently seek out the exceptional appointment to make the case that the Public Service is already politicized, therefore, "let's go all the way". The defence of the institution, he argues, requires constant vigilance and that requires reliance on the opposition parties and the media. If, however, the government

of the day feels it requires staff to advise it on political, rather than bureaucratic considerations, Osbaldeston believes it should be so equipped. Better to create a competent political arm of government than to politicize the Public Service.

For the Foreign Service the debate on the merits of an apolitical civil service have taken on an urgent relevancy as a consequence of the unparalleled number of political appointments made by Mr. Mulroney's Ministry. The Osbaldeston advice in this instance would appear to have fallen on deaf ears. As John Starnes says elsewhere in this issue, the consequences of this approach will result in experienced people leaving for more challenging, rewarding work. The effect is not always readily apparent but the damage may be long lasting. Hardly the sort of epitaph a government would want.



It is not easy to unphlegm the Department. War and peace, refugee crises, Economic Summits, Francophonie, the Commonwealth, South Africa, the PM and Ministerial progress around the world, cod agreements, all this and more are taken in easy and unflappable stride by the cool professionals we all are or aspire to be.

But the sudden announcement late one Thursday afternoon that the Great Helmsman was to be called to higher duties left dry mouths and anxious hearts. Of course, the External breast beats with pride. We can still do it — provide the best in the hour of need. After all, did the PM turn to Finance, the PCO, the Post Office?

But still there is uneasiness. Derek Burney's work in remaking the Department into the cutting edge of Public Service professionalism is unfinished. The task is great. Even one step removed, we look to him to maintain his commitment. The spirit is willing. The Service still inspires a "regimental" loyalty. All of us, participants and observers in the changes wrought in the last 18 months applauded the new leadership in steering the department through tortuous shoals.

We have worried about the increasing politicization of the public service. Some have asked what is the difference between this case and patronage appointments to the Foreign Service? Could we be about to see the public servicization of the political staff? Frankly, we prefer the Osbaldeston solution.

The Burney secondment follows a long tradition of foreign service officers serving their Prime Minister. Until the appointment of St. Laurent, the External Affairs portfolio was held by the Prime Minister and an assignment to that office was not unusual. Some, like James Gibson (whose reminiscences on that time are carried in these pages) and Jack Pickersgill served their entire foreign service career in the PMO. Of foreign policy advisors, the list is long and includes Head, Roy and Fowler under Trudeau, Sullivan and de Salaberry under Clark. While most of them served through the Privy Council Office, the distinction between the two offices had become increasingly blurred — if Mr. Camp can find a home in the PCO then Mr. Burney can certainly serve in the PMO. There have been a host of press officers in the PMO: Hadwen, Roberts, Senecal and now Marc Lortie.

Probably the closest parallel to the Burney appointment is John Hodgson, a former ADM at Defence, who served Pearson — our most illustrious graduate to the greasy pole of politics, as principal secretary from 1966-68. (The fact that Mr. Hodgson finished his career as Deputy Minister of Veterans' Affairs is less widely advertised). The British and Australians make a regular practice of importing bureaucrats into political positions and then return them to the public service. In the Cabinets of 20 and 30 years ago, there were a quartet of ministers: Pickersgill, Pearson, Drury, Sharp, who cut their teeth in the public service. The American example is, of course, dismissed as unworthy, although even the venerable *Economist* has suggested that Britain would be governed better if its civil service were more political.

When all is said, when all the Titanic and Hindenburg jokes have been told, when the cafeteria has recovered its morale and phlegm reigns once again supreme, we wish Mr. Burney (and Brian Hambleton who goes with him) well. Which of us would say no! Who would cavil? And we know that Derek will not forget the principles for which he stood: quiet competence, professionalism and service to country. We are well aware of his struggle to have foreign service assignments based on merit, not party. And we know we are forgiven the plea to one who has contributed to our pages: Will ye no come back again?

Dear Editor,

I write to congratulate you upon your excellent publication.

I read it with much pleasure and, I must confess, a "brin de nostalgie."

A.B. Gold
Chief Justice, Superior Court of Québec

Dear Editor,

Do you think our membership is aware that Voyageur bus drivers in Quebec earn \$50,000 per annum including benefits bonuses and overtime, whereas the current maximum for an FS-1 is \$39,025 and for an FS-2, \$55,242? Evidently, our commitment to Canada is stronger than we may have previously thought.

J.D. Gardner

Editor,

I would like to congratulate you most warmly on the consistently high quality of **bout de papier**. I receive each issue with pleasure and read it cover to cover.

Having just done that with your winter issue 1986, I must draw your attention to one error of fact in Georges Blouin's article on Roger Rousseau. Roger's posting as Ambassador to Venezuela is described as his last diplomatic assignment. Roger Rousseau was my predecessor having served as High Commissioner to New Zealand, 1981-85.

A. Douglas Small
Canadian High Commissioner
to New Zealand

Editor,

We read with interest in the Winter issue of **bout de papier** the letter from PAFSO President Led Mader on p. 4 and D.S. Copeland, Vice-President of PAFSO on the Foreign Service Prospect p. 31. We believe we are not alone in thinking that PAFSO must take energetic measures by pursuing the objectives described by D.S. Copeland in his article. Especially now when all we hear about from Ottawa is cuts in positions and post closing as if we were largely expendable. As a group we must ask, if not demand, that we receive the same advantages as other professional groups in the PSC. Mr. Copeland is right when he says quote "We need better compensation, enhanced mobility, and more control over our indivi-

dual and collective destinies unquote.

One can only hope that the current PAFSO executive will aggressively take up this challenge in the contract negotiation talks with management and we wish them success in their endeavour.

Jean-Pierre Petit
Mexico

Laurent N. Beaulieu
Mexico

Dear Editor,

My wishes for the continued success of the publication.

Howard Green
Vancouver

Rédacteur,

Nous avons été choqués du contenu de la lettre de M.H. Jones, intitulée «Appraisal Abuses?», parue dans le **bout de papier** de l'hiver 1986.

Vous savez bien avec quelle vigilance les Canadiens combattent la littérature propageant la discrimination et les préjugés raciaux ou ethniques. Nous acceptons fort mal que vous ayez publié sans broncher une lettre où certains passages sont particulièrement offensants et discriminatoires. Vous n'êtes certes pas responsable du contenu des lettres de vos correspondants. Cependant, il vous appartient de vous assurer qu'elles soient respectueuses des individus et des groupes et que les conflits de travail dont vous faites état ne dégèrent en querelles qui n'ont pas leur place et qui nuisent à la réputation du Ministère.

Nous vous prions de croire à l'expression de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Signataires :

Marc Cousineau
Eric Pelletier
Maria Raletich
Peter McRae
Colleen Swords
Dale Whiteside
Gérald Cossette
Claude Charland
Jean Fredette
André Farand
Alexandra Bezereidi
Larissa Blavatska
Chantal Ouellette
Randle Wilson
Pierre Delorme
Claude Boucher

Ethnics and Foreign Policy

by Peyton Lyon

Canadians, who often boast that they comprise a cultural mosaic, can hardly complain when their ethnic diversity is reflected in their nation's foreign policy. Indeed it is entirely appropriate that our minorities should lobby for their preferred policies and be accorded a serious hearing by the decision-makers. Very often, moreover, their priorities coincide with those of Canadians at large.

Whenever they do not, it is of course the obvious duty of the government, politely but firmly, to turn a deaf ear. Recent governments, however, have been reluctant to do so and have even encouraged ethnic group representatives to raise and press demands that are not necessarily in the national interest. Our electoral system fosters this practice by giving undue weight to small cohesive groups.

Only after many generations was Canada's foreign policy liberated from its slavish attachment to "Mother England", an attitude dictated by the predominant WASPs. A cause for even greater rejoicing is the post-World War II convergence of the world views of our two largest ethnic groups, the two "founding nations". Canada's very survival had at times been threatened by differences over external policies between Anglo and Franco-Canadians. A major study of elite attitudes, however, confirmed in 1976 that there are now no significant differences, and even the Parti Québécois ultimately adopted a foreign policy virtually indistinguishable from that of Canada. Most of the other ethnic communities have also come to support the broad thrust of Canada's foreign policy.

A cause for even greater rejoicing is the post-World War II convergence of the world views of our two largest ethnic groups, the two "founding nations".

These great gains, unfortunately, are offset in part by concessions to several medium sized, or even small, minorities. Most Canadians whose heritage is East European, for example, quite understandably press for policies directed at the betterment of the rights of their kin living under Soviet subjection. And they generally prefer our diplomacy to be visible and loud. The politicians often oblige. According to Howard Green, the greatest foreign policy achievement of the Diefenbaker régime was the Prime Minister's stirring denunciation of Soviet tyranny delivered from the UN pulpit. "The Speech" loomed large in subsequent party propaganda directed at the "ethnic" vote. It also inspired a major UN initiative that failed to enlist any support, not even from our NATO allies. Canada's reputation for pragmatism and moderation suffered. Flora Macdonald, not exactly a Diefenbaker fan, nevertheless emulated "The Chief" by the Cold War stridency of her UN attacks on the Communist empire.

Trudeau declined to follow suit, but he tolerated the efforts of his Secretaries of State for External Affairs to bid for "ethnic" support by hardening the anti-Soviet tone of our foreign policy. Mitchell Sharp, for example, was delighted when the Canadians negotiating the Helsinki Final Act emerged as the toughest of the NATO delegations in exerting pressure on the Soviet Union; we were even more German than the Germans concerning the Eastern borders and, in the follow-up conferences, Canada has continued to take a very severe line on Soviet adherence to the human rights



Mr. Lester B. Pearson addressing one of the committees at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, California, 1945.

provisions of the Act. This is a worthy cause in itself, but as Mr. Sharp has noted, stressing rights is *also* a splendid way to regain the "ethnic" votes that Diefenbaker had won, and Trudeau had shunned.

The Government continues to exploit the CSCE to cater to the East European and Jewish minorities. Last October, for example, DEA invited a number of experts and interested parties to a consultation on the current CSCE follow-up in Vienna. Spokesmen for East European and Jewish organizations predominated, and were strongly encouraged to raise complaints about Soviet transgressions to Ottawa, or directly to our delegation to the conference.

This is commendable — up to a point. Next to survival, human rights are the ultimate value. Apparently with strong public support, they are becoming a more central objective of our foreign policy. It is rarely clear, however, how the diplomacy of a modest power can alter the internal conditions of other states, especially proud super-powers. And the vigorous pursuit of human rights, presumably through loud diplomacy, may well reduce a nation's capacity to promote other objectives, notably détente and control over the arms race. A mellowing of conditions within the Soviet Union, moreover, seems likelier to occur as the result of *détente* than of external pressure in a Cold War atmosphere.

Human rights violations are much worse in some areas than in others, and Canadian diplomacy can accomplish more in some than in others. If the government listens to the ethnic groups, however, its efforts are unlikely to be focused where the deprivations, or our opportunity to be constructive, are the greatest. Instead it will be where the domestic lobbying is most skillful. Even if we decide to give top priority to rights in our foreign policy, we

should not permit ethnic minorities to determine Canada's policies.

Canada enjoys an enviable reputation as a moderator and peace promoter. Would it endure if it becomes a front-line antagonist in the East-West slanging match? Let us, at very least, have a serious debate before Canada shifts from its traditional roles and style. Instead we are shifting with little thought, and largely to cater to the understandable demands of the East European and Jewish minorities.

In dealing with the Soviet Bloc, the dictates of our concern for human rights often conflicts with our concern for *détente*, perhaps even survival. Turning to the Middle East, the likeliest flashpoint if we ever stumble into World War III, the policy question should be easier. Self-determination for three million Palestinians will not guarantee peace in the area. There are too many rifts within the Arab Community. But enduring peace is inconceivable without an equitable settlement for the Palestinians. And this entails owning a good part of their former home land and, under a government of their own choosing.

Promoting peace in the Middle East does not, therefore, conflict with the promotion of human rights. Indeed one goal is a condition of the other. Canadians could work in the Middle East for both peace and rights. But do we? And if not, why not?

Canada was exceptionally influential in the creation of Israel; without the contributions of Justice Ivan Rand and Lester Pearson, the relevant UN resolution might never have passed. Canada's role in containing the Suez Crisis is widely regarded as the high point in our diplomatic history. Canadian troops still soldier on in all the peace-keeping forces in the area, except the ill-fated UNIFIL.

But Canada is now a very marginal actor in the quest for Middle East peace. Among the reasons is the loss of our reputation for evenhandedness. Its voting pattern in the UN, for example, was till recently second only to the American in support of Israel. And it has been more reluctant than its European allies, or the Vatican, to develop meaningful contacts with the PLO, or to insist that this organization, which enjoys over 90% support of the Palestinian

people, must be included in any peace talks. In many other ways, Ottawa is clearly partial to Israel.

Why this tilt? One that diminishes our ability to promote specifically Canadian objectives, such as trade, or to contribute as in the past to the cause of peace?

The answer is *not* external pressure, whether from allies or the countries of the Middle East. Rather it is the political strength of the Jewish-Canadian Community and the resolve of the politicians of all parties to cater to it. Although only a modest 1.4% of the population, a commendably high proportion of Jewish Canadians vote, and they are concentrated in a handful of constituencies. They

Ethnic groups should be heard, but not heeded. Not unless their demands are clearly consistent with Canada's national interest.

are believed likely to swing their votes against any party that appears unsympathetic to Israel. So our leaders are careful not to cause offence by talking to the Palestinian leadership, or by voting for UN resolutions to which Israel strongly objects.

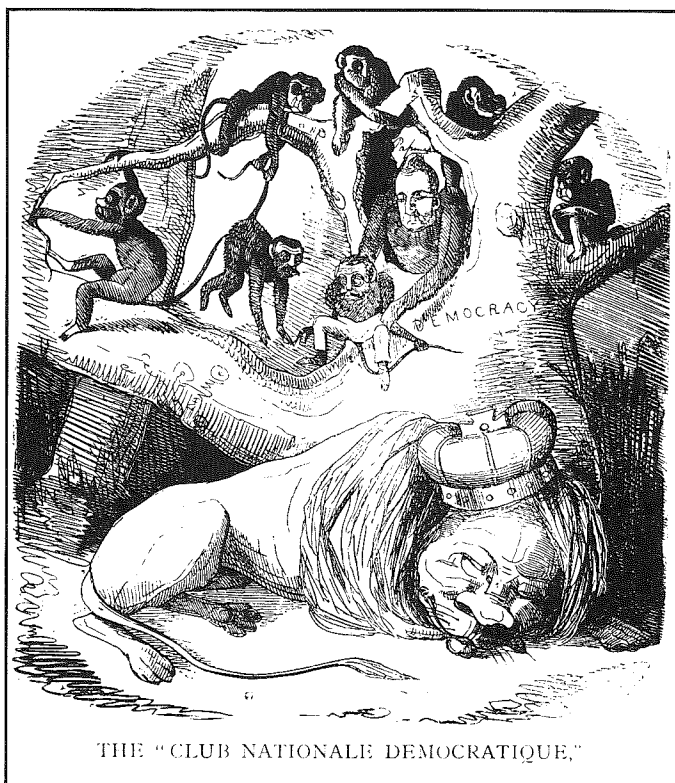
The pro-Israel lobby, although by far the most professional in the foreign policy making process, does not always get its way, as in the struggle to obtain stiff anti-boycott legislation. In other cases, however, as in the promise to move the Canadian embassy to Jerusalem, it was the politicians who sought to purchase Jewish votes by offering even more than was demanded.

Although Israel lost considerable sympathy as a result of the brutal invasion of Lebanon, it cannot be said that the Canadian public is clamouring for a change in Middle East policy. Among scholars, however, and officials engaged in defending Canadian interests in the area, a consensus is growing that Canada's pro-Israel tilt is contrary to the national interest, and the tilt is largely attributed to the lobbying of one of our smaller ethnic groups.

Ex-Ambassador William Barton told the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee of official misgivings in the UN setting:

"...over a considerable period, the Canadian government went to great lengths to find reasons for voting against or abstaining on resolutions critical of Israeli policies or supporting Arab rights which in all honesty were justified by the facts.... Indeed we were generally identified along with Costa Rica and the USA as being the most pro-Israel delegation in the UN. As a worker in the UN for over 25 years, I can say that most of our delegates felt that this situation was not in the Canadian interest."

Ethnic groups should be heard, but not heeded. Not unless their demands are clearly consistent with Canada's national interest.



The "Club nationale démocratique"

*Do you like the new look? For a variety of reasons, including cost and a recognition that we had to improve our visual presentation for both readers and advertisers, we took a hard look at the magazine, called in professionals and decided to go for a new format. Keeping in mind the old saw — a picture is worth a thousand words, we have chosen to give more prominence to our photographs and use charts and graphs to illustrate our stories. But the soul of any magazine remains the prose. This is what defines **bout** and reflects an image of the Canadian foreign service. It will only be as good as those who contribute to it. So keep the letters, commentaries, tales from home and abroad flowing.*

Tales From Away —

Elephants on Parade

by Laurel Pardy

Some things are harder to explain than others. Like the time I got the four flat tires.

It was a sunny, ordinary Saturday during a safari in Samburu. Now, a safari would seem exciting if one lived in, say, Cleveland or Sarnia, but they are quite routine in East Africa.

Usually.

After the thousandth ostrich and the ten thousandth zebra, even the short term visitors to Kenya may opt for the swimming pool and a cold beer. In this case, the men and the boys opted for the beer while the women set out along the sandy trails once again.

The women in this case were myself, a friend visiting from Hong Kong and her two young daughters. Rejecting the hard-to-drive Land Rover we piled into my little yellow Volkswagen and, map in hand and armed only with cameras, began our adventure.

The rains had been abundant that year. The elephant grass was taller than a man; the baobabs and the desert rose were in fleeting flower; the wildlife was content and unafraid.

Bored with the main track, we switched to a side trail, well worn ruts straddling a grassy strip but easily driveable.

Abruptly, several trails converged and lead out over the dry, crusty bed of a seasonal gully. In a rainstorm, this gully could fill with water in mere minutes, washing away anything in its path, but that day it looked benign. We inched the front tires onto the sand and then, in a rush of caution, decided to take a test foray on foot to see how solid it really was.

Just as well; within feet we were breaking through with every step.

Smug with our knowledge of jungle craft, and blissfully ignorant of the predatory potential in the surrounding grass and overhanging trees, we shunted around to take another route back to the lodge.

As we sat in a lay-by consulting our map, a low-slung red sports car driven by two fashionably outfitted men roared past. With a flourish, they backed up, asked directions about the road ahead and, totally ignoring our warning about the river bed, whipped off in a shower of dust along the trail to the gully.

"Maybe we should check, just to make sure they got across okay?"

We looked at each other. It was starting to get late but in this part of the park it was unlikely other cars would be passing.

Sure enough. There they were, up to their hubs in sand and digging deeper.

"Need any help?" we called out.

"Nein, nein", came the answer.

We watched until the axle sank into the sugarlike stuff. Then, taking the floormats out of our car, we proceeded to whip them efficiently into place in front of their rear wheels and said, "Try it now".

With a throaty, low gear growl and an acceleration that nearly flung the mats back to our car, they departed without a backward glance or an arm upflung in gratitude.

"I wonder where they're going?"

"Sure in a hurry."

"I'm sure they appreciated our help, though."

Well, all this had made us late and, having no desire to be caught by the implacable African nightfall, we wasted no time locating the nearest main track. In high spirits and full of satisfaction at having had a splendid afternoon, I pulled smartly out of the side trail, accelerated onto the main track and stood on the brakes.

We had crashed, uninvited, into a late afternoon gathering of the local elephant clans. They had been standing quietly along the edges of the trail, hidden by the elephant grass. Retreat was in order — but impossible — a large cow had stepped into the road behind us.

Forward then. Never had the gears changed their minds so fast; however, "faster than a speeding bullet" would not have been fast enough. A yearling calf had slid down the little embankment and into the road ahead of us. Frightened by his precipitate separation from his mother, he was squealing and thrashing about, trying to climb back to her side.

If our unexpected arrival hadn't upset them, this had. Swaying and trumpeting, they expressed their desire for us to be gone. Believe me, our wishes coincided.

Just as things were getting really dicey, the little fellow had a momentary success and we shot out of there without discussing it first. Let me tell you, elephants look big from inside a Volkswagen.

Anyway, that's how I got the flat tires. The nearest exit had been under a group of thorn trees. These trees are not misnamed. These are the same three inch thorns some tribes use to close gaping wounds.

The men never understood how we could drive twenty kilometres on four flats and not notice.

OTTAWA

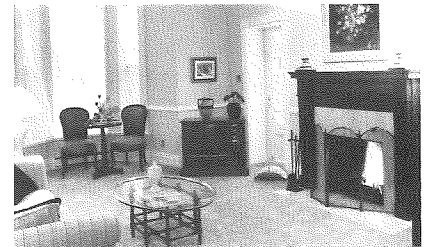
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Sunday Morning

by John Starnes

Jean Drapeau's recent appointment as Canada's Ambassador to UNESCO has revived criticisms of numerous such appointments by the Mulroney government. Appointment of the controversial, seventy-year-old politician, talented as he undoubtedly is in the field of municipal affairs, was the last straw.

On October 2nd, 1984, Mulroney wrote: "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." These regal sounding words were taken to mean the majority of future senior diplomatic appointments would be made from the career foreign service. In fact, Mulroney has ignored this promise.

There have never been so many senior political appointees serving at one time in the foreign service.

Since that brave statement fourteen patronage appointments have been made, a number of them to very important Ambassadorial positions. This works out to an average of one every two months. There have never been so many senior political appointees serving at one time in the foreign service, and recently more non-career order-in-council appointments have been made in External Affairs than in any other institution, government agency or department, including the Senate.

The government's recent decision also to close a number of diplomatic and consular posts for budgetary reasons has worsened matters. Opportunities for career foreign service officers are being cut off at both ends; fewer missions abroad and fewer senior positions available among remaining posts. This has seriously affected morale.

If the trend continues unabated, inevitably experienced people will leave for more challenging, rewarding work. The potential damage being done to the foreign service can be likened to damage done to fragile arctic or desert ecologies by another kind of human depredation; the damage done is not always readily apparent and its effects are very long lasting, sometimes even irreparable.

Canada's foreign service is made up of talented, highly trained men and women, from all walks of life and all parts of Canada, who are required to pass stiff entrance

examinations in competition with large numbers of other applicants. During a long career these men and women expect to receive the rough with the smooth; important postings abroad mixed with service in Ottawa, as well as some downright uninteresting, unpleasant, unhealthy and even dangerous postings. This is not the case for the average political appointee. Only the most interesting and desirable for them!

The best political appointees are gifted amateurs. The worst are disasters, sometimes making Canada a laughing-stock. There always should be a place in Canada's foreign service for talented, non-career persons. However, even the very best political

appointees are only birds of passage, their term of office often tied directly to the political fortunes of the Prime Minister who rewarded them. Alas, few of them bequeath much of *lasting value* to the development of Canada's foreign policies or the foreign service.

The most charitable explanation of these recent appointments is that the government doesn't fully understand the long-term consequences of its actions. A less charitable explanation is that, in a rush of Neanderthal reasoning, the government has convinced itself such appointments, made in the interests of the Progressive Conservative party, also serve the national interest.

In Case You Missed It

The column devoted to gleanings from the press and parliament on items of interest to the foreign service that one would not find in the Press Scan.

The appointment of pals and cronies to diplomatic posts continues unabated. As of April 1, the Mulroney government had made as many political appointments to head of post assignments as Pierre Trudeau...but it took him sixteen years. Only Mackenzie King made more and that took 22 years. The Drapeau appointment received much publicity, none of it favourable. It was also the subject of debate in the Senate.

Whatever his past achievements, Jean Drapeau is wholly unfit to be Canada's Ambassador to UNESCO. His appointment ranks with the worst of Prime Minister Mulroney's patronage excesses.... The Canadian foreign service has maintained an admirably high quality over the years, despite the troubles of budget-cutting and reorganization. It has done this largely because it recruits carefully and demands professional performance. Mulroney has endangered that valuable public asset by turning some of the best ambassadorships into jobs for the boys. His appointment of Drapeau might appeal to the thick-shouldered, well-moneyed campaign experts in Drapeau's Civic Party, men who might help Montreal Tories in the next election. To the country Mulroney has done a shameful disservice.

Plum for Drapeau insult to External, editorial in the *Ottawa Citizen*



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is loading Canada's plum foreign positions with his pals, while demoralizing Canada's well-respected foreign service. To even obtain employment in the foreign service, you have to be bright and well-informed about national and international events. This year, 5,000 Canadians wrote the foreign service exams. Less than 100 will be selected. They might well wonder if it's worth it. During Mulroney's two years in office, 14 choice foreign positions have gone to his friends. For them, there's no toughing it out in Zaire...

PM's plums-for-pals policy sours the foreign service, Vicki Barnett, columnist for the *Calgary Herald*

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is courting a civil service revolt by stuffing Canada's top

diplomatic posts with political cronies and people he likes...

Patronage gets to go abroad, Greg Barthos in the *Toronto Star*

Une giffle magistrale à la carrière diplomatique, un soufflet personnel à l'actuel ambassadeur auprès de l'UNESCO, un coup d'épée dans l'eau en ce qui concerne le poids politique du geste : telles sont les conclusions sommaires et brutales qu'appelle la nomination de M. Jean Drapeau au poste de représentant permanent du Canada auprès de l'UNESCO, à Paris.

Une nomination mal venue, Paul-André Comeau dans *Le Devoir*

Every time the Prime Minister plucks someone off the streets, so to speak, to fill a plum diplomatic post, the morale at the External Affairs department takes another sharp dip.... There was a time in our foreign service when career paths led to the ultimate rank of ambassador. All it took was a reasonable ability, dedication and a willingness to take some hardship postings along the way.

Diplomatic appointments: is nothing sacred? by Stewart MacLeod in *St. John's Evening Telegram*

Political appointments to plum diplomatic postings have become a scandal.... While not denying the government's right from time to time to recruit ambassadors from outside the foreign service, PAFSO says the use of amateur diplomats should be sparing. It is hard to quarrel with that viewpoint. It is impossible to see how Canada's best interests are served by an unhappy and demoralized foreign service.

Patronage hurts foreign service in *Winnipeg Free Press*

It took a long time for Canada's diplomats to speak out against Prime Minister Mulroney's increasing practise of making patronage appointments to foreign service diplomatic posts. But they have finally taken the plunge — and a good thing, too. They've called attention to an abuse that Canadians should know more about.

John Best in *The Regina Leader Post*

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN SERVICE APPOINTMENTS — MAINTENANCE OF PROFESSIONALISM — GOVERNMENT POLICY

Hon. Allan J. MacEachen (Leader of the Opposition): Honourable senators, I should like to raise a question based upon the matter of professionalism in the Foreign Service of Canada. With the recent appointment of former Mayor Drapeau to UNESCO in Paris, the present government will have appointed a total of 14 non-

career persons to the Foreign Service of Canada — a move without precedent in the history of this country. Has the government abandoned the concept of maintaining the professional foreign service which has served Canada so well and which has been so highly commended to the government in the recent report of the joint committee?

Hon. Lowell Murray (Leader of the Government and Minister of State for Federal-Provincial Relations): Honourable senators, the government has looked other than to the Department of External Affairs in 13 or 14 cases out of I do not know how many nominations. That that should be interpreted as meaning that the government had abandoned the concept of a professional diplomatic service is surely an exaggerated and alarmist point of view.

With regard to the employment of former Mayor Drapeau, I hope that the Honourable Leader of the Opposition would acknowledge that Mr. Jean Drapeau is, on the international scene — and deservedly so — one of the most renowned to present day Canadians.

Senator MacEachen: Honourable senators, I have no intention of debating the capabilities of former Mayor Drapeau, for whom I have the greatest admiration. What I am concerned about is professionalism in the foreign service. No matter what the Leader of the Government may think, the Prime Minister, prior to the election, assured the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers in Canada that he would continue the tradition of maintaining a professional foreign service; that is, the maintenance of a foreign service composed of persons who have spent their lives working in the field of international affairs. That is what professionalism means. Obviously, former Prime Ministers have taken a view totally different from that of the present Prime Minister, because in the first two years of his mandate he has appointed 14 non-career persons to the foreign service.

The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers described this as patronage. I am not using that description, but I am concerned about the departure from the system followed by every former Prime Minister. In the 16 years of Mr. Trudeau's prime ministership, for example, 16 non-career persons were appointed to the foreign service, which amounts to one per year. In two years the present Prime Minister has made 14 such appointments. I could go on. In all the years that Mr. Diefenbaker was Prime Minister, he appointed two or three non-career persons; in the five years that Mr. Bennett was Prime Minister, he appointed two or three; Mr. St. Laurent likewise, Mr. Clark likewise.

I think that we are entitled to ask — and if it is the declared policy of the government we ought to know about it — is it now the intention of the government to fill diplomatic posts abroad through the appointment of persons outside the professional stream in our public service? If that is the intention, let us know about it. But to argue that it has not happened is, in my view, a travesty of the facts.

Senator Murray: Honourable senators, the fact remains that the preponderant, overwhelming

majority of those who hold ambassadorial rank in this country are people who have grown up in the Foreign Service of Canada. We have brought to ambassadorial positions people such as Stephen Lewis, David MacDonald and others, who, I think, bring an important and different perspective to their jobs and who are an adornment to the public service and the foreign service of this country.

Some Hon. Senators: Hear, hear!

Senator MacEachen: Honourable senators, it is a fact that in the career of every former Prime Minister, the preponderance of ambassadorial positions was filled by professional career diplomats and foreign service officers. None of them felt it was desirable to depart from that system in the outrageous way in which the present Prime Minister has, while at the same time asserting — I think hypocritically and falsely — to the professional foreign service officers that he is dedicated to filling these positions in a professional way. To argue that every appointment is that of a person with career and professional abilities in the foreign service is outrageous. That is not the case.

It is true that from time to time former Prime Ministers have found it necessary to select a number of individuals to serve in important diplomatic positions, and I think that that should be continued.

Hon. Jacques Flynn: The number is much higher than what you said for Mr. Trudeau. He made more than 14 appointments.

Senator MacEachen: He appointed 16 non-professional career persons —

Senator Flynn: I disagree.

Senator MacEachen: — to the diplomatic service in 16 years; one per year.

[Senator MacEachen.]

Senator Flynn: No!

Senator MacEachen: If Senator Flynn wants a few more facts, I can provide them. In the many years that Mr. King was Prime Minister, he appointed 17 such non-career persons.

Senator Flynn: When he started, there was no Department of External Affairs.

Senator MacEachen: Canada received the power to appoint its own diplomats in 1926, and it is upon the time following that date that the statistics are based. Mr. King made 17 such appointments in all the years he was Prime Minister; Mr. Bennett was Prime Minister for five years and he made two such appointments; Mr. St. Laurent was Prime Minister for eight years and he made four such appointments.

Senator Flynn: I do not know where you got those figures, but —

Senator MacEachen: Well, I will tell you where I got them.

Senator Frith: Then you can find out where Senator Flynn got his.

Senator MacEachen: If Senator Flynn has opposing figures, then he had better produce

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them. Mr. Pearson, in the years he was Prime Minister, appointed four.

Senator Balfour: How many did Mr. Turner appoint?

Senator MacEachen: Mr. Turner appointed three, all of whom were rescinded by his gracious successor who, reviling the practice of patronage by rescinding these three appointments, then proceeded to make an unprecedented 14 appointments of non-professionals at the highest possible level.

I think all the facts impel me to ask the government whether it has abandoned the notion of a Canadian professional foreign service, that is all. If it has, tell us and we will debate that. But do not say that the government still believes in the professional foreign service while, at the same time, it appoints such noted diplomats as Dennis McDermott.

Senator Murray: I thought the name would come up. I was waiting for it.

Senator Frith: We wouldn't disappoint you, senator.

Senator Murray: Our ambassador in Dublin continues to rankle the Leader of the Opposition, and I know how much he admires Jean Drapeau.

Senator MacEachen: I could mention a couple of Tories who are equally outrageous.

Senator Murray: Honourable senators, let me say once again that the vast, preponderant, overwhelming majority of the ambassadorial positions filled by this government have been

filled from within the public service, from within the foreign service, and that we remain committed to doing that. We have, as I have said, appointed excellent people from outside the foreign service to important foreign posts, and I do not preclude the possibility that we will do that again when it is in the national interest to do so.

• (1510)

Senator MacEachen: The Leader of the Government is on very weak ground, as he well knows. He is on very weak ground because all he can say is, "We intend to appoint, as has been done in the past, a majority of persons from the foreign service itself." We all know that. Every other Prime Minister was faced with the same reality and continued the practice of maintaining a professional foreign service. The present Prime Minister had abandoned that practice and has appointed an unprecedented number of persons who are not career diplomats, who are not professionals, and I just ask: Why does not the government tell us the policy which it is following and not speak out of two sides of its mouth — a practice which is becoming increasingly under attack throughout the country?

The Leader of the Government knows that his response is inadequate, but he continues making it. Like so many attitudes taken by the government, it is not a credible attitude. If it is your decision to change the composition of the foreign service, tell us that — that's all; but if it is not your intention, then why proceed to do it at all, let alone in such a totally misguided way?

From Senate Debates, December 17, 1986

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Public — and Not-So-Public — Affairs



by Sidney A. Freifeld

Having served two rather strenuous tours of duty as External's Spokesman and Head of the Press Office — once in the early Fifties and again in the early Sixties — I thought I knew a fair amount about how to deal with the press and allied media of communication. But when George Cowley told me what he had to do to surmount a problem in press relations that confronted him in the mid-Sixties, I realized that there is always something more to be learned in plying this difficult trade.

Cowley was a junior officer in the Department's Commonwealth Division at the time and one of his duties was to serve as Australian desk officer. At that time Paul Martin was our Secretary of State for External Affairs and, while attending a session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, he had held some discussions with Australian External Affairs Minister Paul Hasluck. Mr. Martin urged Mr. Hasluck to make an official visit to Ottawa before returning to Canberra. Mr. Hasluck agreed.

A few days later Mr. and Mrs. Hasluck, together with a sallow individual who served as the Australian Minister's confidential messenger and valet, flew from New York to Ottawa where, at Uplands Airport, George Cowley had assembled a welcoming party of high-level functionaries. But, as often happens in Ottawa, a considerable fog had moved in and the official greeters could hear the invisible plane circling the airport for a while and then fly away.

Learning that the plane was headed for Montreal's Dorval Airport, Cowley prevailed upon the Department of National Defence to provide a car and driver to bring the Hasluck party on the two-hour drive back to Ottawa. The driver was instructed to bring the Haslucks to the VIP — west — entrance to the Chateau Laurier Hotel, and young

Cowley and his cohorts took up positions there.

But the Army driver was not blessed with a sense of our capital's geography and got lost in the environs of Ottawa. He finally made it to the centre of town and the Chateau Laurier Hotel, where he deposited the Canadian party not at the prestigious West entrance, but a dingy east door. That happens to be a service entrance to the bowels of the hotel, and without a doorman in sight.

There, the Haslucks and their sallow aide found themselves negotiating a cellar catwalk, heavy with all their luggage, through the boiler room, where Mrs. Hasluck lost the heel of one shoe. The dust and vapour from the Chateau's odiferous furnaces did little to improve their first impressions of Canada's capital. By the time the driver realized that they had used the wrong door and led them back outside and around to the West entrance, Cowley's welcomers had drifted away leaving only him — a junior Third Secretary — to welcome Australia's Minister of External Affairs and his wife, sprinkled with the Chateau's soot and clutching her detached heel.

As planned, Mr. Hasluck next morning went over to Mr. Martin's office for an exchange of views, but our Minister was delayed in a protracted Cabinet meeting. While Mr. Hasluck was waiting, his valet showed up with a pair of cuff-links that had been mislaid. As he started to leave, in walked Mr. Martin, who embraced the valet with "Oh, so good to see you here, Paul."

Thereafter, the visit proceeded uneventfully — that is, until Mr. Hasluck informed Cowley that, before he left Ottawa the next afternoon, he would be glad to meet with representatives of the Canadian press. When Cowley sought to set up a press conference for the Australian visitor, he ran into an unexpected problem.

The Gerda Munsinger affair, the sex-and-security drama of the decade, had broken wide open in the House of Commons and it immediately became a national *cause-célèbre*. Every journalist in the nation's capital was glued to his seat in the jam-packed Commons parliamentary press gallery, riveted on the Question Period unfolding in the House. George Cowley soon found that he could arouse no interest whatsoever in a press conference with an Australian Minister for External Affairs.

The next day, when Cowley checked out the East Block conference room shortly before the press conference was due to begin, not a single journalist was in sight. Brooding over the impending debacle, he devised a scheme. He coralled half a dozen junior External colleagues and pressed them to show up with notebooks in the conference

room, where they would pepper Canada's Australian guest with questions on which Cowley would prepare them.

But what about TV? Cowley found that every TV crew in town was focussed on Parliament Hill's sex drama, but he rose to this crisis, too. He prevailed on TV network friends who "owed him one" to send over an off-duty crew; they would have cameras grinding away, without film, but with their lights focused on the unwitting Australian.

But wouldn't the Haslucks later not be watching the 6 p.m. news to witness the Minister's debut on Canadian television? Not to worry, Cowley assured the network and his growing coterie of accomplices: the Haslucks would be winging their way Canberra-ward before the critical hour.

And what about the Australian High Commissioner's Office in Ottawa? No problem. Cowley would bring those nice Australian chaps in on his dark little secret. They would have to be brought in anyway, since they would recognize the fake reporters at the press conference.

When Mr. Hasluck showed up to meet the representatives of the Canadian press, Cowley's young External colleagues performed admirably, notebooks in hand, peppering the Minister with perceptive questions about Australia's relations with countries of the Pacific Rim, South Pacific defence strategy, Chinese representation at the United Nations and the future of Taiwan, and the continuing war in Indochina. One of the "reporters" — junior Third Secretary Peyton Lyon — even showed up with green celluloid eyeshades and shirtsleeves held up with garters, in the best tradition of Ben Hecht and Charles Macarthur's great movie "Front Page"; today Lyon is a professor of diplomacy at Carleton University's Patterson School of International Relations.

The following week Cowley queried Canada's mission in Canberra on the Hasluck visit, as seen from the Australian end. He was not surprised at Canberra's reply: the Australian Department of External Affairs had displayed a "curious reticence" on the subject.

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.



Ignatieff, Pearson and Freifeld at Security Council Meeting Lake Success, New York, January 6, 1949

A Chat with the Ignatieffs

Part 1

I was half an hour late. With reasonable instructions, but no map, I had decided I could find my way by foot to Palmerston Court. Toronto was not that big. Happily the pizza shop on Bathurst had a telephone and so I finally spoke to George Ignatieff. Within ten minutes I was at the door and bid welcome by Mrs. Ignatieff. She restored me with chocolate-covered digestives and a cup of tea.

With her piercing eyes and appraising smile, I decided which one was the anchor in the family. Presented to Court, along with Maryon Pearson in 1937, she combines wit with charm and warmth. The sort of woman any man would want as a partner. The daughter of William Grant, principal of Upper Canada College, and the favourite niece of Vincent Massey, she fell in love with her future husband during his first posting in London, while she was staying with her relatives and working for MI5. They were married at year's end in Montreal, both in the United Church — in deference to her family, and in the Russian Orthodox Cathedral for the sake of his.

*George Ignatieff joined us shortly, looking delightfully rumpled in his velvet smoking jacket and old slippers. Born Count George Pavlovich in St. Petersburg on the eve of the Great War and the Russian Revolution, he fled with his family first to England and then to Canada. As he relates in his memoirs, *The Making of a Peacemonger* (reviewed in *bout* and recently reissued in paperback by Penguin), their reduced circumstances, like that of many other Russian emigrés, caused considerable disruption to the family. His mother put a premium on education and Ignatieff helped pay his way by working during the summer on a railroad crew out west. In 1935 he won the Rhodes Scholarship for Ontario and after graduation and brief service in the British army joined External Affairs in 1940 as Third Secretary in London. He resigned in 1972 to become Provost of Trinity College. He was appointed Chancellor of the University of Toronto in 1980.*

Our former Ambassador to the United Nations in Yugoslavia, NATO (Paris), and the UN (both New York and Geneva) and for a brief few months Disarmament (during the Turner Ministry) is naturally gregarious and needed no prompting to get our discussion going (in fact, I had to ask him to stop so I could plug in my taperecorder). And then he was off and time flew as he took me back and forth through a long and interesting career. When the time came to go Toronto's taxi service had taken temporary refuge from the stormy streets, so the recently retired Chancellor put on his parka and drove me to my next stop in his aging but still serviceable Volvo.

Meeting them, listening to a pair still very much in love, had been a delight. Both have given much of themselves to their country. Like their aging brick rowhouse, they are very much without pretension. But then the great have no need to flaunt it.

bout de papier: Why did you join External Affairs?

Mr. Ignatieff: It certainly was not planned. I came to Canada as a refugee from Russia and was admitted under the category of a labourer. I started as an axeman on the survey party in Western Canada on joining the Crowsnest and Kettle Valley Railway and worked there two summers. I earned enough to go to college. This was, of course, the time of the Great Depression and I became interested in economics and what to do about the situation that our generation found ourselves in — looking for jobs and that sort of thing — so I went into political economy and got terribly excited by the teaching of people like Harold Innis, Creighton and Glazebrook. When you get excited, interested, and stimulated intellectually, it has effect on your results. I did not seek to excel in scholarship. I just found that I was getting firsts and scholarships of one sort or another. Then I applied to the Rhodes Scholarship and to my great surprise, in 1936, was selected Rhodes Scholar for Ontario.

bout de papier: You beat out a couple of other notables.

Mr. Ignatieff: I beat out quite a few notables including Claude Bissell and Saul Rae. In those days the competition was very stiff — as it is now. There were few scholarships so the competition was very stiff. The Rhodes helped me get into External.

Dr. Skelton was then the Under-Secretary and he had been appointed by Mackenzie King, who was then Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. He was our boss. Dr. Skelton had been a notable professor at Queens. His whole background was academe and he would not accept anybody in those earliest days of External Affairs who had not excelled in scholarship. At one time I remember there was a question asked in the House just what proportion of the Department, in the days when there were only fifty or sixty officers, were Rhodes Scholars because some of the Quebec members felt that the Rhodes Scholarship implied a bias towards the British Empire. It did not but the fact was that in Skelton's day you had to excel in academic performance. When I went to Oxford, I had two letters from professors who taught. One of them was to Mike Pearson. I did not know Pearson at all but as a student at Oxford and as a Rhodes Scholar I went to see Mike Pearson who was then the equivalent of Counsellor at Canada House under Vincent Massey. He became interested in my whole background. I could speak Russian and I had a European experience at school and college before I went to Canada. He was fascinated

that I had worked on railroad construction and by my academic record. He raised the question first of all as to why I was interested in External and had I thought about it. I said that I had not and he said, "Think about it because you are the kind of person we need". I wrote the exam in the fall of 1939 just before the war, at Canada House. There were a whole lot of Canadian students competing. I forgot about it then and when the war broke out, like many other students, I joined up with the British Army because I was told by the advance guard of the military headquarters who had arrived in London that anybody wishing to join the Canadian Armed Forces had to pay their way back to Canada, if you please! There was no great rush for volunteers so I joined up with the British.

*We were in danger,
there was constant
bombardment, the threat
of invasion of Britain
and there a tremendous
overload of work.*

I suddenly got a letter from Dr. Skelton that I had passed first among the candidates in the exam that had been set in London. Therefore, I was being offered the top appointment of that period which was to London. The letter from Skelton said I was to be an acting third secretary. In my reply I went to see Mike Pearson and said I was in an intelligence unit of the British Armed Forces and that if this was the way of getting into the Canadian service, where I felt I belonged, if he could get me transferred, I was willing to come. The Canadian government got me transferred and that is how I came into the service. I found myself in the company of Vincent Massey, Mike Pearson, Charles Ritchie and Hume Wrong. This was a star-studded cast. I describe it in my memoirs but Charles Ritchie has done a better job of it in *The Siren Years*. It is difficult to remember even in retrospect what this meant in terms of comradeship. We were in danger, there was constant bombardment, the threat of invasion of Britain and there was a tremendous overload of work.

bout de papier: Where did you live when you were in London and what would an average day have been like?

Mr. Ignatieff: I lived with my brother who was an engineer producing coal for the war effort. In those days you started with the princely salary of \$2,200 a year. The

Department, in its generosity — despite the letter that said that I was to be an acting third secretary — actually made me a senior clerk which excluded any allowance of any sort, so I had a net income of \$2,100 a year to live on in wartime London. My brother lived in North Finchley and he helped me financially. I certainly made no money out of being a civilian. I was getting far less than I was in the army.

As a junior, you started in the morning helping code and decode the messages coming in and I alone was assigned the job of looking after the evacuation of Canadian women and children from the war zone, not just from England, but the refugees who had come over from the Continent and to try and organize them into parties that could be put on the troop ships which were going west to bring our first division and supplies over. I also dealt with the evacuation of children which British families wanted sent to Canada. I acted as sort of a nanny because there were an awful lot of families that felt that the invasion and the bombing threatened the lives of their children and they wanted them sent to Canada, some of them without any proper identification or any one looking after them. One had to organize all that and then I was also given the job of looking after internees and prisoners of war. Suddenly, under the threat of invasion, the British dumped all the aliens, whether they were refugees or not, onto Canada and Charles and I had to cope with thousands being sent over.

bout de papier: The question of Jewish refugees — was that an issue at the time?

Mr. Ignatieff: I did not have time to wrestle with any policies. I had to cope with being overwhelmed with all the things that you had to do. My impression is that it was true that Canada, as a government, had not been sufficiently anticipatory of the threat to the lives of Jewish refugees right through all the years leading up to the War. It is no use saying that Mr. Massey or so and so were not sufficiently responsive. From the time when these horrors were being committed in Germany, it should have been recognized. In retrospect, it is clear that the lives of these Jewish people were going to be at risk.

Where I came into it and found this very distasteful, in retrospect, was when there was a threat of invasion the War Office and the Home Office simply said we have got to clear all alien refugees and interned persons. Anybody holding a German, Italian or Austrian passport must go and Canada must take them. I had to explain to the War Office and Home Office that there was such a thing as the Statute of Westminster and that they

had no right to send them through Canada without the permission of the Canada government and therefore they had to have more information — exactly what it was that we were being asked to do.

At that point, all I can say was that we were told untruths. We were assured that what we were being asked to do was to receive internees and prisoners of war who would be a threat to Britain in the event of invasion. What turned out was that they simply packed all people holding German, Austrian or Italian passports onto ships for Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Some of them were sunk on the way. We were given insufficient identification. My impression was that the majority who came to Canada were actually people of refugee status. We had to set up an enquiry under Dr. Paterson and go through these camps to identify who precisely these people were.

We were not helped in the least bit by the British government and indeed one of the things which I regard as being pretty disreputable was that at least one officer in the War Office was put on trial for having robbed these people. He took not only their papers of identification but whatever few valuables they had. He was no better than some of the Nazis. We only discovered that when we found that some of the bonafide prisoners, the Germans taken off submarines or sunk Germany ships, had not received the payments that their government gives when you are taken prisoner. The Swiss government complained that the Germans said that they did not receive their money and it turned out that this character had also pocketed that and was using a revolving fund to make money on the stock exchange.

Wars are cruel and the chief victims are the noncombatants.

This is a sordid subject and it showed me how wars are cruel and the chief victims are the noncombatants. You have this combination of the injustice to refugees and the helplessness of women and children under threat of their very lives being chucked onto these cargo and other passenger ships also used for troop ships.

Having transferred from the comparative safety of the British Army where you had the means of defending yourself and were evacuated into fairly safe areas, I then lived in the middle of London under bombing like the rest of the innocent and unprotected victims of war whether they be refugees, women or children or what not. At work we would cope with the refugee problem all day and

then at night we went back to what was called working for "air raid precautions". You had to take your turn every night on the roof of Canada House to throw the fire bombs off.

bout de papier: It was very much a full day with very little room for social life?

Mr. Ignatieff: Absolutely none. I did not go home very often and would, as often as not, sleep next door at the Canadian military headquarters bunker on hard boards.

bout de papier: Would you eat there as well?

Mr. Ignatieff: That was one of the problems. You ate less and less because there was less and less to eat. There were some days when you found at lunch time there was nothing to eat but baked potatoes. We could slip into a pub.

Mrs. Ignatieff: The pubs always had something to eat but it was not great.

Mr. Ignatieff: There was no great luxury. Then the bombing extended into the West End. We had bombs that very narrowly missed Canada House but broke water mains and we were flooded out of our air raid shelter. We all had to get out or be drowned.

Mrs. Ignatieff: There were a lot of roads in London made of wooden blocks. Because of the bombing whole roads broke up because of water mains being burst by bombs.

Mr. Ignatieff: And the black out at night would have you stumbling about in the dark. London during the war was a hard experience but the compensation was that we all became extremely close friends.

bout de papier: You both met there?

Paul Martin and George Ignatieff, London, May 12, 1965



Mr. Ignatieff: Alison was Vincent Massey's niece and we met during the war.

Mrs. Ignatieff: I had seen George around at Canada House early on.

bout de papier: Mrs. Ignatieff, you worked for MI5. What did you do for them?

Mrs. Ignatieff: We had files and we would track people. Intelligence work that was very interesting.

bout de papier: How did you get into that?

Mrs. Ignatieff: I got involved through a friend, Margot Archibald, whose uncle was a great man in the city. They were looking for people so I volunteered. I could not just do nothing and so I worked there all through the war — with some good guys and some bad guys. Anthony Blunt sat next door to me. At the time he was charming and delightful. He was surveyor of the Queen's pictures and he used to bring in the most lovely pictures. After the war he was an advisor to Canada strangely enough on the purchase of pictures. He was really quite brilliant but obviously very unstable.

bout de papier: Did you run across some other members of that circle?

Mrs. Ignatieff: Yes. We often ran into Philby. I saw him quite a bit but he had a very good cover and then he appeared in Washington. Guy Burgess was a really dirty person, not only grubby but I can remember him telling me some really very unsavoury jokes. I was brought up in a boys' school so it did not shock me but I thought how sleazy he was. Donald Maclean, on the other hand, was very elegant.

Mr. Ignatieff: He was my opposite number in the British Embassy in Washington.

One of the things I had to cope with in the middle of the war was with an eccentric relative of Mr. Massey's. Mrs. Macdonald lived in Claridges. One day, she came into my office and said, "Who are you?" After I said my name was Ignatieff she said, "What! Canada has to employ foreigners?" I asked, "What was the problem" and she said, "They are electrocuting me in my bed in Claridges". I asked her what her symptoms were and she said, "I keep going up and down." I said "Are you sure it's electricity?" and she said, "Yes." So I phoned Claridges and spoke to the assistant manager and said "I have Mrs. MacDonald with me and she says you are electrocuting her." "Oh", he said "She's nuts. She came down into the air raid shelter with nothing on except a tin hat the other night". I said to her "I have the assurances of Claridges that they will cease to electrocute you". She said "Well, that is very kind of you but I am going to complain to Mr. Massey that Canada should not be employing foreigners." And so she did. A few days after she came back again and this time she said that Claridges was cheating her. I agreed that that was much more likely and asked what were the symptoms. She said they kept giving her these bills to pay, so I phoned the assistant manager again and told him I had Mrs. MacDonald with me and so on... I then told her that I had the assurance of Claridges that they would be very careful about the bills and she asked my name. I said "Smith". "Oh", she said "I am so relieved. The last time I was here there was a foreigner at this desk. I am so glad to meet you Mr. Smith. Thank you so much." And that was the other side of the war scene — a few crackpots as well.

"I have the assurances of Claridges that they will cease to electrocute you."

bout de papier: What makes a diplomat?

Mr. Ignatieff: Infinite patience I discovered. Humour because there are all kinds of things to do and you must understand the other person's point of view. That is one of the things which is not sufficiently understood. Why diplomats require the kind of training that they get is because they have to try and understand the background which makes the German or Hungarian or Russian make the kind of proposals that they make and try and find common ground between them. That does require a lot of training, not just in language, but in culture. Then, of course, the ability to render whatever it is in negotiations

into precise language. Dr. Skelton was on the right track in demanding high academic qualifications. There was a great emphasis on precision in written and oral language. You were required to write written tests. Mr. Massey, who was my first sort of task master, would send letters I drafted back to me until I had, what in his view, was the most precise and well crafted piece of writing. And this was war time when we were terribly busy. He would not make any concessions. Likewise, people sometimes underestimate protocol. He was a stickler for protocol in the sense that a great deal of diplomacy is conducted, as you know, informally at social functions. From Mr. Massey, I learnt that if you are going to get anything out of a diplomatic social encounter you have to be very careful about how you select your guests, how you entertain them, and how you place them at a sit down occasion. Even in war time, there were more sit down functions than there are now. The planning of social encounters for diplomatic purposes was something that Mr. Massey did teach me about and also how to use your whole personality to try and get something out of the other side. If you go into a diplomatic encounter with the idea that you cannot trust the son of a bitch and you cannot get anything done, you are wasting your time and your government's time. You have to see how much common ground you can find if you are really seeking an agreement, and that requires not only patience but sensitivity and knowledge of the personality you are dealing with — the cultural background, language and whole history of the problem in which you are involved.

London was a wonderful training ground because you were not only dealing with the day-to-day problems of Canadians at war, but we were the centre of contact with all the allies. Very early in the war, after the invasion of Russia by the Nazis, we did our negotiating of agreements for supplies with the Soviet. Then came all the governments in exile and until General Vanier was appointed the representative of Canada to the allied governments, we handled these relations. My first meeting with de Gaulle was in Mr. Massey's apartment in the Dorchester.

Our meeting was over St. Pierre and Miquelon. We are still squabbling with France over these islands. It is an important piece of Canadian history. The German U-boats used to penetrate right into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and I remember when they sank something like twenty ships in a week out of Montreal and Quebec. They were all being refuelled in St. Pierre and Miquelon. This was one occasion when Mr. King disagreed with Franklin Roosevelt and the American government. We were usually on

their side on most things. But Cordell Hull, the U.S. Secretary of State and President Roosevelt were very much against any kind of recognition of the Free French and doing business with de Gaulle. They wanted to keep the door open and indeed favoured dealing with Vichy. This was my first encounter with de Gaulle. He was very short-tempered and a difficult person to deal with. I remember that when the lunch got rather tense, Mrs. Massey, who used to generally come to the rescue, saying "I hear that recently you were somewhere by the seaside". That used to be one way of saying you had been in Casablanca or wherever it was. You never mentioned places. And he said, "Yes, but it was not pleasurable."

What makes a diplomat? Infinite patience.

It was out of these experiences that friendships were formed. I recall how on a Sunday after a particular heavy bombing we went up on the roof of Canada House and looked at the scene of total devastation. The electricity and water supply had been cut and there was smoke and debris all around us. Mike Pearson asked just how much of this could civilization stand without breaking down. I remember it was at that point that I felt that we really had to take another look at the whole question of war in the era in which air warfare had become the dominant factor. This is when I began to think about peacemongering and all the rest of it.

The funnier aspects, of course, are what Charles Ritchie relates in *The Siren Years*. Charles happened to be staying with a friend when there was a direct hit on where he usually lived. If he had been there he would have been killed. When he took me around to see this place the next day, all that was left was one of his suits waving in the wind. There was total debris where he would have been if he had been at home. One of the ways in which we coped with that was to change our sleeping places often. There was always night duty for air raid precautions anyway. In fact one of the trials of wartime London was that one really did not get very much sleep.

Mrs. Ignatieff: You really did not. I was on a street far away from where George was, but when the sirens went I went up onto the roof of the house to throw off the fire bombs and to watch where the bombs were falling. After the bombs fell they used to ask "Where did the 'incident' take place?"

Mr. Ignatieff: Out of that grew two things which were important in my life. One was the feeling that something had to be done to find better ways of resolving international



disputes than bombing the hell out of cities. The other was the friendships that were formed. When I was sent back to Canada, in 1944, to work on the post-hostilities planning with John Holmes, I found myself working under Hume Wrong who had become a friend in Canada House under the wartime conditions. Mike Pearson was in Washington and he was very active in all the negotiations and consultations for the United Nations. International organizations were being set up such as the FAO. That is where I met people like Escott Reid, who was one of the big brains in this whole business of building up the brave new world of multi-lateral organizations. He was one of those behind planning for the U.N. and specialized organizations like the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal. Maurice Careless, the historian, Gerry Riddell, George Glazebrook, Robert McKay and a few other professors were all part of an incredibly small group. The whole company in External Affairs occupied only a very small portion of the East Block. The whole service, in 1944, when I came back was somewhere around 60 or 70 but there were not more than a

couple of dozen of us in the East Block. We shared a portion of it with the Finance Department and the Prime Minister's office. You knew everybody.

bout de papier: When did your day start?

Mr. Ignatieff: The days were not quite as hard as they were in London but you had to appear by 8 or 8:30 because there was so much work to do and you stayed far into the night. I remember my first meeting with Mitchell Sharp. He was working for the Department of Finance at the time and he had an office next to mine. I suddenly heard someone singing something from Bach. I was intrigued that there was a finance official who had such good taste in music. I went in and found Mitchell and I realized then how keen he was on music. We made all kinds of friendships that way. Particularly, when I was chief secretary working on the preparations for San Francisco, I would work right through the day stopping for lunch usually at the cafeteria of the Chateau Laurier and then come back at night. I remember one night coming back and seeing bats flying about the

East Block roof and rats scuttling about. It was a weird sort of feeling. I remember Norman Robertson sighing deeply as we worked. His office was in a corner down the hall from me and it included Sir John A. Macdonald's couch, which enabled him as the Under-Secretary to at least lie down and think.

bout de papier: Was it really Macdonald's couch?

Mr. Ignatieff: Yes, it was. There was some wonderful old furniture in the East Block in those days and John A. Macdonald's couch was in the Under-Secretary's office in my day. It was a wonderful time because there were two rather different philosophies in the Department. There were three major figures in External Affairs at the time, Norman Robertson, Hume Wrong with Mike Pearson in Washington. Robertson and Wrong were Under-Secretary and Associate Under-Secretary respectively. Norman Robertson's philosophy on the whole was: "Better get it right than get it written". He preferred oral communication. Wrong was meticulous

about the use of the written word — both as regards his own and that of his subordinates.

bout de papier: How did they get to work? Now we have Ministers and Deputy Ministers all driven by chauffeurs.

Mr. Ignatieff: It was not the numbers that counted in those days, it was the degree to which the then Prime Minister, Mr. King counted you as somebody who did or did not exist. Most of the bureaucracy did not exist as far as Mr. King was concerned. There were about a dozen people who he counted on for advice and Norman Robertson was at the top.

bout de papier: Was this within External Affairs or just generally?

Mr. Ignatieff: In those days he was Prime Minister and SSEA and he looked for advice from about a handful of officials. There was Norman Robertson, Clifford Clark, Mike Pearson, Graham Towers, Lou Rasminsky, Hume Wrong, Escott Reid from External Affairs, and Bill MacIntosh. The senior planners were these people that I mention and Pearson from Washington. Pearson was brought into all these discussions and consultations. Papers had to be prepared with very little guidance and access to the Prime Minister. Norman was not given to putting things in writing. I had to find out from Hume, who in turn had to find out from Norman, what we were supposed to do. To give you an example, we had just come through the war very closely tied to Britain. I had been in London and Lord Cranbourne, who was the Dominion Secretary in those days, sent us a series of questions that started — Would Canada consider itself at war if Britain was at war? We asked Mr. King for guidance and he said we would go back to 1939. Then we got into an argument with National Defence as to just what that meant. To them it meant that every sword was drawn the moment the crown was at war and every loyal Canadian soldier went to war. But to Mr. King it was not anything of the sort. He put it to Parliament to decide whether Canada should be at war and postponed the declaration of war for a week especially to establish that fact that it was no longer going to be an automatic commitment for Canadians to go to war. I had to explain this to National Defence, with little success I may say. We produced nothing in the reply to Lord Cranbourne's inquiry as to what our defence relations would be. On the other hand, Mr. King felt a very deep commitment to Franklin Roosevelt. In the hour of greatest need, in 1940, when all Britain's allies on Western Europe had been defeated by Hitler and Canadian forces were the only forces in



Alison and George Ignatieff at home, November 1986

a position to afford protection against invasion both by land and sea and in the air, at the famous meeting at Ogdensburg, Mr. King had been given the assurance by Roosevelt that the United States would not stand idly by if Canada was invaded. He felt that this was the guarantee he needed to enable Canada to throw its weight behind the war in Europe and make an impact, even before the entry of the United States into the war formally after the attack by Japan at Pearl Harbour. American assistance delivered at first through Canada was vital in 1940 and 1941. When we came to look at the posthostilities, we concentrated on the United Nations following up the Atlantic charter and the tripartite meetings between the leaders of the U.S.A., Britain and the Soviet Union. We were also very clearly given the signal that Mr. King wanted to continue the bilateral relationship in continental defence through the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. That was one of the things we worked on and it was accepted in Cabinet.

bout de papier: You have a long history of experience in dealing with the Americans. Any advice or thoughts on how Canada should deal with the Americans? It is something of a continuing concern and interest.

Mr. Ignatieff: It is a matter of concern and interest and I was very much impressed with the experience. After a period in New York with General McNaughton to open the mission to the U.N., I was sent to New York as the defence liaison counsellor with the Pentagon to discuss and negotiate on NATO and Korea. Unlike the British, Americans like to have our views absolutely straight. I am often told that we must not say 'such and such' to the Americans because they will take it out on us this way or that way. That was not my experience. My experience was that you had to be clear in your own mind what you regarded on instructions from your government to be a vital national interest. If you said to them that this is absolutely something

that we insist on, they listen. General McNaughton took that line in relation to the Columbia River diversion and in relation to the giving up of American bases in Canada. While we had a Permanent Joint Board of Defence for joint planning and consultation, we were not going to have American bases on Canadian territory. And was he ever farsighted.

bout de papier: Did the Americans want bases on Canadian territory?

Mr. Ignatieff: Yes. During the Korean War, when we were discussing the question of aircraft deployments and nuclear weapons — at that time the great enemy was supposed to be China because China had intervened in Korea — I said very definitely that we would insist on several things: One, the Canadian government reserves the right to give permission on *every* flight. There was to be no automatic permission to deploy or overfly Canada without the exercise of Canadian decision making. Moreover, since these were already equipped with nuclear weapons and we were conscious that this might give rise to an alert because of the Sino/Soviet Pact, there should be consultation between ministers and officials as to the conditions and circumstances that might give rise to implementation of an alert. These were written right into the Bilateral agreements in the early 1950's. During 1948 to 1953, until the McCarthy period, our relations under the Truman régime and with Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. King were extremely close and marked by complete confidence. Our ambassador, Hume Wrong, was one of the few ambassadors who Dean Acheson, then Secretary of Staff, not only consulted about everything but was on very close terms of friendship. Throughout that period the rule was to be absolutely straight. If you had something that really was important you took this position

because it was in our national interest and we would not compromise on it. During the Eisenhower régime, we got into a situation where President Eisenhower began this process of delegation of presidential authority. You were not quite sure exactly where you stood. You could no longer depend on the State Department to resolve your problems as we did during the days of Dean Acheson and Hume Wrong, because we were not quite sure exactly where John Foster Dulles stood on issues in relation to President Eisenhower or to his brother Allan who was also running his own show in the CIA. It was at that point that I remember saying to Arnold Heeney that I thought that we had to develop closer relations with Congress because there was no longer a clear line of responsibility with the Executive Branch of government. Particularly, when we were dealing with things such as the St. Lawrence Seaway, the power question and the boundary waters, there were so many lobbies all working at cross purposes within the United States system that affected us, that before I left in 1953 I put forward to Arnold Heeney that we had to develop relations with congressional committees and their chairmen.

bout de papier: What happened?

Mr. Ignatieff: He did not like that. He said that this was not consistent with the quiet diplomacy that he and Livingston Merchant had worked out and that this was contrary to the practices of Canadian diplomacy. Mr. Heeney always held to the view that politics and diplomacy should somehow be kept apart. It had become more and more difficult to maintain that especially in relation to trade matters. In the late 40's and 50's the Americans raised the question of a free trade agreement with Canada. They wanted access to our raw materials, particularly, strategic resources and access to water and power supplies. As we went into these discussions it seemed quite clear that there would be a loss of employment and the transfer of a good deal of investment southward as a result. The government said no and the contacts at the time were held very close to the chest. Mr. St. Laurent came down to close the discussion. It was basically to be a bilateral agreement initiated on the American side and not ours. I remember having to answer questions from *Time* magazine as to why we had not been more responsive to the idea. We were supposed to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water that supply you with raw materials, but we really could see very little benefit in terms of developing our own industry and providing employment. At that time the Canadian government, under a Liberal government, was committed to full employment. This

does not seem to be the case now, but it was at that time. The answer to the U.S. therefore was absolutely no. But it was done quietly, and Mr. St. Laurent compensated by entering into cooperative arrangements about the development of joint agreements on the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway and certain arrangements about power sharing on the Niagara. We did make these limited agreements on that but we said 'no' to a free trade deal. There were two things which made things difficult for Canada/US Relations as far as I was concerned. One was the McCarthy hearings and the other was the way in which the Unamerican Activities were applied to people like Herbert Norman and Mike Pearson.

bout de papier: What was Herbert Norman like?

Mr. Ignatieff: Herbert Norman was a quiet scholarly figure. He was regarded as the outstanding expert on Japanese literature, language and history. He had been borrowed by the Americans for his expertise and had served under General MacArthur. I find it difficult to place him in the same category as some of the spies that I ran across in Washington, people on the British side like Philby, McLean, and Burgess. I say in my book that he was not a spy. I was not aware until I got his dossier and had to reply to the Unamerican Activities that we would not have him investigated again about his communist connections before he entered the Foreign Service. I did not even know that he had been a partisan of the Communist cause before the war in 1938-1939 at a time when the Republican government in Spain was being supported by the Communist side and threatened by the Fascists and Nazis. I happened to be of quite a conservative mind myself and did not favour the position that some individuals like Norman apparently took, that you had somehow to become a Communist in order to support the loyalist cause in Spain. My sympathy was for the loyalist cause rather than the fascist. No doubt, he was sympathetic to the left but as I knew him he was a Japanese scholar and a very wise, well-informed, quiet, retiring, and unassertive character. By the kind of criteria that was applied in the days when I first went into the Department under Dr. Skelton, he passed muster as a scholar. That was what External looked for. They did not go in very deeply at to what their political opinions were in the forties. You had to pass the test of scholarship which was thought to be the main requirement to be a diplomat. He certainly passed that test.

bout de papier: External has recently rewritten the foreign service exam and is

examining the recruitment policy. Would you have any advice from your experience?

Mr. Ignatieff: I would still say that scholarship should be a requirement, in the sense of a trained intellect capable of thinking and taking initiatives in new ideas and being able to express yourself clearly both orally and in writing. These are qualities which are cultivated in scholars and I still think should be given priority over some of the other considerations such as management abilities and how you fill in forms. By the time I was leaving the Department it seemed to me that the highest priority was given to management and diplomacy is not the same as business management. I quite agree that there is a place for management in running anything from a mission to a grocery store but that is sort of an interchangeable skill. If you want a professional diplomat capable of providing the kind of alternative to the resolution of conflicts of war by the use of diplomatic skills, you have to put a higher priority on intellect, training, honesty, and integrity. All these things seem to be taken for granted. On top of that you have to have the power of thinking and expressing yourself clearly. Therefore, I still think the old traditions of academic excellence have to be included.

Returning to Washington in the 1950s, there was this unfortunate experience towards the end of my posting, when the House Committee on Unamerican Activities not only went after Norman but after Pearson because of Hazen Sise, who had attended the Ambassador's briefings in the Embassy and had joined some kind of left wing or maybe a Communist group.

bout de papier: Did you know Hazen Sise?

Mr. Ignatieff: No. As I recollect, his father was a wealthy businessman in Montreal and the son came down as representative of the film board. Mike Pearson, as I knew him, was an extremely trustful person who was very frank with all his colleagues and people who worked for him. This guy took advantage of it I suppose. Elizabeth Bentley, who Sise turned this information over to, called it "unamerican activities". I was temporally in charge of the Mission between Hume Wrong's departure and the arrival of Arnold Heeney and soon after his death — an event which was terribly upsetting for me. I was left in charge and had to cope with this unpleasant atmosphere generated by the hunt for "unamerican activities" in Washington which seemed to do little in uncovering real espionage but was harmful by throwing the next wide "guilt by association".

Mrs. Ignatieff: Elizabeth Bentley was a very unpleasant woman who did a lot of the damage.



King at the San Francisco Conference, 1946 includes Charles Ritchie and Elizabeth McCallum.

Department of Amplification: English Through the Wringer

by James A. Gibson

Sidney Freifield's alert commentary on *The Canadian Style: A Guide to Writing and Publishing* prompts me to write about another side of the literary coin, by which I mean rewriting drafts for the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I should explain perhaps that I knew well all of the departmental masters he cites — Hume Wrong, John Holmes, Escott Reid, Charles Ritchie, Gerry Riddell, Herbert Moran (I had more to do with Archie Day in his Massey Commission days than through any departmental contacts).

As many readers well know, my East Block service began in the Prime Minister's Office, and until May 9, 1940 my writing duties ranged over a wide field of public concerns: speeches on commemorative occasions, messages of sympathy, replies to correspondence which fell outside a "routine" pattern, "short notes" (emerging on half sheets) for public appearances (Liberal party functions by title were tacitly, and in my view properly, excluded).

*"There, you see,
it's these little things
that make all
the difference!"*

There was in summer 1938 a formidable row of black binders containing prototype messages for almost any contingency, fire, flood and pestilence included. Once I took my literary courage into my own hands — the process began with letters of sympathy — I was chastened to find that my drafts in turn became the models. The ultimate commendation, when it came, was "There, you see, it's these *little* things that make all the difference!" Drafting a letter for someone's eightieth birthday had never seemed a *little* thing to me, but even occasional commendation was encouraging.

Writing skills were put to other tests before and during the Royal Visit, 1939. The most

formal statements and speeches were well beyond my ken, but many arrangements of "detail" made up a nearly full-time preoccupation for several months. The personal detail for Mr. Mackenzie King did not require style as style, except that it had to be compact and with a minimum of "loose ends." The whole document (typed on 4' × 5½" loose-leaf sheets) stood up remarkably well.

The *Information for the Guidance of the Press*, which emerged in what we called a Five Star Final, was an entirely different matter. The section on the constitutional significance of the first visit by a reigning sovereign was written (and re-written) by the Prime Minister himself, and he added a considerable section on the position of Minister in Attendance, which he was throughout the visit to Canada (not then including Newfoundland) and to the United States. I am not sure how much guidance the working press took (or wanted to receive) from this exercise in high-level journalism; it added considerably to my own working experience in dealing with the Government

Printing Bureau in the long-vanished brick building at the west end of St. Patrick Street.

When I moved to Laurier House in May, 1940, the mechanism was altered to the extent that I was expected to provide at least a draft for nearly every public statement that emerged until after the end of hostilities. A draft was to be interpreted as a beginning only; some public addresses went through six or seven revisions. The record low score — two only — arose from an address to the American Federation of Labour meeting in Toronto in 1942. Following the Quebec Conference in 1943, when President Roosevelt was to visit Ottawa for a ceremony on Parliament Hill, the Prime Minister was to welcome him, live on radio, in a three-minute allocation. Mr. King dictated a "bring in" memorandum which filled three and a half pages of single-space typing. My East Block colleague, looking over this digest, remarked (only half sardonically) "this seems to include everything except *The Secret of Heroism*."

The Prime Ministerial style and mood only rarely provided much room for originality. When Mr. King was preparing to speak in Kingston on the 50th anniversary of the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, I began a draft by recalling the tribute by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons, in which he referred to the late Prime Minister as "endowed with those inner, subtle, indefinable graces of soul which win and keep the hearts of men."

"How did you know to include this?" (he asked)

"I remember reading it in public school" (I said, truthfully)

"May I see it in print?"

So I produced the prize book (*Builders of the Canadian Commonwealth* by George H. Locke, Toronto 1923) presented by the Canadian Club of Victoria, B.C.

The incident evidently made an impression: he put the quotation into his remarks.

"I speak to you tonight as a citizen of Canada."

There were other approaches to the goal. In January, 1947, Mr. King was to speak (live on national radio) at a ceremony at the Supreme Court of Canada at which the first certificates of Canadian citizenship under the then-new Act were to be presented.

My draft began: "I speak to you tonight as a citizen of Canada." (period, paragraph.)

"You can't have a paragraph of only one sentence!" (said a slightly pained voice).

"Why not?" (I said; and because something more evidently was required), if you

say this, and *pause* at the end of the sentence, there will be applause."

So the speech began with the single sentence, and he paused, though not quite long enough, because the applause overran his next sentence. But the general effect was salutary.

Even discretion had its limits in drafting. There arrived at Laurier House an unsealed envelope from the Central Chancery of the Orders of Chivalry in London. The standing rule was that unsealed letters should be opened, and that if a draft reply could be attached to the incoming communication, this also should be done. The Registrar informed Mr. King that in the roll of Companions of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George Mr. King's seniority would now entitle him to a stall in the Chapel of the Order, and to have his armorial bearings affixed over the top of the stall.

I knew that the Prime Minister, in advance of the Royal Visit in 1939 had "solicited and received His Majesty's permission to discontinue the use of the Letters C.M.G. after his name." The decoration had been conferred in 1907; I was not party to the discontinuing procedure, though I had formed the impression that the CMG, short-run, had acquired a certain nuisance value and that the King probably said, very well if he wishes it that way.

In what I hoped was now a convenient style, I drafted "it will doubtless be within your knowledge that a number of years ago I solicited and received (etc. as above) ... in these circumstances it would evidently be inappropriate to act upon the rest of your letter."

I was Duty Officer when the reply came forward for signature.

"Who wrote this letter?" said an official voice.

"I did" (stoutly, as I thought)

"Well, it's a good letter, but it doesn't go far enough. Take this!"

There then followed a slightly laboured (as I thought) explanation, part honesty, part vindication. It had not even followed the crystalline tactic (in a Canadian tradition best represented by Lord Durham at Quebec in 1838) whereby the principal dictates a letter to be signed by his Private Secretary; on other occasions Mr. King relied on this mechanism, and in this case I rather thought he had missed a good opportunity.

English through the Wringer (with a nod at the title on this reminiscence) had one Grand Annual outing, which arose in the drafting of the Speech from the Throne. The Wringer ought perhaps to have had only a minor role: the legislative program had been threshed over and basically agreed, but to

clothe it in language of any freshness and vigour was a challenge which the drafters, myself included, achieved only on rare occasions. The best summary towards the end of the day was my colleague's remark that there are only a limited number of ways of invoking the blessings of Divine Providence.

Wringer or no, one learned on the job. We learned to try to avoid excessive sibilance in any spoken passage. A wheat farmer in Alberta, who was a regular (and valued) correspondent, once wrote to ask Mr. King why he persisted in doing violence to the English language, as "Perzia instead of Pers-sia, Azia instead of As-sia." There was a moderately hilarious sequel: "Dear Mr. X: If you can suggest a dentist who can deal with my front teeth there will be no further problem. Your sincerely."

I thank you, I thank you warmly, I thank you most warmly, I cannot thank you too warmly.

There were some customary usages that might now be considered archaic; *ought*, meaning anything, and *naught*, meaning nothing) both of which the Concise Oxford Dictionary, which we customarily used, calls archaic). And there was a wonderfully-graded ascending scale of saying Thank You: I thank you, I thank you warmly, I thank you most warmly, I cannot thank you too warmly.

In drafting related specifically to External Affairs, in which even as External Affairs Liaison Officer I had a limited part, I had a continuing responsibility, especially from 1943 until VE Day, for Prime Ministerial Statements on the progress of hostilities. The materials to be incorporated came primarily through service channels; every draft had to be cleared for security, but in the end it was possible for Mr. King to give a statement as it had been drafted (one example was the review which preceded his statement on functional representation on July 9, 1943).

One other responsibility, which I took on Mr. King's behalf, was writing to prisoners of war in reply to the entitled post-cards they occasionally addressed to the Prime Minister. I used the address of 335 Laurier Avenue East, and signed my own name, saying what I thought might be appropriate. When I met some of these men overseas (as at Dieppe in August, 1946) I reflected how important everyday language could, and perhaps should, be.

A Brief Review of the 1986 World Exposition, Vancouver

by Commissioner General Patrick Reid

A number of members of the Department of External Affairs were significantly involved in the 1986 World Exposition. The list ranged from the Minister himself, under whose authority the Exposition was held, to the Information Assistant in Dakar. Indeed there would have been a very unbalanced roster of participating nations at the EXPO 86 opening on 2 May 1986 if some Heads of Mission and their staffs had not mounted sustained selling campaigns in countries that were not initially convinced about the opportunity offered them. Everyone involved can take satisfaction from the fact that, by the time EXPO 86 ended on 13 October 1986, every single participant reported that the venture had been well worthwhile.

By every statistical measurement the 1986 World Exposition was the most outstanding specialized exposition ever held. It attracted fifty-seven international participants, nine domestic governments and a vast array of corporate support, including six major pavilions. Over 22 million visits were recorded, and well over two thousand special events, conferences and symposia were held in conjunction with EXPO 86. Almost 100,000 performers — ranging from opera singers to motorcyclists — entertained close to 8 million patrons.

There were four essential elements in this success. First, there was the political will to host the Exposition well, to provide an adequate budget and to accept that there would inevitably be a deficit. Second, there was sufficient belief by enough participating governments that the timing, theme, location, market and preparations for EXPO 86 merited a positive response. Third, the Exposition was well designed, with an efficient infrastructure and a solid marketing program. Fourth, there was an extraordinary effort to maintain the integrity of the theme of transportation and communications.

There were a number of distinctive features of EXPO 86 that bear examination. There was a preoccupation that developing countries be well and honourably represented. The Government of Canada became materially involved in this endeavour. All

regions of the world were featured and the result was a triumph. These countries lent both style and conscience to the Exposition. They received cooperation and friendship from a solid array of traditional industrialized participants whose presence, and contribution at Vancouver were superlative.

*All regions of the world were
featured...the result was
a triumph.*

There was a need to cater to two audiences — the general public and, even more important, the audience that is professionally interested in the theme. To ensure the latter, an experiment was undertaken. The theme was broken down into fourteen components and each had a "specialized period", when that particular sub-theme was examined exhaustively in seminars, demonstration projects and pavilions. Without this sort of concentration on the theme it is increasingly difficult for industrialized nations to justify their presence in a specialized exposition with a technical theme. The dilemma is that a proper preoccupation with the theme can discourage the large, general, paying audience which is required to justify the holding of such an exposition in the first place. EXPO 86 was very successful in attracting a general audience; and a considerable effort was mounted to attract the vital specialized audience, with reasonable success.

Paradoxically the pursuit of a massive general audience, in the end 60% greater than the 13.75 million visits predicted in the original budget, did nothing to ease the anticipated deficit of about \$300 million; revealing, at best, an undue optimism about per capita revenues.

There was the need to ensure that the Exposition would be meaningful in its prime function of focussing a peaceful congregation of nations on a theme of importance to humankind. In two unique, illustrative ways this came to pass. There was an outstanding Symposium Series, called "Tomor-

row Begins Today", which opened in January 1984 and concluded in May 1986. Out of it has come a concrete, feasible and internationally-supported plan to initiate a World Union of Transport in 1987. The founding conference will be in Vancouver.

On an entirely different plane, the wonderful young people who came to Vancouver in the glorious summer of 1986 created their own sense of community. They revelled in cultural happenings like the Drum Festival, when groups and individual drummers played together, some 200 drummers in all from twenty-four countries — the first time such a gathering had happened in history. The young people created their own "Peace Choir" and sang together during the closing ceremony, when the staffs of pavilions exchanged flags as they entered the stadium, so that spectators were soon unable to determine which individuals belong to which pavilion.

*EXPO 86 was worth all the
time, money and effort
expended on it.*

For these sublime reasons alone, EXPO 86 was worth all the time, money and effort expended on it. And certainly Vancouver, British Columbia and Canada benefitted considerably from hosting it. Few previous expositions have had virtually unanimous local support, a wonderful setting, no security, transportation or accommodation problems, a strong involvement from across the host nation, splendid weather, positive media commentary both at home and abroad, great pavilions and entertainment and happy and relaxed visitors.

EXPO 86 took place at a time when there was a general belief — certainly among North American commentators — that the world exposition medium was in jeopardy. The resources required to mount a successful event were immense, other means of communication had become more immediate, relevant and manageable and the search for participants who would exhibit significantly

at what had become annual events (1984, New Orleans; 1985, Tsukuba; 1986, Vancouver; 1987, Milan; 1988, Brisbane) was becoming frantic. While it is conceded by virtually all observers that EXPO 86 in Vancouver retrieved the credibility of the medium as a viable means of international cooperation it is likely that this retrieval will be short-lived if the International Bureau of Expositions as well as the organizers of future expositions fail to face up to some pressing issues.

The paramount concern must be that an exposition fulfills the objectives of the participants as comprehensively as it seeks to meet the aspirations of the organizers. This means that participants should be treated as partners rather than as concessionaires, that the terms of participation as announced at the outset be rigorously fulfilled and, if required, interpreted in favour of the legitimate needs and concerns of the participating Commissioners General; and that the theme be the dominant characteristic of the creative development of a specialized exposition, even if this limits to some extent its appeal to the general public. This in turn, unfortunately, calls into question the fundamental nature of the specialized exposition, since no recent event of this description has survived, or indeed could survive, without the widest possible range of visitor and media support.

The continued absence of rigorous adherence to the Convention will inevitably lead to the demise of the specialized world exposition.

Also of great concern is the repeated assertion of participating nations, certainly without exception since EXPO 70 Osaka, that the host national government must exercise authority over a world exposition commensurate with its obligations under the 1928 Convention, and its responsibility as the government that invited other national governments to join in a great international endeavour. The unfettered delegation of that responsibility has again, without exception, brought local considerations to the fore; leading inevitably to frustrations and misunderstandings on the part of the participants. While the problems may often be petty, and readily enough settled, their very existence leads to a diversion from the main purpose of the exposition, and the lessening of resolve among participants to contribute to the maximum to that main purpose. The persistence of the International Bureau of

Expositions in permitting the alternative scenario of a world exposition being mounted without such direct host government control has contributed to the proliferation of specialized world expositions and to their relative lack of support and success. The continued absence of rigorous adherence to the Convention mentioned, which demands that the inviting national government be accountable, will inevitably lead to the demise of the specialized world exposition, and the probability that the universal world exposition will either suffer from the same fate or have its nature radically altered. Inherent in this dissertation is the implication that there are too many world expositions, and that there is a very real limit to the ability or desire of nations to participate routinely in them. For those of us who cherish the medium for what it has done, and can do, for understanding and peace in this turbulent world, there is a great anxiety that these concerns be faced squarely, and that future world expositions be made so rare, so unique, so compelling and so well founded as to ensure that nations will look forward with enthusiasm to the opportunity to participate in them.

The Government of Canada would have to establish and run the Crown Corporation required to operate any future such event in this country.

It is, of course, relatively easy for the retiring Commissioner General of a world exposition that has met most of the important criteria for international and local success, to speak forth with equanimity. However, it should be noted that — even with adequate financing and an impeccable attitude on the part of the Governments of Canada and British Columbia — there were innumerable differences, both large and small, between the pragmatic machinery of the local EXPO 86 organization and the more sublime aspirations of the creative minds and hearts of Canadian and foreign participants. A more secure base, and basis for mutual understanding, would have been desirable. These are readily enough attainable at future world expositions if the preceding thesis is followed.

This would mean, for example, that the Government of Canada would have to establish and run the Crown Corporation required to operate any future such event in this country. Such an obligation would be mandatory even if, as was the case at EXPO 86, the national host government was not itself funding the exposition.

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Sécurité commune

par Robert A. Ford

Le seul gage solide de paix est une meilleure compréhension entre Moscou et Washington

En dépit de la confrontation idéologique et de l'antagonisme politique de ces quarante dernières années, il y a eu une sorte de paix entre les principales puissances, une paix due à la nature terrifiante des armes nucléaires et à la détermination commune de Washington et de Moscou d'éviter leur usage. Ayant passé la plus grande partie de ma carrière diplomatique dans le cadre des relations Est-Ouest et vingt ans en Union soviétique, je suis convaincu que les dirigeants soviétiques sont aussi désireux que les responsables américains de ne pas utiliser les armes nucléaires et d'éviter une confrontation directe qui pourrait, par erreur, conduire à leur emploi.

Fondamentalement, c'est la doctrine de la destruction mutuelle assurée qui caractérise le régime de paix sous lequel le monde vit. C'est une absurdité morale, mais jusqu'à maintenant cela a fonctionné. Malheureusement, rien dans le monde physique ou politique ne reste statique. Les développements de ces récentes années ont commencé à éroder les principes qui sous-tendent la DMA ou MAD.

C'est d'abord l'escalade rapide du nombre et de la technologie des armes nucléaires; ensuite, le concept d'un « parapluie » anti-nucléaire, une idée qui a attiré l'attention des stratèges et des savants soviétiques longtemps avant de capter l'imagination du président Reagan.

Si la défense spatiale contre une attaque nucléaire était réalisable, cela pourrait conduire à l'abandon de la théorie de la Destruction mutuelle assurée (MAD) en donnant à la première puissance en mesure de réaliser une défense anti-nucléaire à toute épreuve la capacité-théorique de déclencher avec succès une première frappe : dans ces conditions l'équilibre de la terreur serait détruit.

J'ai cru fermement à la dissuasion comme à la seule voie réaliste permettant de survivre dans un monde encombré d'armes nucléaires qui n'allaient pas disparaître par des formules magiques, comme les initiatives de désarmement unilatéral ou, à l'autre bout du spectre, la recherche illusoire de l'ultime arme permettant d'atteindre une capacité de première frappe absolue. Mais la dissuasion, pour être effective, demande un équilibre nucléaire raisonnable et une certaine compréhension sous-jacente entre les superpuissances, à propos des limites de l'usage de ces armes.

Cette compréhension a existé pendant plusieurs décennies. Elle se fonde principalement sur le *statu-quo* en matière d'armement, sur le respect, dans les deux camps, des limites de leur pouvoir et de leur influence et sur un accord tacite tendant à éviter une confrontation directe dans les zones d'intérêt vital de l'autre puissance.

Mais, quand cette relative stabilité commence à être ébranlée, les dangers qui restaient cachés au sein d'un ordre international fondamentalement anarchique deviennent apparents. Et ces dangers sont accrus, car nous vivons dans un monde où des idéologies incompatibles jouent un rôle important dans les relations entre les

deux blocs opposés, augmentées par l'instabilité économique et sociale du tiers-monde où bien des nations aimeraient modifier l'ordre existant contre les intérêts des superpuissances.

Dans ces circonstances, il est essentiel que nous réexaminions sous une autre lumière les relations entre les deux principaux blocs de puissance. En 1982, la Commission indépendante des questions du désarmement et de la sécurité, présidée par feu Olof Palme, a rédigé un rapport intitulé « Sécurité commune ». Son thème principal était que les nations « doivent comprendre que le maintien de la paix dans le monde doit recevoir une priorité plus élevée que le maintien de leurs propres positions idéologiques ou politiques ».

Plus que jamais il est essentiel que nous reconnaissons des deux côtés de la frontière idéologique que la sécurité totale pour un pays ne peut être obtenue au dépens de la sécurité des autres, et que les nouveaux progrès concernant notamment l'espace et le perfectionnement des armes nucléaires font qu'il est absolument vital de chercher à atteindre un minimum de confiance et de compréhension réciproques. Comme Olof Palme l'a exposé dans son discours de la New-Delhi en janvier 1985. « *La paix et la sécurité du monde représentent une responsabilité globale. Elles ne peuvent être fondées sur la méfiance mutuelle ou les menaces de suicide collectif* ».

La paix ne peut être sauvée et consolidée qu'au prix d'un effort plus décidé de compréhension mutuelle entre Moscou et Washington.

L'étendue de cette incompréhension apparaît dans la façon d'apprécier dans la façon d'apprécier l'initiative de défense stratégique. Pour Washington, c'est un moyen d'éviter la guerre nucléaire, en créant une défense totale contre les attaques nucléaires. Pour Moscou, c'est une tentative de forcer l'URSS à une course ruineuse pour la domination de l'espace, susceptible de donner l'avantage nucléaire aux États-Unis, et en même temps de pousser l'Union soviétique vers l'effondrement économique.

Je sais par expérience personnelle, combien il est difficile et frustrant de chercher à comprendre la pensée et les motivations des Soviétiques. Mais, pour moi, la paix ne peut être sauvée et consolidée qu'au prix d'un effort plus décidé de compréhension mutuelle entre Moscou et Washington. En 1205, le doge de Venise, Pietro Ziano, écrivait : « *La guerre, nous pouvons l'avoir quand nous voulons; mais, si nous voulons la paix, nous devrions la chercher assidûment et la garder quand nous l'avons trouvée.* » L'avis est aussi valable aujourd'hui qu'il y a huit cents ans.

La Commission trilatérale/The Trilateral Commission

Mitchell Sharp and Jean-Luc Pepin

par Léopold Battel

Mot d'introduction

« L'indifférence aux affaires étrangères est l'une des infirmités permanentes des démocrates », écrivait vers 1978 Maurice Druon de l'Académie Française. La configuration internationale qui se redessinait au lendemain du choc pétrolier a pourtant vu la création de la Commission Trilatérale en 1973 sous l'impulsion de David Rockefeller. Le but visé était de former un groupe de discussion et de réflexion qui réunirait des personnalités éminentes de l'Europe occidentale, de l'Amérique du Nord et du Japon en vue d'encourager la compréhension, la concertation et la coopération entre ces trois régions sur des problèmes communs. Les démocraties se dotaient ainsi d'un forum leur permettant d'aborder les nouvelles données de la scène mondiale qui se transformait à une allure accélérée, rendant inappropriés les vieux schémas d'analyse. Le caractère informel, non-gouvernemental, de la Commission trilatérale consent des réflexions, des échanges d'idées qui ne peuvent cependant trouver leur pleine réalisation et leur valeur que dans l'action, dans des politiques.

Plusieurs membres de la très élitiste organisation seront invités à faire part de certaines administrations, certains gouvernements, ou inversement, d'expériences publiques seront invitées à siéger sur la Commission. Ce sera le cas par exemple du Président Carter et plusieurs de ses collaborateurs qui étaient membres de la Trilatérale. D'où une croyance à un gouvernement parallèle, un pouvoir occulte, qui relève davantage d'une perception erronée des rouages de la Commission et d'une notion colportée par une certaine presse.

Les entrevues qui suivent avec Mitchell Sharp et Jean-Luc Pepin, deux hommes publics canadiens qui ont une connaissance directe de la Commission trilatérale se proposent d'éclaircir certaines questions et contribueront, nous l'espérons, à rétablir les faits.



very often members of governments. The Trilateral Commission does not accept as a member any person who is actively engaged in government on the policy side. This is a private organization and the intention is to have discussions on the private level, not at the government level. It is meant in a sense to supplement the efforts of governments to maintain good relations.

bout de papier: How are members chosen?

Sharp: The members are selected on a very informal basis. I can only speak with authority about the Canadian side. I was asked, for example, to become the Head of the Canadian Group and the Deputy Chairman for North America after I left the Cabinet. I do not think Jean-Luc Pepin, my predecessor, was ever the Deputy Chairman for North America, but he was effectively the Head of the Canadian Group until he accepted a government appointment. I have forgotten exactly what position he took at that time, but he made himself ineligible by accepting a position with the Government of Canada. My selection, for example, came about simply as a result of a discussion amongst the Canadian members of The Trilateral Commission who existed then. They said, "It looks as if Mitchell Sharp would be a logical

bout de papier: The Trilateral Commission is a non-governmental policy oriented discussion group composed of distinguished citizens etc. drawn from a variety of backgrounds. Its purpose is to encourage mutual understanding and closer cooperation among Japan, Europe, and North America. What has prompted its creation?

Sharp: It was the circumstances that arose in the early 1970s when there were several very serious problems in relations amongst the industrialized countries. It was a time when people were very concerned that there might be major disruption in relationships, particularly on the economic side. The Trilateral Commission has always concentrated on

economic matters, but in the time that I was a member political questions, questions of security, and political relations have emerged as a necessary part of the studies of The Trilateral Commission.

bout de papier: There is a similar organization created by the Rothschild family called the Bilderberg.

Sharp: Bilderberg has been in existence much longer than The Trilateral Commission. I think I attended one Bilderberg session and was invited to others that I could not attend. One of the big differences between Bilderberg and The Trilateral is that people who attend the Bilderberg Conference are

person to head our Group, he was a former minister in the government, SSEA, he would be an ideal person now as a private citizen to be a member." At that time I was a Member of Parliament. There is no reason why a Member of Parliament should not be a member of The Trilateral Commission. The prohibition is only against members of government who are engaged in policy decisions. When I became Chairman, I decided we should change the membership, as there had been no change in the Canadian Group since it had been formed. The group who remained got together and tried to think of people who would give us a representation from business, academic life and, if possible, a trade union. Those were the three categories that we had in mind, apart from members of Parliament. We have always had on The Trilateral Commission two Members of the House of Commons representing the Liberal and the Progressive Conservative parties. For example, Raymond Garneau is a member now. We had John Fraser as a representative of the Progressive Conservatives. When he left the Cabinet he came back to The Trilateral Commission, but now, of course, he is the Speaker and cannot be a member of The Trilateral Commission. We have also had Senators — Michael Kirby and Duff Roblin are now members.

bout de papier: Why is it exclusively reserved for industrialized countries and why are Third World countries more or less excluded from these consultations?

Sharp: From time to time there have been discussions about the enlargement of The Trilateral Commission to include countries other than those in Western Europe, North America and Japan. We have difficulty, for example, in excluding Australia which can be counted as a Western industrialized country. We have also had questions raised about the exclusion of Third World countries. The conclusion we have come to is that we either adhere to the present structure — that is a Trilateral basis, or we turn the Commission into a miniature United Nations. We think we can be more useful if we limit our membership to the Trilateral areas.

bout de papier: How does The Trilateral Commission function?

Sharp: When I became Deputy Chairman for North America, annual meetings of The Trilateral Commission were held every nine months. For financial reasons we have had to limit our annual meetings to once a year. We hold those meetings in the Trilateral area, moving around the three areas annually. One year the annual meeting would be held

in the United States, the next year in Japan, the next year in Europe and so on going around a circle.

bout de papier: Never Canada?

Sharp: Yes, one meeting had been held in Canada, and I hope that it will be possible to have another one. However, we have to recognize that the demands which arise from the organization of a Trilateral Commission meeting are very large and we would have to have the support of the Canadian Government, particularly its financial support in order to put such a meeting on our schedule. Moreover, most of the members of The Trilateral Commission would prefer to have the North American meeting either in Washington or in some other very big centre of the United States. Naturally, the interest of The Trilateral Commission is greater with respect to activities in the United States than in Canada.

bout de papier: As former Deputy Chairman for North America, what did your duties include exactly?

Sharp: I am told that it was the European idea that the Deputy Chairman for North America should be a Canadian. Europeans in particular wanted to make it clear that North America was not synonymous with the United States of America, and they wanted to give Canada representation at the top of the Commission. When meetings of the Chairmen of The Trilateral Commission are held, and they are held quite frequently, the Deputy Chairmen are included. There is one area that recently has not had a Vice-Chairman and that has been the Japanese. I am not quite sure of the reason for that but certainly in Europe and North America there has always been a Deputy Chairman. In Europe, since there are many countries involved, the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman came from different countries. The head of the European section of The Trilateral Commission is a Frenchman, and the Deputy Chairman is an Italian. Both are distinguished former diplomats. The meetings revolve around two processes. The main one is the preparation of studies and papers which are written by distinguished authors from each area. Reports of task force papers have three authors, a European, a North American, and a Japanese. One is the principal author. Those papers are prepared and are discussed at annual meetings of The Trilateral Commission. They are distributed in draft form at that time, including distribution to the press. After the meetings are over the authors have an opportunity of reconsidering their papers in the light of the discussion. However, the papers themselves

are the responsibility of the authors and not of The Trilateral Commission. There are three features at the annual meetings. First, there is a discussion of the conditions that prevail in the host area, led by distinguished people like members of the government, journalists, and academics. They present their version of developments in the area of the host country. That is an unalterable feature of each annual meeting. Second, there is a discussion of task force reports. In addition, a subject is selected on which a paper is not prepared, but three persons are asked from each of the areas to lead the discussion on that subject.

Since there are over three hundred members of The Trilateral Commission and attendance at meetings will range from 150 to 200, the organization of the discussions becomes very important. It is impossible for everyone to have an opportunity to speak. In the Canadian Group there might be as many as ten attending. The Group decides whether Canada wants to have an input on particular subjects, and who should speak for the Canadian Group. That person speaks in his own capacity. Occasionally, we have a Canadian paper prepared and distributed which sets out what might be termed the collective views of the members on some particular subject.

While the papers are prepared by a group of Trilateral authors, they very often deal with subjects of much wider scope than the Trilateral countries themselves. We have recognized in recent years how important the relationship is between The Trilateral Commission countries and the Third World. Some of the best papers on relations between the Third World and the Trilateral world have been presented at the meetings of The Trilateral Commission. At this coming meeting, for example, in San Francisco, there will be a paper on Third World debt. While The Trilateral Commission only comprises the countries that are industrialized, our discussion goes far beyond that. It includes world problems because we do recognize that the Trilateral countries are very much bound up with what develops in the Third World and elsewhere. The Trilateral Commission has organized trips to China, and would like to have a meeting in the Soviet Union.

The Trilateral Commission has a reputation for being extremely influential, a reputation that has been used to criticize it as being an organization with undue influence on the decisions of governments. President Carter and a large number of his cabinet had been members of The Trilateral Commission, and a myth arose that somehow The Trilateral Commission had been instrumental in getting its membership into the government of the United States. In fact, it

works the other way. The Trilateral Commission is very careful in the selection of its members, and is only interested in getting influential people, people who know a lot and could make a contribution to the discussion. It is quite natural that, from time to time, governments should come to the same conclusion and ask the same people to serve. For example, the present Foreign Minister of Japan is a very distinguished former member of The Trilateral Commission. The Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Bush, was also a member. The Trilateral Commission asked them to serve for the same reasons as government asked them to serve — they are competent and knowledgeable people.

A myth arose that somehow The Trilateral Commission had been instrumental in getting its membership into the government of the United States.

bout de papier: But in a certain way, policies developed by governments may reflect views of some members of the government that have participated in The Trilateral Commission. For example, China.

Sharp: Yes, if The Trilateral Commission had not existed, those people would still have served the government. I think President Carter's case is a very interesting one. President Carter was Governor of Georgia. What The Trilateral Commission gave him was the opportunity of meeting people he would otherwise never have met, so that his membership widened his horizons.

You ask whether The Trilateral Commission has had an effect upon the policies of China. It is interesting that just before the opening of the Chinese economy to competition, members of The Trilateral Commission had gone to China and had had some discussions, including members of the government. My impression is, however, that it was more coincidental than influential. Nevertheless, I should have thought that the leaders in China today are acquainted with what is going on around the world, and The Trilateral Commission is an extremely knowledgeable group. Its papers are amongst the best produced in the world today. This is not surprising because we get the foremost authorities in the world to write them. They write them without any interference from The Trilateral Commission.

bout de papier: The papers are of extremely good quality. What impresses me is the foresight and the impact these discussions have. For example, at Tokyo there were discussions about the American economy and the need to reduce the budget and the need for Japan to open up its market. Some of these recommendations are taking effect in Japan, for example, where the Japanese are opening their economy.

Sharp: One of the greatest accomplishments of The Trilateral Commission was to give the Japanese a feeling of equality. This was the first international organization that put the Japanese on an equal footing with the North Americans and the Europeans. Other organizations, like the Atlantic Assembly, invited Japan to join as a sort of a favour. Bilderberg was that kind of organization, but The Trilateral Commission was the first to give Japan equality of status. At the beginning of their membership of The Trilateral Commission the Japanese said very little, and what they said they put down in writing in order to avoid making mistakes. Nowadays, the Japanese participate in the discussion and take up (I calculated at one annual meeting) a third of the time, which I thought was quite appropriate. This is a great change. I think it is one of the great accomplishments of The Trilateral Commission.

One of greatest accomplishments of The Trilateral Commission was to give the Japanese a feeling of equality.

The influence of The Trilateral Commission lies in the quality of the papers and our discussions. I look at the Canadian Group. Apart from leading businessmen, some of them are former ministers like myself. Others, like Duff Roblin, former Premier of Manitoba, and Michael Kirby, who played a prominent part when he was in the Prime Minister's Office, are the kind of people that we try to get in The Trilateral Commission. It is bound, in that sense, to have an influence but it is not an influence driven by the self-interest of the corporations that are represented. The allegation that is sometimes made is that this is an instrument of the international corporations. I have never seen any evidence of that. I do see evidence of the influence of some very good minds at work. Have a look at the membership of the American side, including Kissinger, Vance, and Brzezinski. These are people whose views cannot be ignored.

bout de papier: Some of Zbigniew Brzezinski's findings are more or less similar to what has been said at The Trilateral Commission. He mentioned in a book the necessity for Trilateral cooperation. I have the impression that much of his intellectual talk has been reflected in the common denominator of what has been said at the Trilateral discussions.

Sharp: Not always. Zbig Brzezinski spoke in Madrid at our meetings and gave an extremely powerful and interesting presentation, but it was not one that reflected everyone's views. I think we all had some reservations about what he was saying, but Zbig Brzezinski has a powerful intellect and is bound to have an effect. We can say the same thing about Henry Kissinger. We might disagree with him, but we cannot ignore him. Kissinger has, I am sure, influenced the thinking of many people including myself. We cannot come in contact with a man like that without being influenced by him. There is a great difference between saying that and saying he determines the policy of The Trilateral Commission, which is not so.

bout de papier: What is it that the Japanese do, in reaction to the pressures they get from The Trilateral Commission and elsewhere, to open up their markets and be more flexible?

Sharp: You could also ask the same question as to how far The Trilateral Commission and its reports have influenced the thinking of the United States government, because there has been a constant pressure through these reports upon the United States to follow policies that are as much in favor of freer trade as possible. It has not prevented the emergence of very strong protectionist sentiments in the United States or in Europe. I am sure that if you looked at all the reports recently published by The Trilateral Commission on agricultural policy, particularly the last one, you would find an indictment of the Common Agricultural Policy of the EEC, in so far as it affects trade in grains and so on, to the detriment of Canada and other producers. I do not really think that it could be said that The Trilateral Commission has particularly selected Japan. It has, however, reflected the views of most people of the world that it would be a great assistance to the prosperity of the Trilateral countries and of the world generally if Japan were to open up its markets. There is resistance to that in Japan just as there is resistance to the recommendations relating to United States grain policy or European economic policy generally.

One of the reasons that The Trilateral Commission was formed was because of the

friction between Europe and Japan and the United States and Japan. Japan has been at the centre of the problem of promoting good relations amongst the industrialized countries of the world. It is natural that there would have been a good deal of concentration on that country.

bout de papier: At the last Trilateral Commission in Madrid last May there was condemnation of Reaganism. What is The Trilateral Commission's view in relation to security in East/West relations in comparison to the American attitude in those matters, especially after the Reykjavik Summit?

Sharp: The Trilateral Commission as such has no policy. Certainly its members would object if an attempt were made to lay down any policy, particularly in security matters. I think it is true to say, however, that the membership of The Trilateral Commission in the United States, particularly, and to some extent in Europe, has had reservations about foreign policy during the Reagan presidency. After all, The Trilateral Commission does not include any members of the United States government. It includes those who had been members of the United States government who are now on the outside, so you get the views of those who are on the outside rather than those who are on the inside. This gives an impression of being critical. You get that sort of bias, although great care is taken to give the members of governments an opportunity of coming before The Trilateral Commission and speaking. We always ensure that at our meetings we do have spokesmen for governments. I recall introducing the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada to The Trilateral Commission when the meeting was held in North America, and at the next meeting in San Francisco I expect that the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada will be one of the speakers.

bout de papier: Do you think one day you will have Russian participants, informal or not?

Sharp: I would not be surprised if a representative of the Soviet Union were asked at some time to speak. I do not expect that the Soviet Union will be asked to join The Trilateral Commission. It would be quite in keeping with the tradition of The Trilateral Commission to ask an official of the Soviet Government to address the Commission, but these kinds of questions have to be approached very carefully. We did have a Chinese come and speak to us and that was appropriate for a meeting in Japan, and perhaps at the next meeting in Europe, rela-

tions will have improved to the point that it would be possible to have more direct contacts between the Commission and the Soviet Union. Over the last few years, we have come back time and again to the question: should we organize a visit by the Commission to the Soviet Union, but one thing after another happened, including Afghanistan.

bout de papier: Do you think the Soviet Union perceives The Trilateral Commission as being a group of capitalist corporations?

Sharp: Yes, except that it is very difficult to put down as great capitalists some of the members of The Trilateral Commission. For example, on the United States side the heads of the great trade unions of the United States are members of The Trilateral Commission and they take a prominent part in the discussions. We have never in Canada been able to persuade the CLC to join with us in having a representative. We have had the former head of the organization of government employees as a member, but we were never able to persuade the CLC that they should join their American counterparts and participate. We would like very much to have them.

bout de papier: Who decides on which subjects will be discussed?

Sharp: This is the function of the Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen who meet from time to time. They have before them, prepared by the secretariat of the organization, a list of possible subjects. These are discussed and a selection made. As soon as the decision is made as to what subjects would seem to be the most appropriate to have on the program, then the secretariat begins to look for authors.

bout de papier: Something to do with the current events?

Sharp: Yes, that is right. Take the paper that was prepared on agriculture. It was quite clear to us at the time it was selected that this was going to be one of the big issues, and so it has turned out.

bout de papier: One very interesting report I have seen is *Democracy Must Work* written by Brzezinski, David Owen, and Mr. Okita. I remember having read years ago the *Crisis of Democracy* which was slightly different in its approach. The first one was saying democracy has the roots of its own destruction, and we should be more strict. The recent one was very concerned about the dangers and the threat to the vitality of democracy. First of all we have social problems, there is a baby boom that we did not think about, there is technological change, unemployment, and it

is the end of the welfare state. The report suggested that people learn more technical skills, that they forget about the welfare state and that they think about their own pensions. What is your projection for the future as things are developing?

Sharp: My own view is that it was a very timely paper. It cannot be denied that these are the problems with which democracy is now grappling. When I look back on my own experience at the time that I entered politics in 1962, the situation was very different. The general state of finances, for example, in the world generally was balanced budgets. We had a balanced budget, the Americans had a balanced budget, the European countries had a balanced budget and so did Japan. We were extending social security. We had a feeling that there ought to be a security net which would prevent people from falling into the poverty of the pre-war years and of the depression. Everything was optimistic in the sense that we had shown that we could recover from the war. There was a steady expansion in output throughout the world. It was the period of the greatest prosperity in the history of the world. Everything seemed possible.

Now the whole situation is changed. Nearly all countries are struggling with budgetary deficits. Social security programs are being questioned, the population is growing older, all these problems which do produce an altogether different situation from that which existed when I entered politics. When I think about the problems that lie ahead, I ask how are we going to handle the evolution of the social structure — the fact that women are going to become part of the working force in a way that I did not contemplate when I first entered politics, what is going to be done to help to look after the children resulting from that sort of change, what are we going to do about the mounting costs of medical care for old people? All of these problems have been forecast in this paper.

bout de papier: Have there been any useful solutions brought up at these meetings?

Sharp: I think the solution to these things have to be subject to experiment. I do not think there are any specific answers. We just have to adapt ourselves to the changed circumstances. We have never encountered anything like this in the history of democracy. It is, in a sense, a kind of a crisis of democracy. We see it in our own society: how governments have to try to deal with problems and at the same time try to get their fiscal affairs in order.

bout de papier: By concentrating on East/West relations, trade and security, etc.

is The Trilateral Commission not forgetting or neglecting those forces in some areas of the world, not necessarily the Third World, which are out of the control of the super powers, or is it being addressed at those meetings?

Sharp: We have had very good discussions of the Middle East with very distinguished participants. As I recall, Garret FitzGerald who until recently was Prime Minister of Ireland, led a task force on the Middle East problems. I do not think The Trilateral Commission has neglected those problems. We spend most of our time talking about world problems rather than the relations amongst the industrialized countries because it is clear we are affected by those kind of events. The Trilateral Commission originally concentrated its efforts on economic questions. It was only when security questions became so important that we began to include them. Even disarmament comes up now for discussion because it obviously has such wide economic implications. When you look at the problems that affect the world today, the expenditure on armaments is one of the major obstacles to improvement in the standard of living of peoples of the world. Not only is it expenditure by the super powers, but expenditure on defence by countries that have very low standards of living. I can recall when I was the Foreign Minister, people coming to me saying: you ought to stop spending money on defence and devote the savings to help the countries of the Third World. I said very well then, perhaps we ought to have a new rule that we give help only to countries that do not spend on defence. That usually ended the discussion. Expenditures on armaments is not a problem that exists only in East/West relations.

bout de papier: In relation to the discussions you have had, are you optimistic about what is going to happen in the next twenty years?

Sharp: In the Trilateral Commission there does not seem to be much fear of a war between the Soviet Union and the United States — between East and West in that sense. But there has been continuing concern about the possibility of conflicts arising elsewhere and spreading. On the trade side of international relations, there have been two parallel and somewhat conflicting developments. First, there has been over the whole of the post-war period a gradual freeing of commerce. The GATT has been very effective in reducing barriers to trade, resulting in dramatic changes in the structure of the world economy. Before the war, countries were vying with one another to put on tariffs, etc. Since the end of the Second World War

most of these barriers have been removed. What is also evident, however, and this is at the root of the problem that we are facing, is a tendency to manage trade. All governments are increasingly interested in managing trade. There is a tendency for governments to say 'yes' we have got to remove barriers to trade, but we must not allow trade to disrupt our economy. We can see evidence everywhere, even in relations between Canada and the United States, of governments trying to manage the trade — in softwood lumber, in automobiles, textiles and steel. We are passing through an extremely difficult period and I do not think you can characterize it by saying it is a period when trade is being liberalized. It is in a sense being liberalized, but it is also being managed to an extent that we have never before seen. We no longer depend upon tariffs and things like that. We now have understandings and quotas and such like.

bout de papier: What about Canada/U.S. Relations? You spoke on this subject in 1984.

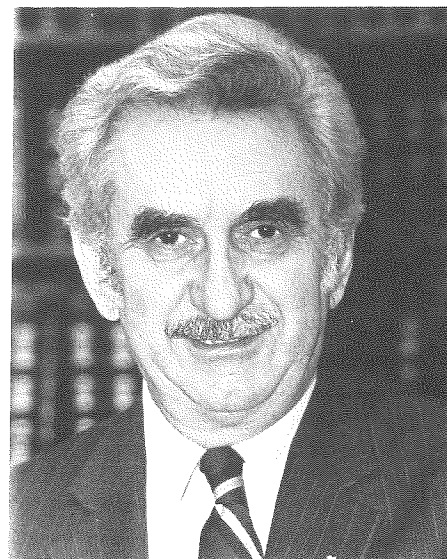
Sharp: The Trilateral Commission has not devoted much effort or time to relations between Canada and the United States. You mention the meeting in 1984 at which I gave a speech on this matter. That was one of the few occasions when Canadian/American relations have been prominent in the discussions. Canada is sometimes ignored in these discussions because North America often become synonymous with the United States of America. When I was leading the Canadian Group, I pointed out that Canadian interests and points of view had not been given sufficient attention.

bout de papier: Is it because we are not taken seriously?

Sharp: No, it is that we are not as influential as we would like to be. It is much more important to know what the United States thinks than what Canada thinks. From time to time I have had to intervene and remind the members of the Commission that North America includes Canada. For example, there has not been up until now any discussion of the trade negotiations that are now going on between Canada and the United States. I expect that at the forthcoming meeting in San Francisco there probably will be some interventions by Canadians if that subject is not raised elsewhere. Perhaps I ought also to say that while The Trilateral Commission is not primarily concerned with matters that concern Canada, except in the most general sense, it is absolutely essential that Canada be represented in The Trilateral Commission. From time to time there had been a feeling amongst the Canadian mem-

bers of The Trilateral Commission that the Commission should come to an end, having fulfilled its purpose. That view was held at one time some years ago by a majority of the Canadian Group. It was decided by the membership at large that The Trilateral Commission mandate should be renewed for another three years, however, the Canadians were anxious to be there because we cannot afford to be absent.

bout de papier: Mr. Sharp, thank you very much.



bout de papier : Monsieur Pépin, quand et pour combien de temps avez-vous été membre de la Commission trilatérale, et comment avez-vous été amené à y adhérer?

Pépin : Quand? En 1972. Je me le rappelle très facilement, car c'était tout de suite après ma défaite électorale dans Drummond-Athabaska! J'étais libre, politiquement parlant. On suggéra mon nom pour représenter le Canada à la Commission. L'initiative vint soit de monsieur Ed Ritchie, du Ministère des Affaires extérieures, ou de monsieur John Holmes, de l'Institut canadien des Affaires internationales ou des deux! Monsieur Smith, ex-négociateur des États-Unis pour Salt-I, qui avait été chargé par David Rockefeller de structurer la Commission m'approcha. Je contribuai au choix des autres membres canadiens. J'y suis resté jusqu'en 1975, alors que je devenais président de la Commission anti-inflation. Voilà pour la chronologie!

bout de papier : Lorsque vous y avez adhéré, quelle était votre perception du rôle de la Commission trilatérale? À ce jour, quel impact, quelle valeur celle-ci a-t-elle d'après vous?

Pépin : Il me semblait alors, il me semble encore, que la Commission poursuivait

essentiellement trois buts :

- a) Elle voulait surtout établir des relations entre hommes politiques par-delà les gouvernements. Les relations inter-gouvernementales officielles sont trop assujetties, on en convient facilement, aux intérêts « nationaux » immédiats, souvent assez égoïstes. Des objectifs plus larges, plus généreux, à plus long terme doivent être recherchés. La Commission allait grouper des leaders non gouvernementaux, les amener à se connaître, à étudier ensemble des moyens de contribuer à la solution des problèmes des trois régions du monde en cause et à se faire les propagandistes de ces moyens.
- b) Il me semblait aussi, je ne me rappelle pas l'avoir entendu dire si clairement, que la Commission devait faciliter l'entrée des Japonais dans le circuit des communications internationales privées (c'est-à-dire non-gouvernementales) dont ils étaient encore relativement isolés pour des raisons d'histoire, de culture et de langue. Il s'agissait de les aider à circuler plus facilement dans ce milieu en leur offrant un cadre informel qui leur permit de se démarquer à l'occasion de la position de leur gouvernement ou de l'expliquer s'ils la partageaient.

La Commission était aussi une entreprise d'emménagement de matière grise!

- c) Indirectement, la Commission était aussi une entreprise d'emménagement de matière grise! Le personnel politique vient et part au hasard des événements...et des élections. Comment faire meilleur usage de l'expérience acquise? La Commission voulait donner un exemple de la façon d'y arriver. J'ai, pour ma part, qualifié la Commission de « gouvernement en exil » en ce sens que souvent ceux et celles qui avaient été battus aux plus récentes élections venaient y remplacer ceux et celles qui avaient été élus, les premiers ne refusant pas d'ailleurs de revenir en scène plus tard. J'en ai été! La Commission contribuait à les garder en forme! Les Américains en ont profité. Le président Carter, qui voulait « renouveler le personnel politique » de son pays, ne trouva rien de mieux que de recruter deux douzaines d'anciens membres démocrates de la Commission trilatérale lesquels furent remplacés m'a-t-on assuré par des Républicains. Les Japonais savaient déjà

eux utiliser leurs vétérans. Voyez comment leurs fameuses maisons de commerce (shoshas) recyclent les ex-ambassadeurs, les admettent dans leurs conseils, les chargeant de missions commerciales dans les pays où ils étaient autrefois accrédités.

La Commission a fort convenablement réussi sous chacun de ces trois titres, me semble-t-il. Voilà pour le bilan!

bout de papier : D'après vous, quel intérêt recherchait exactement son fondateur, monsieur Rockefeller? On a parlé souvent de « concertation entre élites transnationales », mais encore...?

Pépin : Composer l'intérêt public et l'intérêt privé, pas nécessairement, ni exclusivement le sien et celui de sa banque. « La concertation entre élites transnationales », comme vous dites, en était déjà par ses propres moyens. Il a senti le besoin d'institutionnaliser une pratique restreinte. Il a fait preuve d'intelligence et de générosité; un rôle en or pour une personne riche!

bout de papier : Les compte-rendus des sessions annuelles de la Commission paraissent préoccupés d'une part, du déficit américain et d'autre part de l'impératif pour le monde occidental d'une plus grande ouverture du Japon et de ses marchés. Comment arrête-t-on les sujets de préoccupation?

Pépin : D'une façon très normale, en faisant écho aux problèmes que connaît le monde à tel ou tel moment. Le commerce international en était un et dans des termes pas complètement différents de ceux d'aujourd'hui.

La plus grande ouverture du Japon n'est pas arrivée. Le Japon accumule encore du surplus à la balance commerciale, avec les États-Unis, avec l'Europe, avec le Canada même. Il continue à annoncer des « libérations », pour l'an prochain. Si j'additionne toutes les réductions de tarifs annoncées depuis 20 ans, j'en suis rendu à moins 38%! Cette situation est très dangereuse.

Jean-Luc Pépin aime à exprimer son « obsession » pour l'utilisation de ce qu'il nomme les « restes », ces hommes publics retirés de la vie politique, et du monde des affaires, des « jeunes vieillards » à la retraite, qui peuvent encore jouer un rôle important en partageant leur expérience :

« Je connais certains ex-ambassadeurs très valables qui ont été relégués aux oubliettes alors que leur savoir aurait pu être un atout précieux pour nos firmes ou nos universités ».

Les universités, elles devraient sauter sur ces gens qui représentent une source d'information et d'expérience unique, des « modèles » différents de la normale, à offrir aux étudiants.

Cela se fait exceptionnellement.

« Ne pensez pas que je parle d'un problème personnel. Je trouve beaucoup pour m'occuper à l'Université d'Ottawa et à l'Institut de recherches politiques. Le problème auquel je fais allusion est largement social et économique. Il s'agit de l'utilisation optimale de nos ressources humaines dans une conjonction de vieillissement démographique; il s'agit de productivité de concurrence internationale, de prospérité collective canadienne ».

Les membres canadiens de la Commission trilatérale

La Commission compte parmi ses membres des personnalités bien connues comme Zbigniew Brzezinski, ex-conseiller du Président Carter pour les Affaires de sécurité nationale, Henry Kissinger, Giovanni Agnelli, PDG de Fiat, Raymond Barre, David Owen pour n'en citer que quelques uns.

Voici, par contre, la liste des Canadiens qui en étaient membres au 15 mars 1986 :

Michel Bélanger, PDG de la Banque Nationale du Canada

Gail C.A. Cook, Vice-président Exécutif, Bennecon Ltd., Toronto

David M. Culver, PDG, Alcan Aluminum Ltd.

Peter C. Dobell, Directeur, Centre parlementaire pour les Affaires étrangères et le Commerce extérieur

Claude A. Edwards, ancien président de la Commission de la Fonction publique

Raymond Garneau, député, ancien ministre des Finances du Québec

Robert Gratton, PDG, Montreal Trust

Michael J.L. Kirby, Sénateur

James A. McGrath, député, ancien Ministre des Pêcheries

Lowell Murray, Sénateur

G.A. Van Wielingen, PDG, Sulpetro Limited

J.H. Warren, Conseiller en Commerce, auprès du Gouvernement du Québec

La Chambre africaine de commerce et d'industrie du Canada

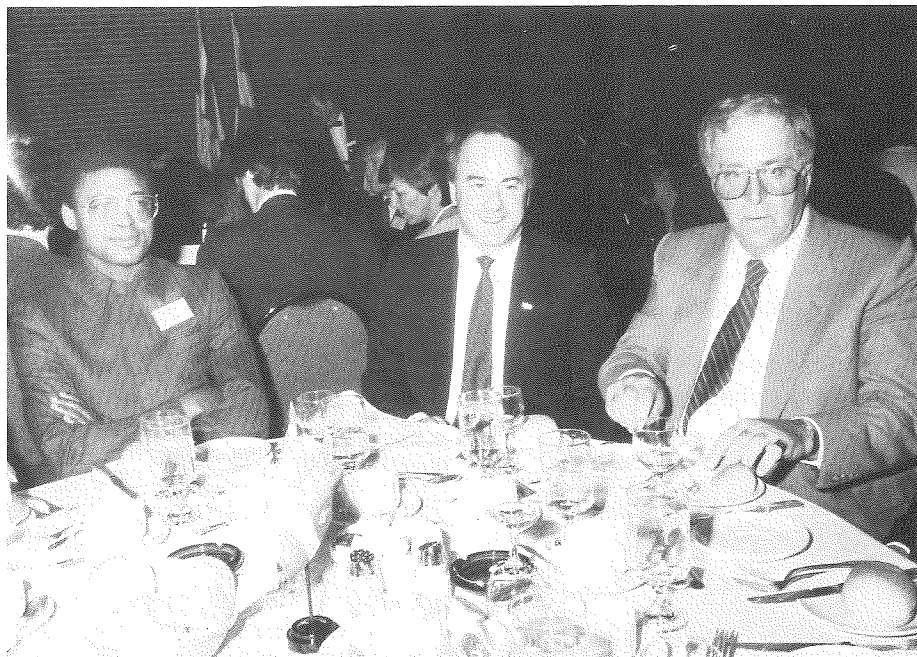
par T.F. Kangudi

En Afrique il y a un vieil adage qui dit «Si tu vas à l'étranger et si là-bas, tout le monde marche tout croche, ne pose pas trop de questions, marche tout croche». Au colloque de Yamoussoukro (Côte d'Ivoire) du 28 au 31 janvier 1986, sur le thème «*L'Afrique et le management*» organisé par la Conférence permanente des compagnies consulaires africaines et françaises, les Français redécouvraient que l'Afrique n'est pas l'Europe et qu'elle s'en distingue infiniment plus que le Japon ou l'Amérique latine. Cela paraît franchement surprenant qu'après tant de temps passé en Afrique, les Français se rendent compte enfin «qu'il convient de considérer d'abord les problèmes qui intéressent l'Afrique et non de continuer à raisonner comme si les objectifs de l'Occident avaient une valeur universelle».

Lors des récentes calamités qui ont frappé l'Afrique, l'Occident a répondu spontanément, généreusement, avec les céréales mais pas toujours en offrant la houe. L'Afrique est reconnaissante mais elle sera fière de l'Occident si l'aide apportée est de type de «l'aide pour en finir avec l'aide», comme disait M. Idé Oumarou, Secrétaire général de l'OUA. «L'entreprise africaine est l'un des lieux essentiels où se gagnera la bataille du développement de l'Afrique» reconnaissait M. Christian Nucci, ex-ministre français de la Coopération.

L'entreprise privée africaine existe. Des études effectuées pour le compte de la SFI par des consultants privés sur le potentiel et les besoins du secteur privé en Afrique ont révélé qu'il existe en Afrique, plus que l'on ne le croit, de nombreuses entreprises susceptibles de bénéficier d'un financement international pour des projets d'investissement productifs de l'ordre de \$0,5 à \$5,0 millions (on estime qu'au Canada, cette catégorie d'entreprise a créé plus de 70 pour cent de nouveaux emplois au cours des dix dernières années). Ces études ont porté sur le Botswana, le Cameroun, la Côte d'Ivoire, le Kenya, le Mali, le Nigéria, le Sénégal, le Togo, le Zaïre, la Zambie, le Zimbabwe et sur d'autres pays.

Malgré des conditions économiques passablement difficiles en Afrique, les échanges commerciaux canado-africains ont atteint l'année dernière un niveau record, de l'ordre de \$2,8 milliards en 1985, soit une augmentation de 10 pour cent comparativement à l'année 1984.



Les exportations de biens canadiens ont atteint \$1,5 milliard et les exportations de services environ \$250 millions. Compte tenu des besoins du continent africain et des similarités des secteurs primaires du Canada et de nombreux pays africains, il existe pour les Canadiens un important marché en Afrique (environ 500 millions d'habitants).

Le potentiel du marché africain et l'intérêt pour les Canadiens existent, ce qui a manqué c'était un pont entre l'entreprise privée canadienne et africaine, les occasions de se rencontrer et de se connaître. Bien sûr on trouve en Afrique des entreprises canadiennes qui y font de très bonnes affaires, mais la plupart d'entre elles y sont parvenues très souvent grâce aux projets de développement financés par l'ACDI. Pour éviter de se retrouver, dans cent ans, au point où se trouvent aujourd'hui les Français, il faut que désormais l'Africain connaisse la route qui mène au Canada et que le Canadien sache aller à Abidjan ou à Kinshasa sans nul besoin de passer ni par Paris ni par Bruxelles. Voilà le motif qui a conduit à la création de la Chambre africaine de commerce et d'industrie du Canada (CACIC).

La Chambre africaine de commerce et d'industrie du Canada est une association à but non lucratif et totalement autonome. Incorporée sous charte fédérale canadienne en novembre 1983, la CACIC a été créée pour promouvoir le commerce entre le

Canada et les pays africains membres actifs ou éligibles de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA) et pour promouvoir le partenariat entre les entreprises canadiennes et africaines. Elle croit à la nécessité (a) pour le Canada, de développer des liens économiques plus étroits avec les pays africains comme partenaires commerciaux de l'avenir, (b) et pour les pays africains, le désir et la volonté d'accroître et de diversifier leurs relations internationales en ce qui concerne leur développement commercial et industriel. Elle croit profondément au rôle que peut jouer l'entreprise privée canadienne africaine pour y parvenir.

Buts et objectifs de la CACIC

La CACIC a été mis sur pied dans le but : (a) de mettre l'accent et d'attirer l'attention canadienne sur le potentiel commercial de l'Afrique, (b) d'attirer l'attention africaine sur le Canada qui est en voie de devenir un partenaire important de l'Afrique, (c) d'œuvrer à la promotion du commerce entre le Canada et cette région, (d) de promouvoir ou de provoquer des contacts directs entre les entreprises canadiennes et africaines, d'en susciter l'intérêt et l'amitié entre leurs dirigeants, (e) d'élaborer des stratégies appropriées pour y parvenir et d'œuvrer en vue d'amener les gouvernements à les partager, (f) de se tenir à la disposition des entreprises,



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des chambres syndicales et des gouvernements pour consultation, coopération, ou pour les représenter. Peut devenir membre de la CACIC, à titre individuel ou corporatif, toute personne domiciliée ou toute entreprise ayant son siège social au Canada, en Afrique ou ailleurs dans le monde, parrainée par deux membres et qui souscrit à ses buts et objectifs.

La CACIC propose de nombreuses activités qui en font le réseau de contacts privilégiés et un cadre approprié pour les gens d'affaires qui s'intéressent au marché Canada-Afrique. Son programme d'activités est appelé à s'adapter aux nouvelles circonstances et aux besoins de ses membres.

Un autre vieil adage africain dit «Tu m'as donné la dot pour me marier, ton rôle d'ainé de famille le veut ainsi, et merci! Mais maintenant, les enfants c'est ma job.» L'ACDI et les gouvernements ont fait ce qu'ils devaient faire, l'énorme estime qu'ont les Africains à l'endroit des Canadiens est le fruit de leurs politiques humaines, bonnes actions et justes prises de position. Aujourd'hui, l'entreprise privée veut jouer un rôle plus grand, et, il faut le souligner, complémentaire.

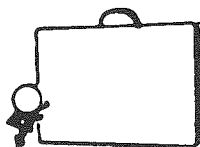
Le bilan des activités en 1986 est assez éloquent et témoigne de la vigueur de la CACIC mais aussi de la valeur des services qu'elle peut rendre tant aux gouvernements

qu'à l'entreprise privée. Cette toute jeune Chambre est maintenant considérée par plusieurs comme l'une des plus actives parmi les Chambres de commerce et d'industrie de type Nord/Sud au Canada. Son action cette année a été de consolider ses assises canadiennes; l'année prochaine, elle procédera à son action sur le continent africain.

En cette année de la francophonie, la CACIC organisera plusieurs manifestations à l'intention des milieux d'affaires tant au Canada qu'en Afrique. Elle préparera en collaboration avec Difcom, filiale du «groupe Jeune Afrique», un cahier spécial qu sera intitulé «Canada-Québec, hôtes du sommet des la francophonie».

La CACIC compte organiser un colloque lors de la faire canadienne sur la technologie qui aura lieu au Cameroun au printemps 1987, sous les auspices de l'ACDI.

Elle organisera un super symposium, à Montréal, au début de l'été 1987, avec la participation de la Banque africaine de développement et des différents paliers de gouvernements canadiens et africains. À cette occasion, la CACIC se propose d'inviter plus d'entrepreneurs africains dans le but de leur faire rencontrer des éventuels partenaires canadiens, dans leur milieu au Canada. La deuxième partie du symposium devrait se tenir à Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), à l'automne 1987.



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The Six-Day War — A Cairo Memory

by Mukti Lok

That Monday — June 5, 1967 — started like many others. I awoke to bird song: the bulbuls burbling in their inconclusive fashion in the casuarinas, and the coo-coo-coo-COO of the rock doves from the slender young mango tree close to my bedroom window. The sun had just risen, but it wasn't yet hot, and I was comfortably aware of not having to get up to get the children off for school just yet. My two unailing luxuries in Egypt were that every single day one wakened to bird song, and every single day there were flowers in the garden.

My two unailing luxuries in Egypt were that every single day one wakened to bird song, and every single day there were flowers in the garden.

Speaking of gardens, just the day before there had been a big garden party at the home of Dr. Barlett, President of the American University of Cairo. Most of the University families were still about, but the crisis in the Straits of Tiran had caused the exodus of many embassy families (including Canadian), and those of various other organizations with representatives in Egypt. There were fewer children than usual for mine to play with, and a preponderance of men without their wives and children. People stood about in groups discussing the crisis, and we all intelligently concluded that with a hostile circle of Islamic countries around it the Israelis couldn't be so foolish as to start something, now could they?

In the previous weeks we had seen the cortege of army trucks moving troops from desert bases east of el Maadi, where many in the foreign community lived in a satellite villa-and-garden suburb some 10 kilometres south of Cairo. Our own home at that time was a modest villa in the adjoining area of Digla, a little east of el Maadi, close to the Cairo American College Kindergarten. Digla flanks the eastern desert which stretches from the Cairo area to the Red Sea, a strange lunar landscape with ridges of fossilized clam shells, small pockets of sand with unexpected colours — sky blue and chocolate, sulphur yellow and terra cotta — and not too far from Digla an area of large fossilized logs from a long-vanished forest.

The army trucks had not passed through Cairo unscathed. Poorly serviced, eight or ten of them were left derelict by the side of the Nile Corniche, the beautiful road running south from Cairo beside the Nile. The men in the trucks, semi-literate or illiterate peasants for the most part, were a cheerful bunch, but appeared as untrained as those who serviced the trucks.

My husband had been posted to the Near East Regional Offices of FAO in Cairo two years before, and the older two of our four children attended the French school of the Soeurs Franciscaines on the island of Zamalek in the Nile in mid-Cairo; the next was at the American College Kindergarten nearby, and the little one, just approaching her fourth birthday, was still at home with Mum.

Our villa had no telephone. I had become accustomed to using the phones of one or two hospitable American neighbours, but their houses were now firmly locked up. I still had access to the phone of a Danish friend married to an Egyptian, about a block away on the other side of Sharia as Sabba. Our car sat in the driveway under its dust cover. I had not obtained an International licence — perhaps just as well in a land where pedestrians trudge resolutely about with the sure knowledge that their people owned these roadways

since time immemorial, and that meant their donkeys and sheep or Nubian goat herds and occasional strings of camels as well.

The children were picked up around seven forty-five, this week by the chauffeur of the Pakistani Embassy — it was their turn — and my husband had flown on Saturday to Beirut to deliver a paper at the American University, and was expected back tomorrow.

At nine o'clock I heard Israeli jets scream across the sky and bombs explode about 10 miles northeast in Heliopolis. The airport. The international airport and the military airport were just across from each other. We had heard much shooting and shelling recently, so I switched on the radio, and the local announcer exclaimed that Cairo had been attacked by Israeli planes, and a similar attack launched in the Straits of Tiran.

I wondered where Fatma, my faithful maid, might be — she usually arrived around eight o'clock. I thought of my children in school, considered briefly going to pick them up, but knew my Danish neighbour was out and it was a mile to the taxi stand. I was pretty sure the Cairo traffic would be thoroughly snarled, for all civilian vehicles were required to stop during air raids. I could imagine that I might reach the school after they had been taken home.

There was no mail delivery. Fatma arrived only around 11, having been stuck in a bus for four hours. I was appalled. I gave her a cup of mint tea, and told her she must start back for home and not return until the war was finished. She looked remorseful, but I gave her a hug and we told each other we'd ask Allah's protection on each other.

The children arrived from school around one o'clock, bristling with indignation because theirs was the only mother who had failed to come to rescue her children (perhaps the Pakistan Ambassador's children didn't count). The Cairo American College had been closed earlier due to the evacuation of much of its student body and some of the teachers. I reassured the children that they had had their last day of school (general rejoicing) because, with recollections of World War II stories, quite possibly the bridges to the island would be bombed. They were impressed.

With their father away and the air raid sirens shrieking every so often, we grouped everybody's beds together in the large bedroom, so that if anyone should wake at night and need some comforting I'd be right there, and should a bomb fall we'd be together for better or worse. I also reassured them each time the raid sirens went off that it was the "all clear" this time.

There was strict blackout, so we used candles after the sun set, around 6:30, and kept the shutters closed. Friendly Egyptians had warned me not to let the children play away from home. Anti-American feeling was running high, and who can tell the difference between Canadians and Americans (except themselves)?

We listened to the radio, trying shortwave. It was eerie to sit by candlelight listening to an announcer hundreds of miles away recounting something that was happening almost on our doorstep. I wondered when and how my husband would be able to return.

Egyptian friends had also warned me to lock the gate, lock the house, not answer the door, never go out (neither I nor the children). This seemed to me too much like giving in to somebody else's fears. I had to get to the shops, about a mile way, in order to get food. I did so by requiring the three older children to remain indoors — the eldest was 12 — and took my bike with the youngest in her little seat behind me. The only incident was that once I was

spat at as an "Amerikani", to which I primly demurred: "Leh, Canada".

I went to bed at night shortly after the children so they would not be alone in the dark. When the sirens sounded (frequently enough that I suspected faulty wiring) one or other of the children would waken with a start. I wanted to avoid their being scarred by fears if I could help, and reasoning that the best way to banish fear is through laughter, set out to tickle their funny bones by singing foolish songs like "A Hundred and One Trombones", or "I Was Born About Ten Thousand Years Ago", or telling little jokes like the one of the chap who always dropped his boots on the floor one at a time at night, and one night dropped both together, causing his downstairs neighbour to sweat in anguished anticipation and finally yell out: "For Pete's sake drop your other boot!"

The best way to banish fear is through laughter, by singing foolish songs like "A Hundred and One Trombones", or "I Was Born About Ten Thousand Years Ago", or telling little jokes.

At the garden party an American friend whose family had been evacuated told me he was concerned for me and the children, and would make a point of coming each day to check up. I was touched. The following evening he dashed in breathlessly to say that the American University staff were ordered evacuated, and asked me to please be careful — sorry he couldn't stay. I told him I was quite calm, but thanks.

On Tuesday someone from the Canadian Embassy amazed me by coming by, asking that I phone the Embassy every day to check in to assure them I was all right. I thought: "He's a dear, but he's a goose; he knows I have no phone". But I was moved. It's at moments like that that Canadians appreciate their Embassy staff. He repeated his request, seriously. I laughed and said: "Tell you what — I'll put a notice around my neck saying 'if you happen to kill me please phone and let the Canadian Embassy know so they can wipe me off their worry list'. He wasn't amused and said he'd try to get out again to check. Despite my flippancy I was grateful. Canadians abroad tend to ignore their embassy except for crises and July 1st. Many of us affect to look down our respective noses at the "cocktails set", but in a pinch know we can count on them and suddenly the faceless government seems like home. I gathered from him that ours may well have been the only more or less intact Canadian family in Egypt at the time.

By Wednesday it was clear that the Egyptian army was hurrying to cross the canal with the Israelis in sharp pursuit.

At one point during an air raid my younger son, aged 6, burst out: "I just hate this war! Mummy, why do people make wars anyway?" I gave him a hug, thought a moment, putting aside the swift encapsulated history of the Middle East and replied instead: "Darling, war comes from people. People make war. Some people also make peace. The urge to make war, the wish to take from someone else and attack someone else is in most of us to some extent. When your big brother wants your things badly enough to grab them from you, or when you get angry and hit your little sister, that's what makes war. It's the anger and destruction in us, something we have to grow beyond, to grow up from. It doesn't take long to hit out, it takes more effort and more time to try to understand and keep our love steady. If we all try hard enough though, we can do it."

An Italian colleague from FAO stopped by to tell me that the UN had an evacuation plan, and did I wish myself and the children

to be listed as going. He would let me know the details when it was clarified. Again I was touched.

He asked if I had our passports. I searched but couldn't find them. He promised to enquire from my husband's secretary. Sure enough, they had been taken to the office for renewal of visas, so the next day they sent a car for me to come and get them. I took all the children with me for I was determined not to be separated from them. A Jordanian colleague of my husband's asked what I thought of the war. I spoke from my heart and said I see it only as a mother: many women's sons and brothers and husbands are being killed; fine, healthy bodies are being smashed; little children are losing their fathers. I feel only a terrible sadness that this should be so.

The Embassy meanwhile had let me know that should the passports not be available they would issue duplicates the same day. Bless them! Some of our taxes are well spent!

The following day I heard the UN evacuation plan. Take passports and as much spare money as you can muster, along with food and water for 24 hours. Go to the central rail station on Ramses, then by train to Alexandria, transfer to bus to go east past el Alamein and Mersa Matruh to Saloun at the Libyan border, where they hoped there would be a UN official to receive us and take us perhaps to Benghazi where they hoped a ship might be available to take us to Cyprus or maybe to Greece. It sounded frankly appalling. And the Libyans had been reported as over-turning and burning buses and cars. Nonetheless, not knowing what might lie ahead I indicated a wish to be included, with the proviso that we could cancel if the situation indicated. Other refugees had taken worse trips. But it was the vulnerability of the children that bothered me. I spoke of it lightly to the children, and said I could imagine our traipsing about for the next twenty years trying to find each other should we go. "Let's see, is this China? Will one of you kindly skin up the Great Wall and look about and see if you can spot Daddy anywhere — and perhaps someone else could scale that tall pagoda and have a look."

By the Friday evening I knew there was fighting on OUR side of the Canal, and reminded the children that the road past our house wandered right across the desert to Suez. Maybe there'd be Israelis in our garden by morning whistling 'Hatikvah'.

After the two little ones had been put to bed I took the elder two with me up to the flat roof to watch the rockets shooting up from Heliopolis — orange tracery against the black night sky. Suddenly there was shooting from the army base less than a mile away, and the roar in the dark unnerved them both. I hugged them tight, saying we would all stay together and be all right. It was probably the only war we would see. Exhausted by many night disturbances and by their fear, they were soon asleep. I took the occasion, an hour later, to pop over to my Danish friend, for I knew she was rather afraid. To my surprise, her husband was home, listening to his radio with tears on his cheeks. President Nasser had just offered his resignation in the face of the shattering defeat. The war was over.

Next morning the son of one of my husband's colleagues came by to check on our safety, and to ask if there was something he might do to help, promising to keep in touch regarding my husband's return as soon as there was news. I asked him if he would be kind enough to send brief cables to each of my sisters — one in Ottawa and the other in Tokyo — assuring them we were all right. He came by later to say that the Beirut party would be returning the following day by train, and that FAO would have a car and driver at the station to meet them.

My Danish friend said that afternoon: "You know, it's so strange. The sun is still shining and a war has been fought and lost and it's just as if it all happened only in our minds, for nothing here looks any different."

Press Release — February 20, 1987

PAFSO Protests Continuing Abuse of Diplomatic Assignments as Patronage Plums

In noting the appointment of Pierrette Lucas as Consul General to Boston, the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) protests, once again, the use of diplomatic assignments as a source of patronage.

The Lucas appointment is noteworthy on two counts. It marks the sixteenth occasion on which the Mulroney Government, during its two and a half years in office, has made political appointments to the Canadian Foreign Service. This is as many appointments as the Trudeau Government made during its sixteen years in office. As we have noted before, no other Government since Confederation has made as many political appointments to the Foreign Service during its first term of office. (Mackenzie King appointed the most, eighteen, but this was over a period of twenty-two years).

Second, Ms. Lucas is the only Head of Post to be given a similar assignment in the wake of the closure of seven Canadian posts last December as an austerity move. (As Consul General in Philadelphia, an appointment she had held since December 1985, her position had been declared redundant with the closing of Philadelphia). The rest of these Heads of post, unlike Ms. Lucas, were all career foreign service officers, and they have been recalled to Ottawa or reassigned to more junior positions than which they held.

These individuals have served Canada for an average of 20 years. They earned their appointments through demonstrated professionalism and suitability for the foreign service over many years. For foreign service officers an assignment is a vital step in a career to which they have dedicated their working lives and those of their families.

PAFSO believes it unfair and damaging to the high professional standards of the Canadian foreign service for these officers to be shunted aside to make room for persons whose main claim to appointment is political affiliation or friendship with those holding political power.

PAFSO acknowledges that there will be occasions when the government will want to draw upon individuals of outstanding ability and solid reputations for specific assignments of particular importance. The current number of amateur diplomats appointed to replace professionals in the career of their choice and training is unprecedented. Fully 20% of Mulroney diplomatic appointments have gone to non-careerists. Among our principal partners in the western alliance, only

the US makes more political nominations to diplomatic posts. This is a break with Canadian tradition. Until now, such appointments accounted for less than 5% of the total made during each parliament.

This situation undermines the merit principle which is fundamental to a non-partisan and effective foreign service. The merit principle, on which our public service is based, was adopted in 1919 to stop patronage and thus to improve the quality and efficiency of government services provided to the people. The Special Joint Parliamentary Committee on Canada's International Relations, which made its report last June, concluded that a "highly professional" career foreign service was a "valuable national asset, strengthening Canada's hand in international dealings."

We have written to the Prime Minister on various occasions reminding him of his promise, in a letter dated October 2nd, 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 believes this promise has been breached.

Over the years, Canada's foreign service has earned a reputation for excellence. 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. The national interest is not furthered by using foreign service assignments as a political reward. Canada's international reputation is most effectively enhanced by experienced and professional representation.

by Christine Manseau

Modifications à la Loi sur la pension de la Fonction publique

Un projet de réforme du Régime de la pension de la Fonction publique a été introduit à la Chambre à l'automne et sera étudié par un comité parlementaire avant son adoption.

Les amendements législatifs introduits à l'automne constituent la première phase d'une refonte en deux phases de la Loi sur la pension de la Fonction publique, qui pourvoit à la pension, et de la Loi sur les prestations de retraite supplémentaire, qui pourvoit à l'indexation des pensions au coût de la vie. Voici en quoi consiste la première phase.

1. La pleine indexation sera garantie à tous les pensionnés actuels et pour tout le service ouvrant droit à pension accumulé jusqu'alors. Le gouvernement prendra à son compte tout passif actuariel qui résulterait de cette garantie.

2. Pour le service accumulé après l'adoption de la loi, les augmentations reliées à l'inflation se limiteront à ce que permettront de payer les gains d'intérêt excédentaires sur la part des pensionnés dans le fonds de pension.

3. Les prestations du service postérieur à la loi seront financées uniquement par le moyen des cotisations à part égale versées par les employés et l'employeur et par le revenu d'intérêts du fonds.

4. Un Conseil de gestion des régimes de pension sera établi, formé de quatorze membres et d'un président indépendant, qui ne fera pas partie d'un régime de retraite. Sept membres seront tirés des rangs de la direction, six seront nommés par la section syndicale du Conseil national mixte et un sera nommé par les pensionnés de la Fonction publique. Le président sera choisi d'un commun accord du président du Conseil du Trésor et des quatorze membres du Conseil de gestion.

5. Le Conseil de gestion déterminera le niveau d'indexation qui sera payable pour le service postérieur à la loi en fonction du taux d'augmentation annuelle de l'Indice des prix à la consommation ou des sommes disponibles dans les fonds, le montant le moins élevé étant retenu.

6. Le revenu d'intérêts du fonds de pension sera fondé sur le rendement réalisé par dix des grands régimes de pension du secteur privé au Canada. Ces régimes seront choisis par le Conseil de gestion, lequel sera libre de modifier son choix d'année en année selon une formule qui reste à déterminer. On devrait ainsi obtenir un rendement égal ou supérieur au rendement réalisé par ces fonds de pension en moyenne.

7. L'objectif premier du Conseil de gestion sera de financer le régime par les gains d'intérêts et par la fixation des taux de cotisation de façon à obtenir une indexation des prestations égales à l'Indice des prix à la consommation.

8. La loi confiera au Conseil de gestion le soin de préparer, pendant la première phase, des recommandations à l'adresse du président du Conseil du Trésor visant une refonte des dispositions relatives aux régimes de pension et l'élargissement du rôle du Conseil de gestion. Ces recommandations, une fois adoptées par voie législative, constitueront la seconde phase de la réforme.

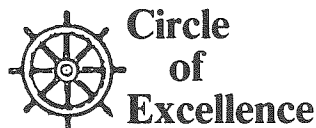
Ces propositions sont le fruit de consultations entre le président du Conseil du Trésor et le Comité consultatif de la pension de la Fonction publique.

Article préparé par J. Livingston, Association canadienne du contrôle du trafic aérien (traduction)

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Contract Negotiations

Jon Fried, PAFSO's negotiator, exchanged PAFSO's contract proposals with the Treasury Board negotiator. PAFSO's proposals range from pay demands to the inclusion of a grievance procedure in the Foreign Service collective agreement.

Foreign Service Directives

On account of a management proposal on the simplification of the FSD's, the input date for the 1988 review has been postponed to June 1, 1987. John Lobsinger and C. Manseau are currently finalizing PAFSO's proposals as well as exploring the options proposed by management in the context of the simplification exercise.

Dental Plan

The NJC Dental Care Plan covering PAFSO members as well as excluded employees and the management group was effective March 1, 1987. Dental Care booklets and enrolment forms are currently being distributed to all members of the Plan. Enrolment in the plan is compulsory unless your spouse has dental coverage elsewhere. Payroll deductions will probably start in May and claim forms should be available around that time as well. Any expenses incurred under the dental plan are claimable as of March 1,

1987; just ask your dentist to complete and sign a standard dental claim form which can be thereafter attached to the Dental Care Plan claim form. PAFSO's Executive Director has been appointed to the NJC Dental Care Plan's Board of Management and any inquiries can be addressed to her at the PAFSO office.

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Camp X: Canada's School for Secret Agents, 1941-45, by David Stafford. Lester & Orpen Dennys, 327 pp. \$22.95.

Reviewed by John Starnes

David Stafford has produced an interesting, scholarly and seemingly authoritative history of Camp X, a British training camp for saboteurs, spies and guerilla fighters, set up and operated by the British near Whitby, Ontario, between 1941 and 1946.

Happily, the author has done much more than reveal the story of Camp X, or Special Training School No. 103 as it was officially known. He has made a useful contribution to the history of the early development of co-operation in intelligence and security matters between the United States, Britain and Canada. It was a remarkable co-operative effort which has endured to this day, in some measure, at least, because of Camp X and Hydra, the wireless facility located within the camp, used for transmitting and receiving top secret intelligence material sent in high grade cypher between North America and Britain.

*Without the initial assistance
and continuing help of Norman
Robertson, Mike Pearson,
Tommy Stone, Arnold Heeney
and George Glazebrook,
Camp X and Hydra could not
have been born and flourished.*

The book will have a special interest for the Department of External Affairs since it reveals the key roles played by some of its members in the establishment of Camp X and Hydra. Indeed, it is clear that without the initial assistance and continuing help of Norman Robertson, Mike Pearson, Tommy Stone, Arnold Heeney and George Glazebrook, Camp X and Hydra could not have been born and flourished.

The author unearthed in London, Washington and Ottawa a good deal of hitherto unpublished material. He is to be congratulated for his perseverance, and for having arranged such a wealth of material in a more or less coherent and entertaining manner. The narrative does not always run smoothly, but it cannot have been easy for the author and the editors to know how best to present so much diverse material.

Stafford makes clear that unfortunately there is a good deal of additional documentation which remains inaccessible to historians and others. I find it difficult to believe there are many papers concerning World War II intelligence operations, the publi-

cation of which now could seriously affect the security of any nation. For example, I can see no grounds for not publishing most of the official history of British Security Co-ordination, written in 1945 on William Stephenson's instructions. Eventually only ten copies of the history appear to have been circulated. The copy sent to Norman Robertson has become lost, and the remaining copies are not accessible for one official reason or another.

In Chapter Two the author states, "Mackenzie King almost certainly knew nothing about it (Camp X)". I would be inclined to be a bit less categorical on this score. Having worked closely with Robertson on security and intelligence matters for four years (1958-62), I think it more than likely that he told the Prime Minister about Camp X and Hydra, albeit obliquely, as only he could do. Alas, only Norman Robertson and Mackenzie King can really settle the question.

In Chapter Eight, entitled "Blood and Tears", concerning the activities of Special Operations Executive (SOE) agents in France, Stafford, dealing with the involvement of French Canadians, writes: "Both d'Artois and Archambault were graduates of Camp X. Unlike Beauregard, who had been recruited from the Canadian forces in Britain and therefore trained at SOE domestic schools, they had been recruited in Canada. Along with Leonard Taschereau, another French Canadian working for a resistance circuit near Troyes, in Champagne, they were the only success stories from a major effort in 1943 to recruit French Canadians for the shadow war."

I believe the author meant his comment to refer only to the recruitment of French Canadians in Canada, since I can think of several French Canadians recruited in England in 1942-43 who were outstandingly successful. I had dealings with a number of them while I was a junior officer with Canadian Military Intelligence Headquarters in London, and my duties included searching for likely recruits and attending to certain administrative details once they were taken on by SOE, e.g., if they happened to be non-commissioned officers or of lesser rank, arranging for them to be commissioned as officers in the Canadian army in the faint belief this somehow might afford them greater protection should they fall into the hands of the Gestapo's Sicherheitsdienst. The exploits of these extraordinarily brave men have been well recorded by Roy MacLaren, a former Foreign Service Officer, in his book, "Canadians Behind Enemy Lines" and by Lucien Dumais, "The Man Who Went Back". London, Leo Cooper, 1975, and "Un canadien français face à la

Gestapo". Montreal: Éditions du jour, 1969.

In a chapter entitled "Final Secrets", dealing principally with the Gouzenko case, the author refers to an attempt by William Stephenson, in January 1946, to persuade the Canadian authorities to, "set up and run a new intelligence agency". For the purpose he enlisted the help of Charles Vining, who had been Stephenson's first representative in Canada. Vining's attempt to sell the idea to Norman Robertson and Arnold Heeney is said to have been unsuccessful.

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If Stephenson and Vining proposed a "BSC type organization" it is not surprising that Robertson and Heeney were unenthusiastic. The BSC was established to meet certain specific wartime needs. To try to emulate such an organization in a post-war setting would not have been something which either of them would have thought wise or necessary. On the other hand Stephenson may have had in mind the continuation and expansion in peacetime of Canada's wartime communications security and intelligence activities. In that case, it could be said that Stephenson may have been successful, since it was about the same time that the decision was taken to continue Canada's SIGINT activities and, for the purpose, the Communications Branch of the National Research Council was established.

"Camp X" is a good read. Perhaps there will be readers who would have preferred the book to be more like Ian Fleming's "From Russia with Love" or "Moonraker". Some readers may even deplore Stafford's exposé of Fleming the author, which he accomplishes with wit, gentle scorn and the skill of an accomplished historian. However, I think Stafford is to be commended for the unsensational approach he has taken in telling the story of Camp X, which, he writes, "in reality played a modest but intriguing part in the story of American-British-Canadian co-operation during the Second World War".

Camp X: Canada's School for Secret Agents, 1941-45, by David Stafford. Lester & Orpen Dennys, 327 pp. \$22.95.

Reviewed by John Starnes

David Stafford has produced an interesting, scholarly and seemingly authoritative history of Camp X, a British training camp for saboteurs, spies and guerilla fighters, set up and operated by the British near Whitby, Ontario, between 1941 and 1946.

Happily, the author has done much more than reveal the story of Camp X, or Special Training School No. 103 as it was officially known. He has made a useful contribution to the history of the early development of co-operation in intelligence and security matters between the United States, Britain and Canada. It was a remarkable co-operative effort which has endured to this day, in some measure, at least, because of Camp X and Hydra, the wireless facility located within the camp, used for transmitting and receiving top secret intelligence material sent in high grade cypher between North America and Britain.

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The book will have a special interest for the Department of External Affairs since it reveals the key roles played by some of its members in the establishment of Camp X and Hydra. Indeed, it is clear that without the initial assistance and continuing help of Norman Robertson, Mike Pearson, Tommy Stone, Arnold Heeney and George Glazebrook, Camp X and Hydra could not have been born and flourished.

The author unearthed in London, Washington and Ottawa a good deal of hitherto unpublished material. He is to be congratulated for his perseverance, and for having arranged such a wealth of material in a more or less coherent and entertaining manner. The narrative does not always run smoothly, but it cannot have been easy for the author and the editors to know how best to present so much diverse material.

Stafford makes clear that unfortunately there is a good deal of additional documentation which remains inaccessible to historians and others. I find it difficult to believe there are many papers concerning World War II intelligence operations, the publi-

cation of which now could seriously affect the security of any nation. For example, I can see no grounds for not publishing most of the official history of British Security Co-ordination, written in 1945 on William Stephenson's instructions. Eventually only ten copies of the history appear to have been circulated. The copy sent to Norman Robertson has become lost, and the remaining copies are not accessible for one official reason or another.

In Chapter Two the author states, "Mackenzie King almost certainly knew nothing about it (Camp X)". I would be inclined to be a bit less categorical on this score. Having worked closely with Robertson on security and intelligence matters for four years (1958-62), I think it more than likely that he told the Prime Minister about Camp X and Hydra, albeit obliquely, as only he could do. Alas, only Norman Robertson and Mackenzie King can really settle the question.

In Chapter Eight, entitled "Blood and Tears", concerning the activities of Special Operations Executive (SOE) agents in France, Stafford, dealing with the involvement of French Canadians, writes: "Both d'Artois and Archambault were graduates of Camp X. Unlike Beaugard, who had been recruited from the Canadian forces in Britain and therefore trained at SOE domestic schools, they had been recruited in Canada. Along with Leonard Taschereau, another French Canadian working for a resistance circuit near Troyes, in Champagne, they were the only success stories from a major effort in 1943 to recruit French Canadians for the shadow war."

I believe the author meant his comment to refer only to the recruitment of French Canadians in Canada, since I can think of several French Canadians recruited in England in 1942-43 who were outstandingly successful. I had dealings with a number of them while I was a junior officer with Canadian Military Intelligence Headquarters in London, and my duties included searching for likely recruits and attending to certain administrative details once they were taken on by SOE, e.g., if they happened to be non-commissioned officers or of lesser rank, arranging for them to be commissioned as officers in the Canadian army in the faint belief this somehow might afford them greater protection should they fall into the hands of the Gestapo's Sicherheitsdienst. The exploits of these extraordinarily brave men have been well recorded by Roy MacLaren, a former Foreign Service Officer, in his book, "Canadians Behind Enemy Lines" and by Lucien Dumais, "The Man Who Went Back". London, Leo Cooper, 1975, and "Un canadien français face à la

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Legacy of Valour: The Canadians at Passchendaele, by Daniel G. Dancocks, Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1986, 289 pp., \$24.95.

Reviewed by Bill Dymond

In the Great War, Flanders in southwest Belgium was a fulcrum of battle. The focal point was the Ypres Salient, a semicircle around the old cloth town from the north to the south. Running east from Ypres, the flat Flanders Plain rises slightly to a series of low ridges. From 1914, the Germans were solidly entrenched on these ridges with ideal observation and artillery points to bombard the whole of Allied positions in the Salient. Throughout the war, the fighting in the Salient was relentless, remorseless, murderous. The village of Passchendaele stood at the apex of the ridges and the British offensive to capture it was the last great battle fought in Flanders in the Great War.

Legacy of Valour is a first class account of the capture of Passchendaele by the Canadian Corps. The narrative is crisp, the interweaving of individual soldiers' accounts with the dynamics of the battle effortlessly accomplished and the maps, a model of clarity. There is a good selection of photographs of the battleground.

The opening chapters trace the origins of the offensive. The object was to clear the Germans off the ridges, the northern anchor of German Western front positions and capture the German submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge on the Belgian coast. Haig, the British Commander-in-Chief believed that success would win the war. The Admiralty warned that unless the submarine bases were captured, the war would be lost.

The offensive began in August and continued until late October when the Canadian Corps under Sir Arthur Currie was transferred into the Ypres Salient and ordered to capture Passchendaele.

Dancocks records Currie's vehement protests. Estimating that capturing Passchendaele would cost 16,000 casualties he shouted to his staff, "Passchendaele...Let the Germans have it — keep it — rot in it — rot in the mud...It isn't worth a drop of blood!"

The Corps knew the Salient well. In its days of innocence in 1915, the Canadians faced the horror of poison gas on ground close to where they would fight to take Passchendaele. In 1916, the Corps fought bloody engagements all around the Salient gaining and losing small bits of muddy trench. By 1917, having grown in just over two years from one division of amateur soldiers to a confident and brash force of four divisions of 100,000 men, the Corps



A wounded Canadian and wounded German in the mud on Passchendaele, light up, November 1917

had earned a well-deserved reputation as an efficient, even ruthless elite force.

Dancocks sympathizes with Currie's reluctance. The battlefield had become a quagmire, a swamp of cratered bog and mud and flooded low ground. Unburied dead littered the ground; corpses from past battles rose up from mud. The weather was the worst in living memory. Many attacks began and petered out in driving rain. Men drowned in the shell holes and water-filled trenches. At staggering cost, in appalling conditions, British, Australian and New Zealand divisions had carried the line to within a mile and a half of Passchendaele where the Canadians would jump off.

Currie demanded massive artillery support. He was to receive 360 field guns, of which only 200 could be found, the rest were destroyed or sunk in the mud. When he asked for replacements and was told to indent [account for] for the missing guns, he raged, "Goddamit, I cannot fight the battle with indents." He got his guns.

Passchendaele was taken after four carefully planned assaults between October 26 and November 10. Eight Victoria Crosses were won in the battle by the Corps, only one less than the 9 won by the Canadians in the whole of the next war. Private Tommy Holmes of the Canadian Mounted Rifles was one recipient. With his battalion's attack foundering in the rain and bog and murderous fire, Holmes slithered across shell holes and knocked out two machine guns. He then worked behind a pillbox, lobbing a grenade in the rear entrance and capturing 19 enemy soldiers.

Canadian casualties were 15,654, one

quarter again as large as Vimy with the brunt borne by the Infantry. Half of the men going over the top became casualties. The troops laden with 80 pounds of equipment struggled against the mud, barbed wire, concrete pill-boxes and German artillery fire. Some battalions, like the South Saskatchewan and the Edmontons suffered losses of 75%. The Corps left Passchendaele shortly after the final engagement never to return to the Salient.

Passchendaele haunts the modern memory of the Great War. No battle fought by the British and Dominion Armies is more controversial. All save 9 of 60 British and Dominion divisions on the Western front in 1917 fought at Passchendaele. For 250,000 casualties, four and a half miles of flooded, cratered, devastated ground was won in 3 months of battle. Was the battle worth the cost?

The critics considered it the ultimate in futility conceived by stupid, stubborn Generals wantonly expending the manhood of the Empire in mud and swamp. Why fight the Germans and waste thousands of lives in a place where they were strongly entrenched. Far better to shift troops to Italy and beat the Austrians. Even Marshall Foch, Chief of the French General Staff in 1917 had his doubts: "Boue is bad, Boche is bad, but Boue and Boche together — ah!" Churchill called the Passchendaele Offensive, "a forlorn expenditure of valour and life without equal in futility."

Dancocks enters lustily into the fray showing that even at 70 years distance, it is hard to have a dispassionate view of the battle. Much of the opening and concluding

chapters are given over to a spirited defence of the battle and savage criticism of the politicians who carped at the strategy, and wailed at the casualties. Dancocks is unabashedly on the side of the Generals. He faithfully records the view of Haig and even Currie in retrospect that it was essential to fight the German army where it was prepared to make a stand and to capture the German bases on the Belgian coast. The French army had been gravely weakened by mutiny and the Germans had to be diverted. It was important to shore up the morale of the tottering Italians, and the Russians who were almost out of the war.

The other great engagements on the Western Front, the Ypres gas attacks, the Somme, Verdun, Vimy Ridge, all have impressive monuments mounted in their memory and honour. The monuments to Passchendaele are mean in comparison as if the battle itself exhausted the effort to remember it. In contrast to the massive marble memorial and the vast park at Vimy Ridge, the Canadian Passchendaele Memorial is a stubby stone badly weathered pillar hidden down a side street in the rebuilt village. The most sombering and wrenching remembrance is the Commonwealth cemetery of Tyne Cot, two kilometres west of the village where 12,000 British and Dominion graves share space with three massive German pillboxes.

To the named and unnamed dead buried there, the controversy is interesting, although I suppose, unimportant.

I visited Ypres in February and stood to attention to the playing of the Last Post under the new Menin Gate on whose walls are inscribed the names of 55,000 British and Dominion soldiers who died in the Salient and have no known grave. At Tyne Cot, *"I stood with the dead so forsaken and still: When dawn was grey, I stood with the dead."*

Canadian Regulation of International Trade and Investment, by Robert K. Paterson, with Jock A. Finlayson, Philip Raworth and Malcolm D.H. Smith, Carswell Legal Publications, Toronto, 1986, 429 pp., hardcover, \$78.00.

Reviewed by Michael Hart

The study of modern Canadian international trade policy and practice appears at last to be coming into its own. It is no longer the secret preserve of a few government officials and an even smaller group of specialists in the universities, think-tanks and trade organizations. It now boasts a respectable and knowledgeable literature including textbooks, handbooks, monographs and journal articles. Sometime in the next few months, a

Canadian journal dedicated to international trade law will make its debut.

Five years ago, when I was engaged in the trade policy review exercise, the government of the day took the unusual step of releasing the somewhat textbookish background paper, *A Review of Canadian Trade Policy*, 240 pages of worthy analysis and explanation of the nature of trade policy making in Canada. The decision to release that study was largely motivated by a realization that there existed then not a single survey of the subject written for the informed but non-specialist audience. Specialists relied almost

exclusively on US and European studies. No Canadian university offered either a graduate or undergraduate course devoted to trade policy. The most common excuse offered was that no suitable literature existed. This in a country which depends on international trade for a third of its gross national product. We have reaped the whirlwind of this lack of appreciation of the importance of trade policy. Today the most important trade policy issue of the century is debated daily in the newspapers at a level bound to confuse rather than enlighten. The rudimentary knowledge and insight required to lift the

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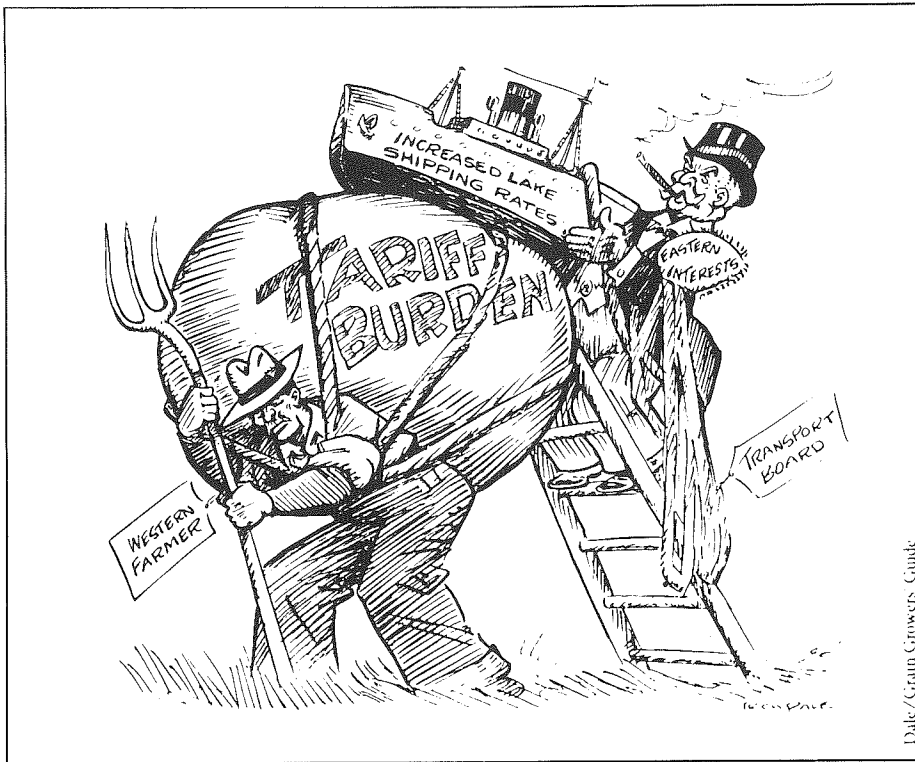
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debate above the banal and simplistic remains absent from the vast majority of otherwise well educated Canadians. Only in Canada are journalists astonished to learn that a free trade negotiation is about removing most barriers to trade.

Canadian academics and officials have long worked in splendid isolation.

The reasons for this dearth of public understanding of trade policy lie in part in government practice. Departmental senior officials and negotiators are loath to share their knowledge and analysis with anyone other than trustworthy former colleagues either retired and/or in private industry. The defendants of that attitude argued, for example, against the public release of the trade policy review. Its proponents still believe that a little public knowledge is a nuisance and a lot is dangerous. Unlike in the United States, where scholars and officials work closely together, where there is a lively interchange of appointments and where there is a large and informed literature available, Canadian academics and officials have long worked in splendid isolation. "Sound" trade policy writing has been largely the preserve of retired officials. Rodney Grey is the most eminent current example; Dana Wilgress was typical of an earlier generation.

But things are looking up. We now have an eminently readable and perceptive study of the GATT and the international trade system from a Canadian perspective (Frank Stone, *Canada, the GATT and the International Trade System*) published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy. The Institute has also released a number of more specialized studies, including one by Rodney Grey and a recent set of essays by Gerry Salembier, Sandy Moroz and Frank Stone, *The Canadian Import File: Trade, Protection and Adjustment*, to be reviewed in a future issue. Some ten volumes of the collected research studies of the Macdonald Commission were devoted to trade policy issues, many of them by specialists without the benefit of government training. Some of these monographs may prove to be the most enduring contribution of the Commission. The C.D. Howe Institute continues to pour forth its timely and topical statements and observations. Publishers like Hurtig and James Lorimer keep things interesting by publishing nationalist diatribes on a range of trade policy issues. The Canada-US trade initiative has generated a lively and knowledgeable literature debating the pros and cons of the issues, much of it from a trade policy perspective. The challenge today is keeping up with the literature. A shortage of literature no longer stands in the way of teaching trade policy in Canada's universities.

When I was introduced to trade policy making in the early 1970s, first with Gerry Shannon in the External Affairs Commercial Policy Division and then with Frank Stone

in Geneva, it was impressed upon me that trade policy was not difficult to understand intellectually, but that a full grasp required mastery of its detail. More than a decade of experience has convinced me of the truth of this assertion. The concepts are not difficult, but they only come to life in the detail learned from continuous negotiation and application.

It was also impressed upon me that book learning would only go so far; to fully understand trade policy one had to experience its negotiation and administration. This was more difficult to appreciate. American and European authorities such as John Jackson, Kenneth Dam and Gerard Curzon have all demonstrated that good work can be done by academic specialists. Sadly, however, much Canadian writing has given comfort to those in Canada who believe that writing authoritatively about trade policy requires hands-on government experience.

The third article of faith in the Ottawa trade policy community was that lawyers need not apply. Trade legislation and orders-in-council may be easily understood if you know trade policy; the reverse does not hold true. Trade policy issues that are largely matters of law and its administration (e.g., anti-dumping and countervailing duties) are more readily grasped than the much more nuanced textile restraint system. But in this I may be hostage to the traditional hostility between lawyers and trade policy specialists in government (not just the Canadian government). As mitigating evidence, let me suggest that the ever increasing judicialization of trade law, particularly in the United States, has proven to be more protectionist in effect than any of the artful dodges invented by the policy specialists, particularly in Canada. Artful dodges can be quickly adapted to changing circumstances; law and the judicial process acquire an aura of sanctity which resists easy adjustment.

It was recently suggested to me that a further step toward demystifying Canadian trade policy had arrived in the form of a legal handbook on Canadian trade and investment policy. Hoping to find something similar to Eugene T. Rossides' valuable *U.S. Import Trade Regulation*, I looked forward to adding Robert Paterson's **Canadian Regulation of International Trade and Investment** to my bookshelf and thus acquire a comprehensive and authoritative handbook on the regulation of international trade and investment in Canada. That it included a comparison of Canadian laws and regulations with those in the United States, the European Community and Japan appeared to be a helpful bonus. Written by lawyers, none of whom had direct hands-on experience, this would be a good opportunity to test the shibboleths of the Ottawa trade policy

community. Once it arrived in the library, the book was eagerly passed from hand to hand among the trade policy specialists gathered on the top floor of the Met Life Centre.

Chapter one, a largely self-contained contribution by Jock Finlayson, got us off to a good start. It furnishes a full and solid overview of the GATT and Canada's interest in the preservation of a strong multilateral trading system. As such it provides an appropriate introduction to the heart of the matter, the following four chapters dealing with the tariff, import and export controls, non-tariff barriers (viz. dumping, subsidies and government procurement), and export financing. We have come to expect work of this quality from Finlayson.

Chapter two on tariffs proved to be more comprehensive than the title suggests: it covers the whole range of customs matters and opens with a discussion on the nature, sources and authority of Canadian trade law. The treatment is complete and readable, an unusual virtue in books of this type. Given the complexity and obscurity of the issues, however, it is not surprising that errors of detail have crept in. For example, on page 52, the author suggests that the British Preferential Tariff no longer applies to New Zealand. New Zealand remains one of the primary beneficiaries of the BPT, but the legal basis for this treatment changed in 1982 as a result of a new Canada-New Zealand trade agreement which replaced the earlier 1932 agreement. Similarly, on page 54, the 1981 Order-in-Council reducing certain customs duties resulted from an agreement with the EC compensating its members for reduced access to the Canadian market resulting from Canada's global import quota on footwear. It had nothing to do with export quotas on certain types of footwear. Such errors, however, undermine credibility, an essential quality in a handbook.

Chapter three on import and export controls really got off to a rocky start. Three examples taken from the first three pages illustrate the point:

- Paterson claims that the non-selective (i.e., non-discriminatory) application of Article XIX safeguards has raised the ire of developing countries. This is wrong. Rather, developing countries complain that whenever their exports threaten to become a major factor in the markets of industrialized countries, they face safeguard action, whether applied selectively or globally. During the Tokyo Round, contrary to Paterson's view, the developing countries opposed selectivity while the EC supported it.
- Part IV of the GATT dealing with the special needs of developing countries con-

tains no contractual obligations but is of a hortatory, best endeavours nature. Nor is it the responsibility of the UNCTAD. The last time I checked, the two organizations remain separate and GATT Part IV matters are reviewed by the GATT Committee on Trade and Development.

- Canada's bilateral textile restraint agreements with Asian suppliers were not negotiated outside the GATT; rather, they were negotiated pursuant to the Arrangement Regarding International Trade in Textiles also known as the Multi-fibre Arrangement or MFA, a derogation from the GATT negotiated under GATT auspices and in place in various guises for more than 25 years. The MFA and its predecessors marked a frank recognition by GATT members that the special problems in textile trade could not be managed within the framework of Article XIX and needed special rules.

I pick these three issues not because they are typical, but because they appeared one after the other in the opening paragraphs of the chapter. By this time, my confidence was somewhat shaken. Fortunately, the rest of the chapter did not duplicate the performance level of the first few pages. Once past the general policy issues, Paterson proved to have a much firmer grasp of the details of legislation.

Chapter four addresses familiar matter for the legal profession: dumping and subsidization, anti-dumping and countervailing duties and procurement preferences, all species of non-tariff barriers. In truth the chapter deals largely with the anti-dumping provisions of the 1984 *Special Import Measures Act* (SIMA) and adds to that a few pages outlining the countervailing duty provisions of SIMA and Canadian implementation of obligations arising out of the GATT Procurement Agreement.

The chapter would have been stronger and more persuasive if it had devoted some space to the policy considerations which underlie anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws and addressed the potential protectionist and anti-competitive effect of these laws. A more complete treatment of Canadian countervailing duty law would have brought out that much of the reason for enacting SIMA related to the fact that section 7 of the *Customs Tariff Act* provided an inadequate legislative base for imposing countervailing duties. Prior to 1977, there was no procedure at all and the introduction of regulations in 1977 was rightly considered an abuse of Parliament.

I also question whether Canada's historical reluctance to use countervailing duties resulted from the realization that the existence of Canadian federal and provincial

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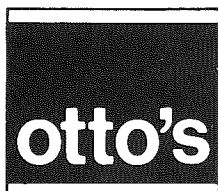
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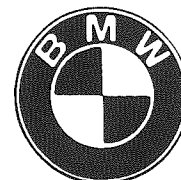
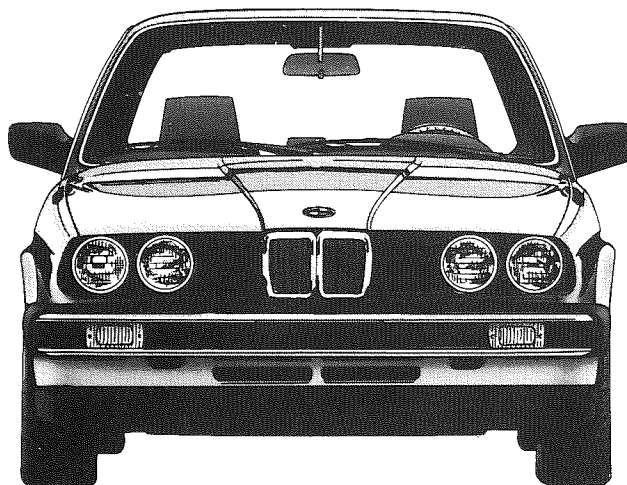
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subvention programs undermined our credibility in pursuing countervail. More likely, the combined effect of an administrative anti-dumping system in effect prior to 1968 and a highly flexible valuation system as well as the generally low level of government assistance practiced by Canada's principal trading partners made countervail redundant. Certainly the existence of subsidies in the US has not acted as a deterrent there. The introduction of the quasi-judicial *Anti-dumping Act* of 1968, the increasing application by the United States of its countervailing duty law to domestic subsidies (the first being the 1973 Michelin tire case) and the increasing use of government financial assistance in Europe were the underlying policy reasons which suggested the need first for regulations and then for legislation.

Chapter five is devoted to a discussion of official export credits and as such includes an explanation of the services provided by the Export Development Corporation (EDC) and of the OECD arrangement on export credits. The chapter also includes a discussion of GATT obligations and US countervailing duty law and its potential impact on official export assistance.

Chapter six by Philip Raworth provides a very thorough and workmanlike overview of trade law in the European Community. It provides a particularly good explanation of the workings of the arcane Common Agricultural Policy, an issue that has confounded many others. The title of the chapter, however, is somewhat misleading. It deals with Community trade law and policy, not with EEC-Canada trade law, of which there is very little. As noted in the text, there are few binding bilateral obligations outside of the fisheries area. Trade between Canada and the Community is largely governed by the GATT, the 1976 Framework Agreement being little more than a statement of good intentions.

Chapter seven by Malcolm Smith, contains a curious mixture. The authors obviously decided that a handbook on Canadian trade law would be more valuable if it contained comparisons to the laws and practices of Canada's three principal trading partners. Raworth took on the EC chapter and Smith, a recognized expert on Japan, took on Japan and the United States. Combining US and Japanese trade law in one chapter and thus providing a basis for comparison to Canadian trade law may have been the intended effect. The result is a comparison between US and Japanese laws and practice. The chapter stands largely on its own and has little to do with the rest of the book. It would have made more sense to have treated US and Japanese trade law separately and included some discussion of

how these systems differed from the model followed in Canada.

The United States system is legalistic and transparent; the Japanese is highly flexible and not at all transparent. One of its main distinguishing features is the administrative decree. Only in Japan, for example, can a government forecast with precision how many automobiles its private companies will export and prove to be uncannily accurate. The book provides a sufficiently detailed description of the two systems to bring out this essential fact and explain why Americans have such difficulty understanding the nature of the Japanese import system. The differences between the two approaches to trade policy making also suggest why it is that Japan has been able to adjust more rapidly and smoothly to changing circumstances and why the US is having such difficulty adapting to changing comparative advantage. Both the description and analysis in this chapter are informative and convincing and make this one of the strongest parts of the book.

The book concludes with three chapters on international and domestic legal issues arising out of the regulation of investment and services. Chapter eight uses a detailed discussion of the GATT panel on FIRA practices to provide an occasion to discuss the nature of GATT dispute settlement procedures. It also includes a discussion of international law and trade and services, much of it centred on GATT and the codes. I found this rather strained and would have found the section more credible if it had included more recognition of the fact that trade in services is regulated by a range of bilateral and multilateral arrangements (e.g., in the air transport sector) but not by an all encompassing code such as GATT provides for trade in goods. The challenge of the current GATT consideration of trade in services is to determine whether such a code is both conceivable and negotiable. He does clarify, however, that in many respects discussion on trade in services is a surrogate for discussion on investment — many of the regulatory practices which impede the free flow in trade in services would be less discriminatory if there were no impediments to the right of establishment or, at a minimum, right of commercial presence.

Chapter nine provides a detailed discussion of current regulation of foreign direct investment in Canada resulting from the 1985 Investment Canada Act and the 1980 Bank Act. It includes a very brief historical introduction to the regulation of foreign direct investment in Canada but fails to include an explanation of the underlying policy reasons for these policies.

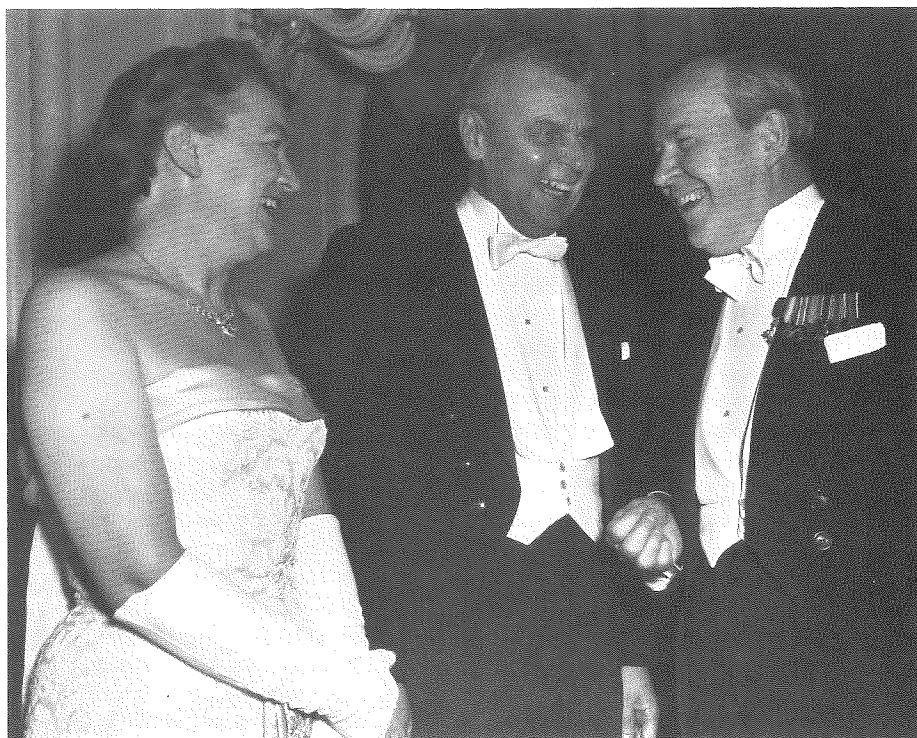
Chapter ten is a companion piece to chapter five in that it discusses in the main

the services provided through the Export Development Corporation in the area of investment insurance.

Now for the hard question. Would I recommend that someone spend \$78.00 to purchase this handbook? Is it an indispensable guide for businessmen, budding bureaucrats and students of Canadian trade? The answer is a qualified yes. It would be stronger if we were dealing here with a \$20.00 softcover volume. Tolerance for miscues is directly related here to price. The book has many good points. It covers a lot of ground and it covers most of it very well. It is for the most part a reliable description of trade law and regulation; it is less reliable on the underlying economic and policy rationale for these laws. Perhaps my early mentors were right. A sound understanding of trade policy does require hands-on experience. If so, those with that experience should write. Otherwise, we will be forced to continue to rely on a book marred by enough errors and misconceptions to require caution in its use. There are no competitors. Should a new edition be prepared, let's hope the publisher will insist on a more careful editing job, especially in checking facts.

*Only those who have penetrated
the curtain can write
with authority.*

Donald Macdonald, who contributed a foreword, suggests that the authors were "handicapped by the fact that at important points the background to both law and policy is not in the public area, but still behind the curtain of departmental confidentiality." That too suggests that only those who have penetrated the curtain can write with authority. Unfortunately, most of them don't write. The current trade policy agenda in Canada is about as charged as it could possibly be. We are simultaneously negotiating the most far-reaching and comprehensive bilateral agreement ever contemplated in Canada and actively participating in the eighth round of GATT multilateral trade negotiations. At the latter talks, in addition to consideration of the more traditional range of tariff and non-tariff matters, the scope for binding agreements is being expanded to include intellectual property, trade in services and trade-related investment issues. Surely, there is need here to inform interested Canadians of more than the bare outline. At a later stage, Canadians will need credible and detailed explanations and handbooks. Who will rise to this challenge?



Canada 1957-1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation, by J.L. Granatstein, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1986. 375 pp. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Dan Livermore

Jack Granatstein is one of Canada's foremost historians. This book, which caps the nineteen-volume Canadian Centenary Series, should be counted as one of his finest works. Writing contemporary history isn't easy. There are too many vivid memories of familiar events, too many bruised egos anxious for a kind reappraisal, and too many crises in need of frank, dispassionate judgment. But Granatstein has risen to the occasion with a balanced and fair assessment of a controversial era.

The Diefenbaker/Pearson era was a tough struggle. Gone were the easy years of almost effortless economic growth and government by the "chairman of the Board". By 1957, Canada was heading into its first serious post-War recession, and new international issues were confronting a political party that had last seen office some twenty-two years before. Foreign policy, international economic questions and defence issues were assuming an importance not seen in Canada for a decade. The foreign policy environment was growing harsher, and the issues were increasingly complex. Eisenhower left the scene, succeeded by a more aggressive administration with little patience for Diefenbaker and no feel for Canadian questions.

By 1962, the largest parliamentary majority in Canadian history had dissolved into minority government, as the Coyne affair, recession and an increasingly disturbing picture of Cabinet disarray took its toll. A year later, Diefenbaker was out, Pearson was in, and a persistent minority government was set to tackle medical care, pensions, a national flag and the therapeutic ecstasy of Centennial Year, amid a distressing and distasteful aroma of political corruption.

Granatstein organizes all of these disparate themes in a simple, effective manner. After the obligatory introductory chapter setting the post-War framework, he analyses the political evolution of the Diefenbaker years, setting the context for thematic sections to follow. He then explores foreign policy ("The End of the Empire Tie"), economics and the Coyne affair, defence policy ("The Defence Debacle, 1957-1963"), cultural events, social issues, the rise of Canadian nationalism, the unification of the Canadian Forces and the emergence of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. A final political chapter endeavours to capture the Pearson years, and a concluding section wraps some thoughts around the idea of Centennial Year, pointing the way to the Trudeau era to follow.

If there are few surprises in this carefully-crafted narrative, there is much of interest. The NORAD agreement of 1957, we are told, was adopted without Cabinet consideration, mainly through the persistence of the Canadian military, and largely behind the back of External Affairs. Granatstein

suggests that the Coyne affair, perhaps the single most damaging conflict of the Diefenbaker period, could have been avoided, had the Prime Minister not balked at Coyne's pension arrangements and thereby called into question the personal integrity of the head of the Bank of Canada. The AVRO Arrow, the author concludes, was doomed from the start, a victim of limited markets and the emergence of the ICBM. On these and other points, Granatstein confirms the old adage that history is the great leveller. With the passing of time, the partisan edges have worn thin; the intemperance of contemporary judgment has given way to more balanced conclusions.

There are few heroes in this decade tarnished by conflict and divisiveness. Perhaps the only less than sympathetic portrait is that of Diefenbaker. Uncertain of the loyalties of his Ministers, he proved incapable of sure-footed, consistent leadership. The charismatic figure who carried his party to such heights was almost single-handedly responsible for its demise. If none of the key political figures quite lives up to their autobiographies, the Canadian public service receives full and gracious recognition. But a pat on our collective heads is not unexpected, given the author's two previous books on the Canadian "mandarinate".

Beyond Granatstein's analysis of everyday issues, one special theme stands out. Simply put, and perhaps stretching the time frames slightly in either direction, this was the era in which Canada came of age. Canada before the mid-1950s was a rough jewel, a resource-driven, semi-developed country with a constrained industrial base, a nation without first-rate universities and lacking the most elementary devices for supporting and cultivating artistic, cultural, sporting and scientific achievement. A decade and more later, we had conquered the residual self-doubts of earlier years, created new measures for fostering a more balanced identity, and begun to confront even the most intractable problems of national unity. Across a spectrum of literary and artistic endeavours, Canadians were taking their places as first-rate achievers at the international level. If Expo '67 was an invitation for the world to see Canada, it was also an invitation to Canadians to witness their own new reality. Granatstein captures the mood, setting and accomplishments of this Canadian transformation with subtle skill.

Diefenbaker and Pearson are part of Canada's mythology. Many of our colleagues worked with them. Many of their colleagues are still with us. Their epic struggles are part of the lexicon of Canadian politics. In short, it's difficult to think of their administrations as "history". But history it certainly is, and

Jack Granatstein has, in essence, produced the first serious study of this compelling and decisive decade.

René Lévesque Memoirs, McClelland and Stewart, 1986, \$24.95.

Reviewed by Wendy Mesley

It had been almost a year since I'd last seen him. René Lévesque had just returned from a promotional tour in the Canadian West. It wasn't his first trip, but it was the first time he'd been struck by the beauty of Jean Chrétien's Rocky Mountains and the warmth of English-speaking Canadians. Thousands of them have bought his autobiography. This day in Ottawa, hundreds had given up their lunch hour to come and get their copies signed.

I'd covered him for several years as a journalist for CBC in Montreal and Quebec City. When he saw me at the bookstore he scowled affectionately and told the storeowner I had come seeking "a Gainesburger"; journalistic slang for a juicy tidbit, a good quote for the nightly news. He nearly always delivered. And, more often than not, he delivered better Gainesburgers in English than in French.

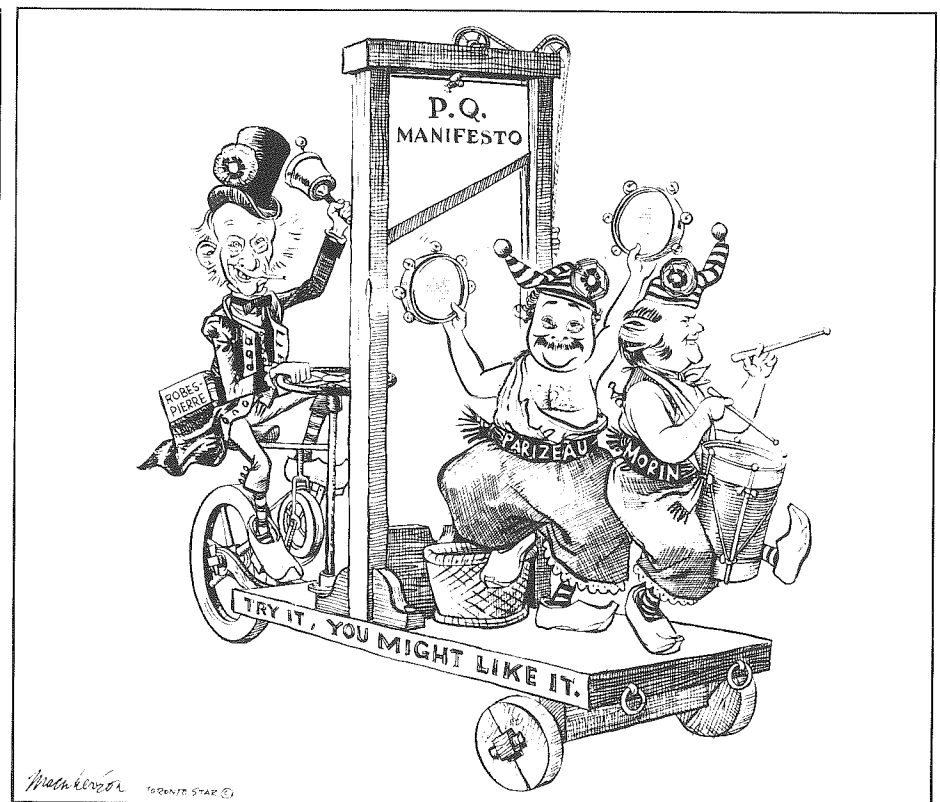
In English he was colloquial, visceral. In French he was more restrained, often long-winded. Understandably, but somewhat unfortunately, he wrote his memoirs in the French mode. There are so many subordinate clauses, that if he sells one book for every comma, he'll be a rich man.

Anglophone members of the press gallery at the Quebec National Assembly jokingly referred to Lévesque and his party as the "dreaded separatist menace". Our desks in Montreal and Toronto thought he was a great story; the closest thing to a revolutionary since Louis Riel.

However, many of us were never sure if the many really was a separatist...or if he simply wanted to negotiate more powers for Quebec. I looked for fresh clues in his book. But, as usual, Lévesque's message is unclear.

For example, this was his reaction when a publicity man for the Lesage government suggested the slogan "Maîtres chez nous" for the election on nationalizing electricity. "Deep down, I couldn't help thinking it was perhaps a little strong. Masters of a huge new sector, okay. But masters of everything else? This exaggerated slogan gave me a feeling of uneasiness which has, for that matter, never entirely left me."

But later in the book Lévesque writes "When you recognize and so often have seen oozing between the lines the superiority complex of a deep seated, majority-bred



paternalism, that's when you feel especially strongly the urge to be, at last one day, 'maîtres chez nous'".

The most revealing moments come when he reminisces about his childhood. There had been long stories about René the runt of New Carlisle...A small town in Quebec's Gaspé where the English were dominant.

The stories said he'd been tied to a tree in his backyard and persecuted by the other children. But Lévesque's portrait of his youth is almost lyrical...full of happy memories. Such as the day he almost drowned.

"Coming out of it was even more irresistible, for who should be leaning over me but the goddess of the beach, a long-legged, flaming readhead who had saved me.

She must have been about twelve and her name was Frances. I was her tongue-tied worshipper for many months after my day of drowning. Not daring and, for that matter, not able to imagine her in flesh and blood, I would drift off to sleep dreaming of her in the sound of the muffled rolling thunder of the waves breaking perpetually on the sand."

There are also memorable moments in his tales of his years as a war correspondent for the U.S. government. In one of them Lévesque talks about witnessing the surrender of Marshal Hermann Goering.

"Against the vast natural setting, the resplendent epaulettes of this Reichmarshall who had been fired by Hitler, as well as a chestful of decorations, shone in the sunlight. But in less time than it takes to tell, our platoon leader, in a couple of passes worthy

of a fencer, ripped away all that glitter. A few buttons popped off, too, and became souvenirs along with the rest of the paraphernalia."

Unfortunately for Lévesque, the day of his book launch he had to admit that he hadn't really been a witness. That he'd confused memory with imagination.

There are also strange lapses concerning more recent events. He calls the Parti Québécois convention where 500 party members walked out on him "quiet and uneventful". And there's barely a word about how he was eventually forced out by Pierre-Marc Johnson and his supporters.

The only place Lévesque's bitterness spills out is in regards to his old nemesis Pierre Trudeau. Their first meeting went like this.

"I had gone along with (Gérard) Pelletier to meet Trudeau in the cafeteria of Radio-Canada and offered to contribute the occasional article. 'Very good,' he said in that drawling tone he affected, 'but allow me one simple question: Can you write?' You'll have guessed by now that we didn't exactly hit it off."

He accuses Trudeau of building his career around one central theme: keeping Quebec down.

"Trudeau had only to present himself as an elegant receptacle into which Canada could pour all its hidden hopes, among them the sneaking wish to see French Quebec put in its place. The unspoken but fiercely evident slogan that floated in the air everywhere was 'Keep Quebec Quiet!'."

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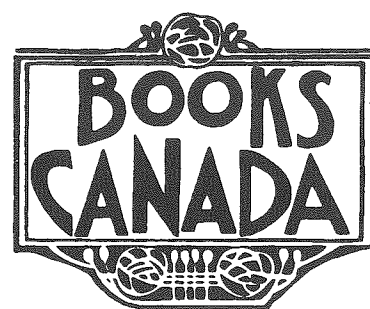
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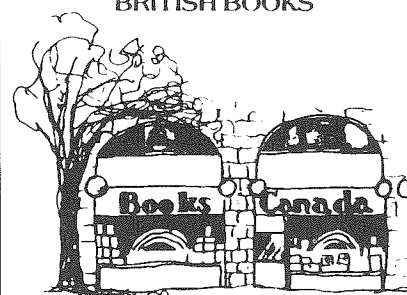
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It's the only place in the book where his cautious tone evaporates and the visceral René Lévesque takes over. There is little self-justification, but here are also few insights, certainly no spilled secrets.

One wonders why he didn't stick to his instincts. "Why didn't I let a year go by before agreeing to write this goddamned book?", he writes in the first chapter.

So much has been held back that there's probably enough left for Lévesque to write another someday. Let's just hope there'll be a few more "gainesburgers" and a lot less commas.

The Wine Lover's Guide to France, by Michael Busselles, Pavillon Books Ltd., distributed by Penguin, 1986, \$29.95.

Reviewed by Chips Filleul

Michael Busselle's **The Wine Lover's Guide to France** is an apt title because it puts the accent as much on France, the wine growing country, as on wine itself. The five principal wine growing areas that make up roughly half the country — Champagne, Burgundy, the Midi, Bordeaux and the Loire — are singled out to the exclusion of the parts of the country not renowned for their wine. Appropriately then, the text comprises twenty-six "wine tours". As the author observes in his introduction: "You do not need to be a wine lover to enjoy the countryside which produces it, but it is a simple fact that the wine-growing regions of France are among the most beautiful and the Routes des Vins are often the most scenic roads".

*This is a decorative book,
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to entice the reader to trace
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of the country's wine routes —
sightseeing, tasting, drinking
and perhaps doing some
judicious buying.*

A continual effort is made to cater to those at least casually interested in the history, variety and technology of wine and wine-making: introductory pages "About Wine", a few paragraphs on the wines to be encountered on each route, a glossary of wine terms and a "Wine Buying Guide" at the end of each of the six regional sections. These guides and other references to wine provide some examples and an overall impression rather than a comprehensive and detailed exami-



nation of the wines produced. In particular the serious wine enthusiast might object to the fact that the "Wine Buying Guide" section for Southern France covers six full pages, i.e. exactly the same as for the incomparably superior (many would say supreme) Bordelais. However for this category of reader other more informative works such as Alexis Lichine's constantly up-dated book or Hachette's encyclopaedic "Guide to French Wines" are available on the shelves.

The qualities of the *Wine Lover's Guide to France* are evident. The text is concise, unpretentious, and shimmers with the author's enthusiasm for his subject, which is,

pre-eminently, the countryside where the grapes are grown and wine is made. This is not to say that any reader would be likely to doubt Busselle's affinity for wine. The book is greatly enhanced by a large number of the author's own glorious colour photographs and maps; these in uplifting contrast to the drab black and white offerings that betray the budget-conscious approach of many wine-book writers and publishers. In short this is a decorative book, but one with a purpose: to entice the reader to trace the author's steps along some of the country's wine routes — sightseeing, tasting, drinking and perhaps doing some judicious buying.

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Legacy of Valour: The Canadians at Passchendaele, by Daniel G. Dancocks, Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1986, 289 pp., \$24.95.

Reviewed by Bill Dymond

In the Great War, Flanders in southwest Belgium was a fulcrum of battle. The focal point was the Ypres Salient, a semicircle around the old cloth town from the north to the south. Running east from Ypres, the flat Flanders Plain rises slightly to a series of low ridges. From 1914, the Germans were solidly entrenched on these ridges with ideal observation and artillery points to bombard the whole of Allied positions in the Salient. Throughout the war, the fighting in the Salient was relentless, remorseless, murderous. The village of Passchendaele stood at the apex of the ridges and the British offensive to capture it was the last great battle fought in Flanders in the Great War.

Legacy of Valour is a first class account of the capture of Passchendaele by the Canadian Corps. The narrative is crisp, the interweaving of individual soldiers' accounts with the dynamics of the battle effortlessly accomplished and the maps, a model of clarity. There is a good selection of photographs of the battleground.

The opening chapters trace the origins of the offensive. The object was to clear the Germans off the ridges, the northern anchor of German Western front positions and capture the German submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge on the Belgian coast. Haig, the British Commander-in-Chief believed that success would win the war. The Admiralty warned that unless the submarine bases were captured, the war would be lost.

The offensive began in August and continued until late October when the Canadian Corps under Sir Arthur Currie was transferred into the Ypres Salient and ordered to capture Passchendaele.

Dancocks records Currie's vehement protests. Estimating that capturing Passchendaele would cost 16,000 casualties he shouted to his staff, "Passchendaele...Let the Germans have it — keep it — rot in it — rot in the mud...It isn't worth a drop of blood!"

The Corps knew the Salient well. In its days of innocence in 1915, the Canadians faced the horror of poison gas on ground close to where they would fight to take Passchendaele. In 1916, the Corps fought bloody engagements all around the Salient gaining and losing small bits of muddy trench. By 1917, having grown in just over two years from one division of amateur soldiers to a confident and brash force of four divisions of 100,000 men, the Corps



A wounded Canadian and wounded German in the mud on Passchendaele, light up, November 1917

had earned a well-deserved reputation as an efficient, even ruthless elite force.

Dancocks sympathizes with Currie's reluctance. The battlefield had become a quagmire, a swamp of cratered bog and mud and flooded low ground. Unburied dead littered the ground; corpses from past battles rose up from mud. The weather was the worst in living memory. Many attacks began and petered out in driving rain. Men drowned in the shell holes and water-filled trenches. At staggering cost, in appalling conditions, British, Australian and New Zealand divisions had carried the line to within a mile and a half of Passchendaele where the Canadians would jump off.

Currie demanded massive artillery support. He was to receive 360 field guns, of which only 200 could be found, the rest were destroyed or sunk in the mud. When he asked for replacements and was told to indent [account for] for the missing guns, he raged, "Goddamit, I cannot fight the battle with indents." He got his guns.

Passchendaele was taken after four carefully planned assaults between October 26 and November 10. Eight Victoria Crosses were won in the battle by the Corps, only one less than the 9 won by the Canadians in the whole of the next war. Private Tommy Holmes of the Canadian Mounted Rifles was one recipient. With his battalion's attack foundering in the rain and bog and murderous fire, Holmes slithered across shell holes and knocked out two machine guns. He then worked behind a pillbox, lobbing a grenade in the rear entrance and capturing 19 enemy soldiers.

Canadian casualties were 15,654, one

quarter again as large as Vimy with the brunt borne by the Infantry. Half of the men going over the top became casualties. The troops laden with 80 pounds of equipment struggled against the mud, barbed wire, concrete pill-boxes and German artillery fire. Some battalions, like the South Saskatchewan and the Edmontons suffered losses of 75%. The Corps left Passchendaele shortly after the final engagement never to return to the Salient.

Passchendaele haunts the modern memory of the Great War. No battle fought by the British and Dominion Armies is more controversial. All save 9 of 60 British and Dominion divisions on the Western front in 1917 fought at Passchendaele. For 250,000 casualties, four and a half miles of flooded, cratered, devastated ground was won in 3 months of battle. Was the battle worth the cost?

The critics considered it the ultimate in futility conceived by stupid, stubborn Generals wantonly expending the manhood of the Empire in mud and swamp. Why fight the Germans and waste thousands of lives in a place where they were strongly entrenched. Far better to shift troops to Italy and beat the Austrians. Even Marshall Foch, Chief of the French General Staff in 1917 had his doubts: "Boue is bad, Boche is bad, but Boue and Boche together — ah!" Churchill called the Passchendaele Offensive, "a forlorn expenditure of valour and life without equal in futility."

Dancocks enters lustily into the fray showing that even at 70 years distance, it is hard to have a dispassionate view of the battle. Much of the opening and concluding

chapters are given over to a spirited defence of the battle and savage criticism of the politicians who carped at the strategy, and wailed at the casualties. Dancocks is unabashedly on the side of the Generals. He faithfully records the view of Haig and even Currie in retrospect that it was essential to fight the German army where it was prepared to make a stand and to capture the German bases on the Belgian coast. The French army had been gravely weakened by mutiny and the Germans had to be diverted. It was important to shore up the morale of the tottering Italians, and the Russians who were almost out of the war.

The other great engagements on the Western Front, the Ypres gas attacks, the Somme, Verdun, Vimy Ridge, all have impressive monuments mounted in their memory and honour. The monuments to Passchendaele are mean in comparison as if the battle itself exhausted the effort to remember it. In contrast to the massive marble memorial and the vast park at Vimy Ridge, the Canadian Passchendaele Memorial is a stubby stone badly weathered pillar hidden down a side street in the rebuilt village. The most sombering and wrenching remembrance is the Commonwealth cemetery of Tyne Cot, two kilometres west of the village where 12,000 British and Dominion graves share space with three massive German pillboxes.

To the named and unnamed dead buried there, the controversy is interesting, although I suppose, unimportant.

I visited Ypres in February and stood to attention to the playing of the Last Post under the new Menin Gate on whose walls are inscribed the names of 55,000 British and Dominion soldiers who died in the Salient and have no known grave. At Tyne Cot, *"I stood with the dead so forsaken and still: When dawn was grey, I stood with the dead."*

Canadian Regulation of International Trade and Investment, by Robert K. Paterson, with Jock A. Finlayson, Philip Raworth and Malcolm D.H. Smith, Carswell Legal Publications, Toronto, 1986, 429 pp., hardcover, \$78.00.

Reviewed by Michael Hart

The study of modern Canadian international trade policy and practice appears at last to be coming into its own. It is no longer the secret preserve of a few government officials and an even smaller group of specialists in the universities, think-tanks and trade organizations. It now boasts a respectable and knowledgeable literature including textbooks, handbooks, monographs and journal articles. Sometime in the next few months, a

Canadian journal dedicated to international trade law will make its debut.

Five years ago, when I was engaged in the trade policy review exercise, the government of the day took the unusual step of releasing the somewhat textbookish background paper, *A Review of Canadian Trade Policy*, 240 pages of worthy analysis and explanation of the nature of trade policy making in Canada. The decision to release that study was largely motivated by a realization that there existed then not a single survey of the subject written for the informed but non-specialist audience. Specialists relied almost

exclusively on US and European studies. No Canadian university offered either a graduate or undergraduate course devoted to trade policy. The most common excuse offered was that no suitable literature existed. This in a country which depends on international trade for a third of its gross national product. We have reaped the whirlwind of this lack of appreciation of the importance of trade policy. Today the most important trade policy issue of the century is debated daily in the newspapers at a level bound to confuse rather than enlighten. The rudimentary knowledge and insight required to lift the

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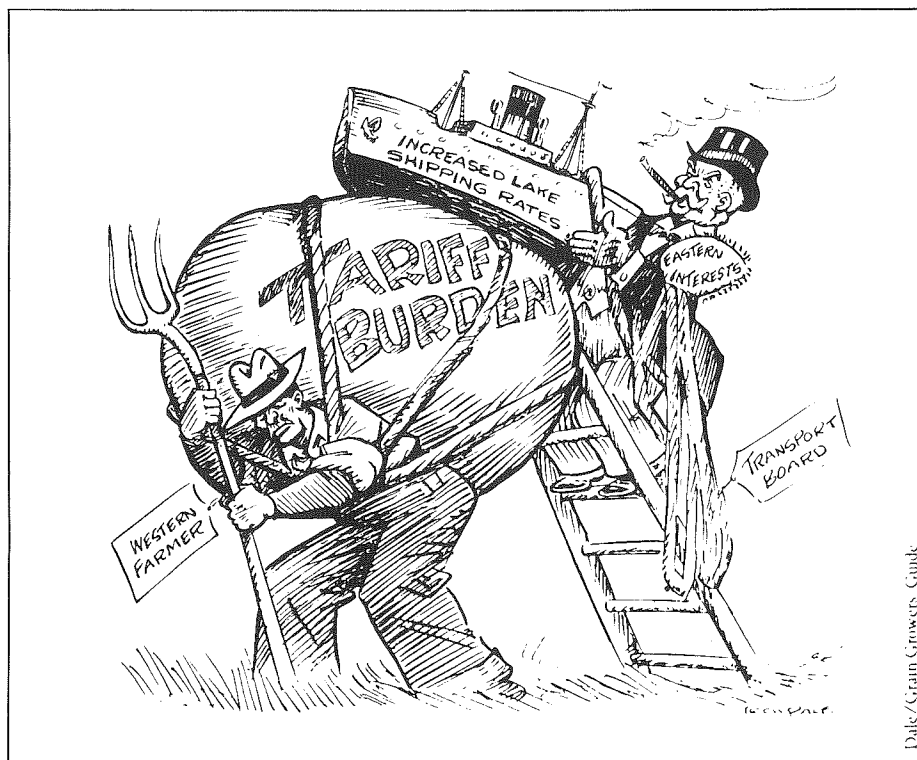
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debate above the banal and simplistic remains absent from the vast majority of otherwise well educated Canadians. Only in Canada are journalists astonished to learn that a free trade negotiation is about removing most barriers to trade.

Canadian academics and officials have long worked in splendid isolation.

The reasons for this dearth of public understanding of trade policy lie in part in government practice. Departmental senior officials and negotiators are loath to share their knowledge and analysis with anyone other than trustworthy former colleagues either retired and/or in private industry. The defendants of that attitude argued, for example, against the public release of the trade policy review. Its proponents still believe that a little public knowledge is a nuisance and a lot is dangerous. Unlike in the United States, where scholars and officials work closely together, where there is a lively interchange of appointments and where there is a large and informed literature available, Canadian academics and officials have long worked in splendid isolation. "Sound" trade policy writing has been largely the preserve of retired officials. Rodney Grey is the most eminent current example; Dana Wilgress was typical of an earlier generation.

But things are looking up. We now have an eminently readable and perceptive study of the GATT and the international trade system from a Canadian perspective (Frank Stone, *Canada, the GATT and the International Trade System*) published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy. The Institute has also released a number of more specialized studies, including one by Rodney Grey and a recent set of essays by Gerry Salembier, Sandy Moroz and Frank Stone, *The Canadian Import File: Trade, Protection and Adjustment*, to be reviewed in a future issue. Some ten volumes of the collected research studies of the Macdonald Commission were devoted to trade policy issues, many of them by specialists without the benefit of government training. Some of these monographs may prove to be the most enduring contribution of the Commission. The C.D. Howe Institute continues to pour forth its timely and topical statements and observations. Publishers like Hurtig and James Lorimer keep things interesting by publishing nationalist diatribes on a range of trade policy issues. The Canada-US trade initiative has generated a lively and knowledgeable literature debating the pros and cons of the issues, much of it from a trade policy perspective. The challenge today is keeping up with the literature. A shortage of literature no longer stands in the way of teaching trade policy in Canada's universities.

When I was introduced to trade policy making in the early 1970s, first with Gerry Shannon in the External Affairs Commercial Policy Division and then with Frank Stone

in Geneva, it was impressed upon me that trade policy was not difficult to understand intellectually, but that a full grasp required mastery of its detail. More than a decade of experience has convinced me of the truth of this assertion. The concepts are not difficult, but they only come to life in the detail learned from continuous negotiation and application.

It was also impressed upon me that book learning would only go so far; to fully understand trade policy one had to experience its negotiation and administration. This was more difficult to appreciate. American and European authorities such as John Jackson, Kenneth Dam and Gerard Curzon have all demonstrated that good work can be done by academic specialists. Sadly, however, much Canadian writing has given comfort to those in Canada who believe that writing authoritatively about trade policy requires hands-on government experience.

The third article of faith in the Ottawa trade policy community was that lawyers need not apply. Trade legislation and orders-in-council may be easily understood if you know trade policy; the reverse does not hold true. Trade policy issues that are largely matters of law and its administration (e.g., anti-dumping and countervailing duties) are more readily grasped than the much more nuanced textile restraint system. But in this I may be hostage to the traditional hostility between lawyers and trade policy specialists in government (not just the Canadian government). As mitigating evidence, let me suggest that the ever increasing judicialization of trade law, particularly in the United States, has proven to be more protectionist in effect than any of the artful dodges invented by the policy specialists, particularly in Canada. Artful dodges can be quickly adapted to changing circumstances; law and the judicial process acquire an aura of sanctity which resists easy adjustment.

It was recently suggested to me that a further step toward demystifying Canadian trade policy had arrived in the form of a legal handbook on Canadian trade and investment policy. Hoping to find something similar to Eugene T. Rossides' valuable *U.S. Import Trade Regulation*, I looked forward to adding Robert Paterson's **Canadian Regulation of International Trade and Investment** to my bookshelf and thus acquire a comprehensive and authoritative handbook on the regulation of international trade and investment in Canada. That it included a comparison of Canadian laws and regulations with those in the United States, the European Community and Japan appeared to be a helpful bonus. Written by lawyers, none of whom had direct hands-on experience, this would be a good opportunity to test the shibboleths of the Ottawa trade policy

community. Once it arrived in the library, the book was eagerly passed from hand to hand among the trade policy specialists gathered on the top floor of the Met Life Centre.

Chapter one, a largely self-contained contribution by Jock Finlayson, got us off to a good start. It furnishes a full and solid overview of the GATT and Canada's interest in the preservation of a strong multilateral trading system. As such it provides an appropriate introduction to the heart of the matter, the following four chapters dealing with the tariff, import and export controls, non-tariff barriers (viz. dumping, subsidies and government procurement), and export financing. We have come to expect work of this quality from Finlayson.

Chapter two on tariffs proved to be more comprehensive than the title suggests: it covers the whole range of customs matters and opens with a discussion on the nature, sources and authority of Canadian trade law. The treatment is complete and readable, an unusual virtue in books of this type. Given the complexity and obscurity of the issues, however, it is not surprising that errors of detail have crept in. For example, on page 52, the author suggests that the British Preferential Tariff no longer applies to New Zealand. New Zealand remains one of the primary beneficiaries of the BPT, but the legal basis for this treatment changed in 1982 as a result of a new Canada-New Zealand trade agreement which replaced the earlier 1932 agreement. Similarly, on page 54, the 1981 Order-in-Council reducing certain customs duties resulted from an agreement with the EC compensating its members for reduced access to the Canadian market resulting from Canada's global import quota on footwear. It had nothing to do with export quotas on certain types of footwear. Such errors, however, undermine credibility, an essential quality in a handbook.

Chapter three on import and export controls really got off to a rocky start. Three examples taken from the first three pages illustrate the point:

- Paterson claims that the non-selective (i.e., non-discriminatory) application of Article XIX safeguards has raised the ire of developing countries. This is wrong. Rather, developing countries complain that whenever their exports threaten to become a major factor in the markets of industrialized countries, they face safeguard action, whether applied selectively or globally. During the Tokyo Round, contrary to Paterson's view, the developing countries opposed selectivity while the EC supported it.
- Part IV of the GATT dealing with the special needs of developing countries con-

tains no contractual obligations but is of a hortatory, best endeavours nature. Nor is it the responsibility of the UNCTAD. The last time I checked, the two organizations remain separate and GATT Part IV matters are reviewed by the GATT Committee on Trade and Development.

- Canada's bilateral textile restraint agreements with Asian suppliers were not negotiated outside the GATT; rather, they were negotiated pursuant to the Arrangement Regarding International Trade in Textiles also known as the Multi-fibre Arrangement or MFA, a derogation from the GATT negotiated under GATT auspices and in place in various guises for more than 25 years. The MFA and its predecessors marked a frank recognition by GATT members that the special problems in textile trade could not be managed within the framework of Article XIX and needed special rules.

I pick these three issues not because they are typical, but because they appeared one after the other in the opening paragraphs of the chapter. By this time, my confidence was somewhat shaken. Fortunately, the rest of the chapter did not duplicate the performance level of the first few pages. Once past the general policy issues, Paterson proved to have a much firmer grasp of the details of legislation.

Chapter four addresses familiar matter for the legal profession: dumping and subsidization, anti-dumping and countervailing duties and procurement preferences, all species of non-tariff barriers. In truth the chapter deals largely with the anti-dumping provisions of the 1984 *Special Import Measures Act* (SIMA) and adds to that a few pages outlining the countervailing duty provisions of SIMA and Canadian implementation of obligations arising out of the GATT Procurement Agreement.

The chapter would have been stronger and more persuasive if it had devoted some space to the policy considerations which underlie anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws and addressed the potential protectionist and anti-competitive effect of these laws. A more complete treatment of Canadian countervailing duty law would have brought out that much of the reason for enacting SIMA related to the fact that section 7 of the *Customs Tariff Act* provided an inadequate legislative base for imposing countervailing duties. Prior to 1977, there was no procedure at all and the introduction of regulations in 1977 was rightly considered an abuse of Parliament.

I also question whether Canada's historical reluctance to use countervailing duties resulted from the realization that the existence of Canadian federal and provincial

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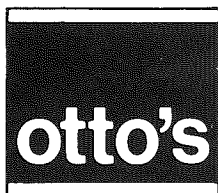
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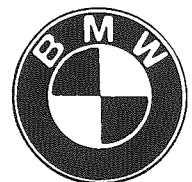
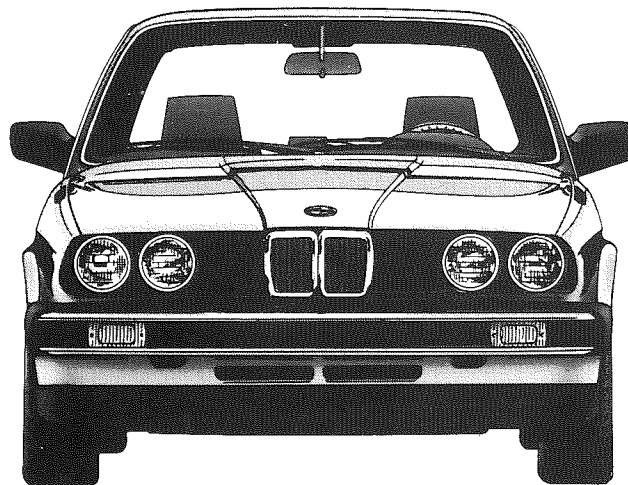
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subvention programs undermined our credibility in pursuing countervail. More likely, the combined effect of an administrative anti-dumping system in effect prior to 1968 and a highly flexible valuation system as well as the generally low level of government assistance practiced by Canada's principal trading partners made countervail redundant. Certainly the existence of subsidies in the US has not acted as a deterrent there. The introduction of the quasi-judicial *Anti-dumping Act* of 1968, the increasing application by the United States of its countervailing duty law to domestic subsidies (the first being the 1973 Michelin tire case) and the increasing use of government financial assistance in Europe were the underlying policy reasons which suggested the need first for regulations and then for legislation.

Chapter five is devoted to a discussion of official export credits and as such includes an explanation of the services provided by the Export Development Corporation (EDC) and of the OECD arrangement on export credits. The chapter also includes a discussion of GATT obligations and US countervailing duty law and its potential impact on official export assistance.

Chapter six by Philip Raworth provides a very thorough and workmanlike overview of trade law in the European Community. It provides a particularly good explanation of the workings of the arcane Common Agricultural Policy, an issue that has confounded many others. The title of the chapter, however, is somewhat misleading. It deals with Community trade law and policy, not with EEC-Canada trade law, of which there is very little. As noted in the text, there are few binding bilateral obligations outside of the fisheries area. Trade between Canada and the Community is largely governed by the GATT, the 1976 Framework Agreement being little more than a statement of good intentions.

Chapter seven by Malcolm Smith, contains a curious mixture. The authors obviously decided that a handbook on Canadian trade law would be more valuable if it contained comparisons to the laws and practices of Canada's three principal trading partners. Raworth took on the EC chapter and Smith, a recognized expert on Japan, took on Japan and the United States. Combining US and Japanese trade law in one chapter and thus providing a basis for comparison to Canadian trade law may have been the intended effect. The result is a comparison between US and Japanese laws and practice. The chapter stands largely on its own and has little to do with the rest of the book. It would have made more sense to have treated US and Japanese trade law separately and included some discussion of

how these systems differed from the model followed in Canada.

The United States system is legalistic and transparent; the Japanese is highly flexible and not at all transparent. One of its main distinguishing features is the administrative decree. Only in Japan, for example, can a government forecast with precision how many automobiles its private companies will export and prove to be uncannily accurate. The book provides a sufficiently detailed description of the two systems to bring out this essential fact and explain why Americans have such difficulty understanding the nature of the Japanese import system. The differences between the two approaches to trade policy making also suggest why it is that Japan has been able to adjust more rapidly and smoothly to changing circumstances and why the US is having such difficulty adapting to changing comparative advantage. Both the description and analysis in this chapter are informative and convincing and make this one of the strongest parts of the book.

The book concludes with three chapters on international and domestic legal issues arising out of the regulation of investment and services. Chapter eight uses a detailed discussion of the GATT panel on FIRA practices to provide an occasion to discuss the nature of GATT dispute settlement procedures. It also includes a discussion of international law and trade and services, much of it centred on GATT and the codes. I found this rather strained and would have found the section more credible if it had included more recognition of the fact that trade in services is regulated by a range of bilateral and multilateral arrangements (e.g., in the air transport sector) but not by an all encompassing code such as GATT provides for trade in goods. The challenge of the current GATT consideration of trade in services is to determine whether such a code is both conceivable and negotiable. He does clarify, however, that in many respects discussion on trade in services is a surrogate for discussion on investment — many of the regulatory practices which impede the free flow in trade in services would be less discriminatory if there were no impediments to the right of establishment or, at a minimum, right of commercial presence.

Chapter nine provides a detailed discussion of current regulation of foreign direct investment in Canada resulting from the 1985 Investment Canada Act and the 1980 Bank Act. It includes a very brief historical introduction to the regulation of foreign direct investment in Canada but fails to include an explanation of the underlying policy reasons for these policies.

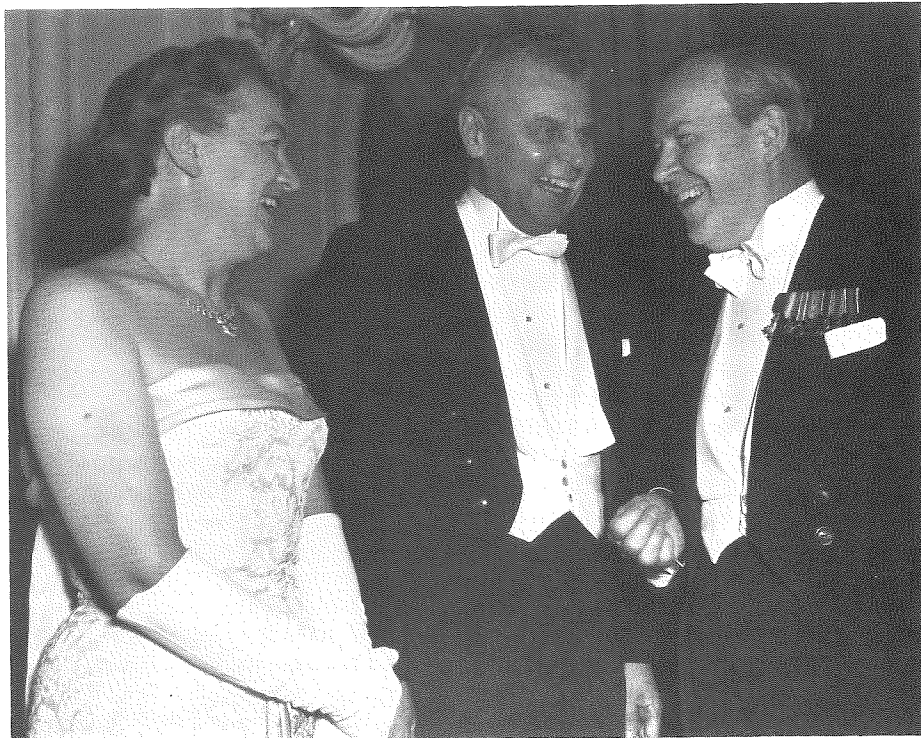
Chapter ten is a companion piece to chapter five in that it discusses in the main

the services provided through the Export Development Corporation in the area of investment insurance.

Now for the hard question. Would I recommend that someone spend \$78.00 to purchase this handbook? Is it an indispensable guide for businessmen, budding bureaucrats and students of Canadian trade? The answer is a qualified yes. It would be stronger if we were dealing here with a \$20.00 softcover volume. Tolerance for miscues is directly related here to price. The book has many good points. It covers a lot of ground and it covers most of it very well. It is for the most part a reliable description of trade law and regulation; it is less reliable on the underlying economic and policy rationale for these laws. Perhaps my early mentors were right. A sound understanding of trade policy does require hands-on experience. If so, those with that experience should write. Otherwise, we will be forced to continue to rely on a book marred by enough errors and misconceptions to require caution in its use. There are no competitors. Should a new edition be prepared, let's hope the publisher will insist on a more careful editing job, especially in checking facts.

*Only those who have penetrated
the curtain can write
with authority.*

Donald Macdonald, who contributed a foreword, suggests that the authors were "handicapped by the fact that at important points the background to both law and policy is not in the public area, but still behind the curtain of departmental confidentiality." That too suggests that only those who have penetrated the curtain can write with authority. Unfortunately, most of them don't write. The current trade policy agenda in Canada is about as charged as it could possibly be. We are simultaneously negotiating the most far-reaching and comprehensive bilateral agreement ever contemplated in Canada and actively participating in the eighth round of GATT multilateral trade negotiations. At the latter talks, in addition to consideration of the more traditional range of tariff and non-tariff matters, the scope for binding agreements is being expanded to include intellectual property, trade in services and trade-related investment issues. Surely, there is need here to inform interested Canadians of more than the bare outline. At a later stage, Canadians will need credible and detailed explanations and handbooks. Who will rise to this challenge?



Canada 1957-1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation, by J.L. Granatstein, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1986. 375 pp. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Dan Livermore

Jack Granatstein is one of Canada's foremost historians. This book, which caps the nineteen-volume Canadian Centenary Series, should be counted as one of his finest works. Writing contemporary history isn't easy. There are too many vivid memories of familiar events, too many bruised egos anxious for a kind reappraisal, and too many crises in need of frank, dispassionate judgment. But Granatstein has risen to the occasion with a balanced and fair assessment of a controversial era.

The Diefenbaker/Pearson era was a tough struggle. Gone were the easy years of almost effortless economic growth and government by the "chairman of the Board". By 1957, Canada was heading into its first serious post-War recession, and new international issues were confronting a political party that had last seen office some twenty-two years before. Foreign policy, international economic questions and defence issues were assuming an importance not seen in Canada for a decade. The foreign policy environment was growing harsher, and the issues were increasingly complex. Eisenhower left the scene, succeeded by a more aggressive administration with little patience for Diefenbaker and no feel for Canadian questions.

By 1962, the largest parliamentary majority in Canadian history had dissolved into minority government, as the Coyne affair, recession and an increasingly disturbing picture of Cabinet disarray took its toll. A year later, Diefenbaker was out, Pearson was in, and a persistent minority government was set to tackle medical care, pensions, a national flag and the therapeutic ecstasy of Centennial Year, amid a distressing and distasteful aroma of political corruption.

Granatstein organizes all of these disparate themes in a simple, effective manner. After the obligatory introductory chapter setting the post-War framework, he analyses the political evolution of the Diefenbaker years, setting the context for thematic sections to follow. He then explores foreign policy ("The End of the Empire Tie"), economics and the Coyne affair, defence policy ("The Defence Debacle, 1957-1963"), cultural events, social issues, the rise of Canadian nationalism, the unification of the Canadian Forces and the emergence of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. A final political chapter endeavours to capture the Pearson years, and a concluding section wraps some thoughts around the idea of Centennial Year, pointing the way to the Trudeau era to follow.

If there are few surprises in this carefully-crafted narrative, there is much of interest. The NORAD agreement of 1957, we are told, was adopted without Cabinet consideration, mainly through the persistence of the Canadian military, and largely behind the back of External Affairs. Granatstein

suggests that the Coyne affair, perhaps the single most damaging conflict of the Diefenbaker period, could have been avoided, had the Prime Minister not balked at Coyne's pension arrangements and thereby called into question the personal integrity of the head of the Bank of Canada. The AVRO Arrow, the author concludes, was doomed from the start, a victim of limited markets and the emergence of the ICBM. On these and other points, Granatstein confirms the old adage that history is the great leveller. With the passing of time, the partisan edges have worn thin; the intemperance of contemporary judgment has given way to more balanced conclusions.

There are few heroes in this decade tarnished by conflict and divisiveness. Perhaps the only less than sympathetic portrait is that of Diefenbaker. Uncertain of the loyalties of his Ministers, he proved incapable of sure-footed, consistent leadership. The charismatic figure who carried his party to such heights was almost single-handedly responsible for its demise. If none of the key political figures quite lives up to their autobiographies, the Canadian public service receives full and gracious recognition. But a pat on our collective heads is not unexpected, given the author's two previous books on the Canadian "mandarinate".

Beyond Granatstein's analysis of everyday issues, one special theme stands out. Simply put, and perhaps stretching the time frames slightly in either direction, this was the era in which Canada came of age. Canada before the mid-1950s was a rough jewel, a resource-driven, semi-developed country with a constrained industrial base, a nation without first-rate universities and lacking the most elementary devices for supporting and cultivating artistic, cultural, sporting and scientific achievement. A decade and more later, we had conquered the residual self-doubts of earlier years, created new measures for fostering a more balanced identity, and begun to confront even the most intractable problems of national unity. Across a spectrum of literary and artistic endeavours, Canadians were taking their places as first-rate achievers at the international level. If Expo '67 was an invitation for the world to see Canada, it was also an invitation to Canadians to witness their own new reality. Granatstein captures the mood, setting and accomplishments of this Canadian transformation with subtle skill.

Diefenbaker and Pearson are part of Canada's mythology. Many of our colleagues worked with them. Many of their colleagues are still with us. Their epic struggles are part of the lexicon of Canadian politics. In short, it's difficult to think of their administrations as "history". But history it certainly is, and

Jack Granatstein has, in essence, produced the first serious study of this compelling and decisive decade.

René Lévesque Memoirs, McClelland and Stewart, 1986, \$24.95.

Reviewed by Wendy Mesley

It had been almost a year since I'd last seen him. René Lévesque had just returned from a promotional tour in the Canadian West. It wasn't his first trip, but it was the first time he'd been struck by the beauty of Jean Chrétien's Rocky Mountains and the warmth of English-speaking Canadians. Thousands of them have bought his autobiography. This day in Ottawa, hundreds had given up their lunch hour to come and get their copies signed.

I'd covered him for several years as a journalist for CBC in Montreal and Quebec City. When he saw me at the bookstore he scowled affectionately and told the storeowner I had come seeking "a Gainesburger"; journalistic slang for a juicy tidbit, a good quote for the nightly news. He nearly always delivered. And, more often than not, he delivered better Gainesburgers in English than in French.

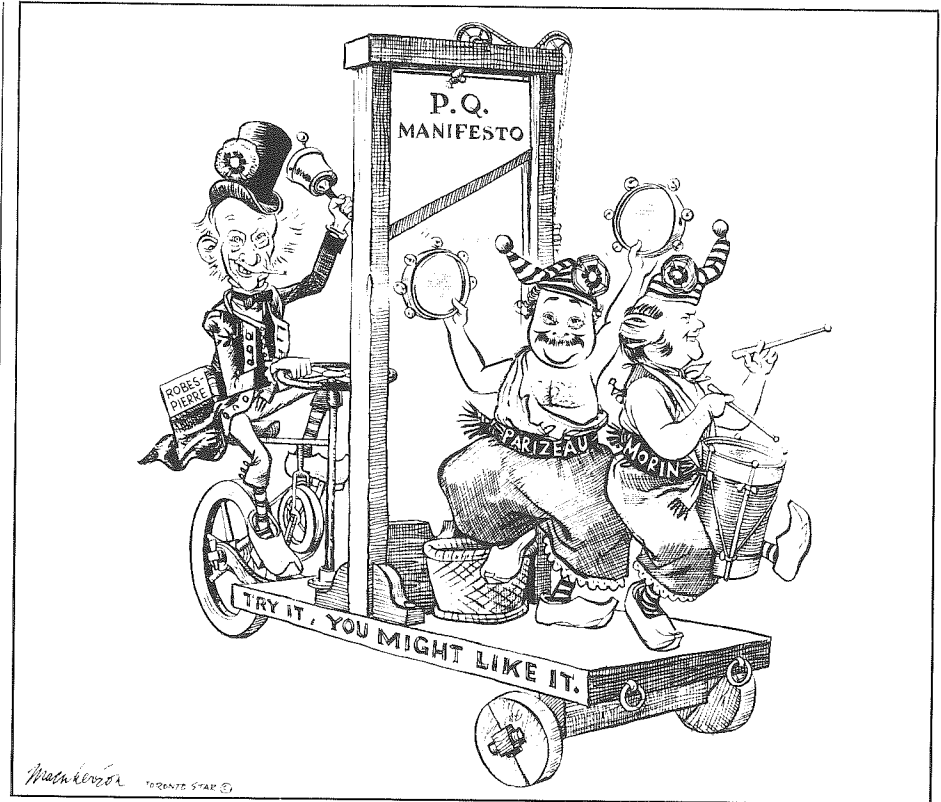
In English he was colloquial, visceral. In French he was more restrained, often long-winded. Understandably, but somewhat unfortunately, he wrote his memoirs in the French mode. There are so many subordinate clauses, that if he sells one book for every comma, he'll be a rich man.

Anglophone members of the press gallery at the Quebec National Assembly jokingly referred to Lévesque and his party as the "dreaded separatist menace". Our desks in Montreal and Toronto thought he was a great story; the closest thing to a revolutionary since Louis Riel.

However, many of us were never sure if the many really was a separatist...or if he simply wanted to negotiate more powers for Quebec. I looked for fresh clues in his book. But, as usual, Lévesque's message is unclear.

For example, this was his reaction when a publicity man for the Lesage government suggested the slogan "Maîtres chez nous" for the election on nationalizing electricity. "Deep down, I couldn't help thinking it was perhaps a little strong. Masters of a huge new sector, okay. But masters of everything else? This exaggerated slogan gave me a feeling of uneasiness which has, for that matter, never entirely left me."

But later in the book Lévesque writes "When you recognize and so often have seen oozing between the lines the superiority complex of a deep seated, majority-bred



paternalism, that's when you feel especially strongly the urge to be, at last one day, 'maîtres chez nous'".

The most revealing moments come when he reminisces about his childhood. There had been long stories about René the runt of New Carlisle...A small town in Quebec's Gaspé where the English were dominant.

The stories said he'd been tied to a tree in his backyard and persecuted by the other children. But Lévesque's portrait of his youth is almost lyrical...full of happy memories. Such as the day he almost drowned.

"Coming out of it was even more irresistible, for who should be leaning over me but the goddess of the beach, a long-legged, flaming readhead who had saved me.

She must have been about twelve and her name was Frances. I was her tongue-tied worshipper for many months after my day of drowning. Not daring and, for that matter, not able to imagine her in flesh and blood, I would drift off to sleep dreaming of her in the sound of the muffled rolling thunder of the waves breaking perpetually on the sand."

There are also memorable moments in his tales of his years as a war correspondent for the U.S. government. In one of them Lévesque talks about witnessing the surrender of Marshal Hermann Goering.

"Against the vast natural setting, the resplendent epaulettes of this Reichmarshall who had been fired by Hitler, as well as a chestful of decorations, shone in the sunlight. But in less time than it takes to tell, our platoon leader, in a couple of passes worthy

of a fencer, ripped away all that glitter. A few buttons popped off, too, and became souvenirs along with the rest of the paraphernalia."

Unfortunately for Lévesque, the day of his book launch he had to admit that he hadn't really been a witness. That he'd confused memory with imagination.

There are also strange lapses concerning more recent events. He calls the Parti Québécois convention where 500 party members walked out on him "quiet and uneventful". And there's barely a word about how he was eventually forced out by Pierre-Marc Johnson and his supporters.

The only place Lévesque's bitterness spills out is in regards to his old nemesis Pierre Trudeau. Their first meeting went like this.

"I had gone along with (Gérard) Pelletier to meet Trudeau in the cafeteria of Radio-Canada and offered to contribute the occasional article. 'Very good,' he said in that drawling tone he affected, 'but allow me one simple question: Can you write?' You'll have guessed by now that we didn't exactly hit it off."

He accuses Trudeau of building his career around one central theme: keeping Quebec down.

"Trudeau had only to present himself as an elegant receptacle into which Canada could pour all its hidden hopes, among them the sneaking wish to see French Quebec put in its place. The unspoken but fiercely evident slogan that floated in the air everywhere was 'Keep Quebec Quiet!'"

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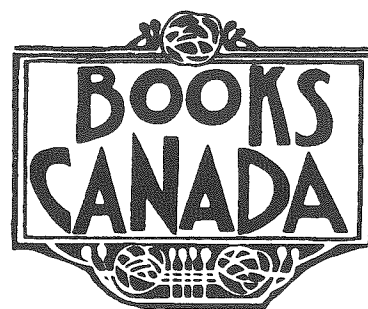
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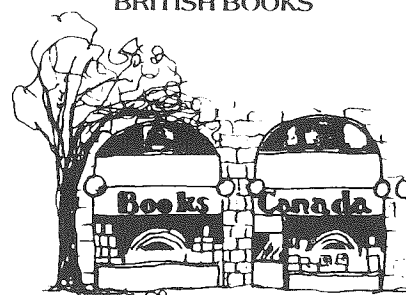
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It's the only place in the book where his cautious tone evaporates and the visceral René Lévesque takes over. There is little self-justification, but here are also few insights, certainly no spilled secrets.

One wonders why he didn't stick to his instincts. "Why didn't I let a year go by before agreeing to write this goddamned book?", he writes in the first chapter.

So much has been held back that there's probably enough left for Lévesque to write another someday. Let's just hope there'll be a few more "gainesburgers" and a lot less commas.

The Wine Lover's Guide to France, by Michael Busselles, Pavillon Books Ltd., distributed by Penguin, 1986, \$29.95.

Reviewed by Chips Filleul

Michael Busselle's **The Wine Lover's Guide to France** is an apt title because it puts the accent as much on France, the wine growing country, as on wine itself. The five principal wine growing areas that make up roughly half the country — Champagne, Burgundy, the Midi, Bordeaux and the Loire — are singled out to the exclusion of the parts of the country not renowned for their wine. Appropriately then, the text comprises twenty-six "wine tours". As the author observes in his introduction: "You do not need to be a wine lover to enjoy the countryside which produces it, but it is a simple fact that the wine-growing regions of France are among the most beautiful and the Routes des Vins are often the most scenic roads".

*This is a decorative book,
but one with a purpose:
to entice the reader to trace
the author's steps along some
of the country's wine routes —
sightseeing, tasting, drinking
and perhaps doing some
judicious buying.*

A continual effort is made to cater to those at least casually interested in the history, variety and technology of wine and wine-making: introductory pages "About Wine", a few paragraphs on the wines to be encountered on each route, a glossary of wine terms and a "Wine Buying Guide" at the end of each of the six regional sections. These guides and other references to wine provide some examples and an overall impression rather than a comprehensive and detailed exami-



nation of the wines produced. In particular the serious wine enthusiast might object to the fact that the "Wine Buying Guide" section for Southern France covers six full pages, i.e. exactly the same as for the incomparably superior (many would say supreme) Bordelais. However for this category of reader other more informative works such as Alexis Lichine's constantly up-dated book or Hachette's encyclopaedic "Guide to French Wines" are available on the shelves.

The qualities of the *Wine Lover's Guide to France* are evident. The text is concise, unpretentious, and shimmers with the author's enthusiasm for his subject, which is,

pre-eminently, the countryside where the grapes are grown and wine is made. This is not to say that any reader would be likely to doubt Busselle's affinity for wine. The book is greatly enhanced by a large number of the author's own glorious colour photographs and maps; these in uplifting contrast to the drab black and white offerings that betray the budget-conscious approach of many wine-book writers and publishers. In short this is a decorative book, but one with a purpose: to entice the reader to trace the author's steps along some of the country's wine routes — sightseeing, tasting, drinking and perhaps doing some judicious buying.

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Insurance: Practical Solutions

by J. Ross Quigley

This year almost every reader of *bout de papier* will purchase or renew some form of insurance benefits. The annual cost to the average family for all types of insurance will be over \$2,000.!! and this is before any business insurance costs are tallied.

For the average Canadian, almost 10% of take-home pay is spent on insurance benefits. I am going to list some of the many forms of insurance and you can add up the costs for yourself:

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2. Home or apartment insurance
3. O.H.I.P.
4. Group insurance plan at work
5. Life Insurance
6. Creditor insurance on your bank loan
7. Mortgage insurance
8. Warranty costs (car, appliances, furnace, etc.)
9. Credit card coverage (as part of the annual fees)
10. Miscellaneous: such as Auto Club memberships and travel insurance.

Insurance is taken for granted as a necessity of life and as such we all pay our premiums faithfully each year, when in many cases we are not sure of what we have purchased. For instance, did you know that many of you have probably never seen an automobile insurance policy? It is called an S.P.F. #1 (Standard Policy Form) and is usually in the form of a 20-page booklet. That represents 20 pages of "small print" which include information, provisions, definitions and exclusions that are critical to each and every person who drives an automobile.

To give you an idea of some common misconceptions about automobile insurance, the following are examples of potentially disastrous situations:

1. No grace period for premium payment.

A London, Ontario motorist had to pay \$30,764.00 because his claim occurred 18 hours after his renewal date and his premium had not been paid.

2. Policies must be issued to the registered vehicle owner.

An Oshawa motorist was responsible for a \$20,000.00 injury claim because the insurance policy was issued in the name of his girl friend in an attempt to reduce his insurance costs. As she had no "beneficial interest" in

his vehicle, the claim was denied and the premiums were subsequently refunded.

3. Impaired driving invalidates collision coverage.

A Toronto motorist who "had a few beers" had to pay \$18,670.00 to replace his new car because the collision section of his policy is not valid when driving while impaired.

These are three rather simplistic situations in which any one of us could find ourselves, and they stress the importance of knowing exactly what coverage our insurance provides. As car insurance is the most common form of insurance benefits, the following tips may prove helpful when you make your purchase decision.

Coverages:

Liability: The Province of Ontario requires a minimum liability limit of \$200,000. This is far too low, when compared with recent court settlements, and a minimum of \$1,000,000. coverage should be purchased. Recent legislation has allowed family members of a claimant to sue for damages as well as the "injured party" (for example, loss of enjoyment of a father) and we expect even higher court settlements in the future. The good news is that the higher liability coverage limits are very inexpensive — ranging from \$8. to \$48. in additional premium per year.

Collision: Insurance companies are losing money and the statistics show that much of their cost is related to small claims where the expenses often exceed the actual claim value. As a result, most companies have revised their rate structures to make a \$250. deductible more attractive than the \$100 deductible. I have seen cases where the difference insured (\$150.) has actually cost more than \$150. We recommend a \$250. deductible on your collision benefits and, in any event you should get quotations on both benefit levels before making your buying decision.

Comprehensive: Fire, Theft, Vandalism and Windshield claims are also subject to the high costs and frequency found in the collision coverage. Most insurers have already increased their deductible to \$50. from \$25. and future changes are likely in an attempt to lessen the effect of the many vandalism claims. One positive effect is that insurers are also becoming very sophisticated in the

prevention of fraudulent claims which have become an increasing concern over the past few years. (Those of you who are interested should request information on "All Perils" coverage which lowers your premium through higher deductible levels, such as \$250., \$500. or \$1,000. on both collision and comprehensive benefits.)

*For the average Canadian,
almost 10% of take-home pay
is spent on insurance benefits.*

Other Benefits:

Loss of Use: This benefit provides up to \$500. for a rental car if your vehicle is laid up for repairs following a claim. Reimbursement would also be made for taxicabs and the cost of other means of transportation. If you must have the use of a vehicle on a daily basis, the \$25/year cost of this coverage is well spent.

Family Protection Endorsement: The Unsatisfied Judgement Fund no longer exists, and this endorsement to your automobile policy, in part, replaces the benefits the Fund formerly provided. This is a *must* buy at a cost of approximately \$30/year.

Waiver of Depreciation Endorsement: This endorsement applies only to new car owners during the first 24 months of vehicle ownership. In it, the insurance company agrees to pay the full original cost of your vehicle without assessing charges for "wear and tear". For a premium in the area of \$30/year you will, in most cases, be able to buy a new car to replace the one damaged.

Your insurance counsellor can give you full details on these and other coverages, and you should check your policy to make sure what is included.

All in all, automobile insurance is fairly simple since all persons residing in Ontario have the identical policy and only the limits and "add on" benefits vary. When you shop for your insurance, beware of the above items and beware of such phrases as "Champion Risk, 6 Star Driver, Super Discount, and Golden Plan". The bottom line cost is your main objective. Choose a solid insurer with a good claims record on payments and, when you have the best price, pay your premiums monthly if there are no interest or carrying charges. A pre-authorized cheque plan is perhaps the best investment of all.

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Buying a Home

Agreements of Purchase and Sale

by Gwynneth M. Turner

You have arrived in Ottawa and are camped out in an apartment-hotel. Days and nights are spent trailing from house to house in search of reasonable accommodation at a price you can live with. At last you find it. THE house. There's room for the kids, a yard for the dog you always wanted, two bathrooms (at last) and yes, even a fireplace.

You'll take it!

But wait...there is more to an Agreement of Purchase and Sale than the price.

Before signing on the dotted line, take time to consider the following:

1. Are you 100% sure you can arrange the financing?

If not, make certain the Agreement is conditional on your being able to make the necessary financial arrangements. Ten working days should be sufficient.

2. How structurally sound is the house?

The most adorable looking houses may need major repairs such as a new roof or

furnace. Make the offer conditional on your obtaining a clean bill of health from a qualified building inspector if there is any doubt.

3. Is there a recent survey available?

All mortgage companies will require a survey. If none is available, your minimum cost will be \$700.00. Make it a condition of the Agreement that the Vendor supply a recent survey within five days of acceptance of the offer. Be careful of the wording here, so that the Vendor is not to supply only "any available survey." If one is not "available", there is no obligation to supply one. Should there be none available, use this as a bargaining tool in the price.

4. So you like the Jennair stove?

Yes, but is it included in the purchase price. Make sure *all* items that are important are specifically included, with correct descriptions.

5. The Vendor wants a \$5,000.00 deposit and you have \$236.72 in your savings account.

Generally speaking, a minimum deposit of \$1,000.00 will be required; however, in rare cases, \$500.00 is accepted if the closing of the transaction will take place soon (4-5 weeks). The further away the closing date, the larger the deposit, but you should also provide in any agreement where the closing is two months or more away, that you be given interest on the deposit on closing. The amount of the deposit may also depend on the purchase price. A Vendor or Vendor's Agent will want a substantial deposit for several reasons, including:

- a) to evidence your earnest intentions to fulfill the terms of the contract;
- b) to have as much of the commission as possible paid up front. On the other hand, you don't want to tie up your life savings on the deposit in case the transaction falls through.

6. Mrs. Jones is happy to sell you the house for \$90,000.00 and is ready to sign. Mrs. Jones is separated from her husband.

Although this should not be a problem where agents are involved, be wary on

private sales that both spouses accept the Offer, even if only one spouse is the registered owner. In Ontario, both spouses must consent to the sale, possibly even in cases where the subject property is not a matrimonial home.

7. You just love the new cedar deck that has been added to the side of the house, and the new sunroom added on the back gives you a really warm feeling all over.

That's all very nice, but where you see any additions or alterations have been made, the Vendor should warrant that:

- a) he has obtained all necessary municipal permits to complete these renovations;
- b) the additions or alterations are in compliance with all municipal by-laws; and
- c) he has complied with the holdback requirements of the Construction Lien Act if the renovations are incomplete or completed within the last ninety days.

8. You are unsure whether to make the Offer in your name alone or in the name of you and your spouse as joint tenants.

Aside from tax considerations, husbands and wives usually take title as "joint tenants". Joint tenancy carries a "right of survivorship" in the surviving joint tenant so that if one of you dies, the other virtually automatically gets title to the property without it passing through your estate. Don't worry about making the Offer in your name alone if your spouse is unable to sign. By signing a Direction to the Vendor through your lawyer prior to closing, you can direct how you wish title to be taken. Discuss the matter with your spouse, accountant and lawyer (not necessarily in that order).

Finally, I would recommend even with what appears to be a simple Agreement of Purchase and Sale, that you consult your lawyer prior to signing, as once the Offer is made and accepted you are completely bound by its terms. Most real estate lawyers would be glad to see you on fairly short notice to review your Offer and assist you prior to your making any commitment.

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I need your help. Some weeks ago, after PAFSO had released a sharply worded protest about yet another non-career head of post assignment, I had an installment on what the late Andy Warhol described as every man's fifteen minutes of fame. Mine lasted, at most, fifteen seconds.

As President of PAFSO I was asked by the National to explain our objection to the appointment of Jean Drapeau. Because I believe strongly that the number and frequency of such assignments over the past two years has been a threat to the career service, I accepted the offer to be interviewed. Some of you at headquarters may have seen the result. For those of you abroad, let me describe it this way. If you looked at the face of the speaker there was no time to read the caption identifying him as a spokesman for PAFSO. If you read the caption, there was no time to take in the speaker's visage. No loss in itself, but it leaves me wondering if there was any time to hear the message.

There I was, eight or so minutes of carefully explaining that we have nothing against Mr. Drapeau, that we understand that any government will want, from time to time, to appoint particularly qualified people in whom it has particular confidence, that many outsiders have, indeed, brought special talent and distinction to the foreign service but that

no previous government has appointed so many amateurs in such a short time, and that this sort of appointment has a deeply felt effect on an already shrinking professional service. Eight careful minutes cut to about as many seconds. Our message distilled to a flip sentence that suited the story that the CBC wanted that night.

The experience has made me think again about what it is we have to say and how we should say it. That's where all of you come in. Our doughty campaign against non-career appointments has been applauded privately by the otherwise silent senior officers whose immediate interest it serves at least as well as our own. It has attracted very little attention outside the service except when we have taken on the big fish or when it suited the national media producers' own needs for another barb to use against the government. It does not seem to have slowed down the latter.

I am not suggesting that we relent. The country has been well served by a professional, career foreign service, leavened occasionally by well qualified outsiders. What we have witnessed lately looks like an attempt to change the nature of the service. As such, it puts at risk not just your career, but a tradition of service and excellence.

I do not make the latter claim lightly. Any reading of Canadian diplomatic history reveals a depth of ability and dedication second to none. At the same time, we have to admit that we have carried along no small numbers of less than brilliant performers at every level. Other people know that too.

If we believe that the foreign service is under attack and if we believe that a professional, career service is not just preferable, but superior, to any other model, then, more and more, in a hostile political and bureaucratic environment (nobody out there loves us!) and with a shrinking personnel base, we are going to have to prove it. This is not another "buck up and do your best" piece. We are going to have to show, over and over again, why we are better at this than amateurs. I mean it when I say I need your help. I want to be able to point to examples of excellence, of service beyond the call. I want to have living examples to cite when I talk to the media and to the Minister.

My last column was by way of exhortation. This one is asking for cards and letters. Let me know about the extraordinary people who make up the service and the remarkable things they are doing. I hear someone sniffing that it isn't dignified. That kind of stateliness will doom us. What I have in mind may not make the National but it could show us at our best.

by Len Mader

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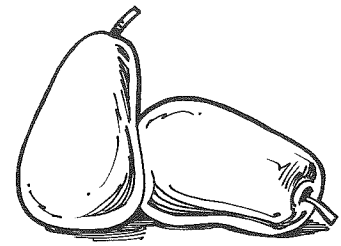
Immunity! Immunity! what's happened to immunity?
 There was a time when the 'Corps' was thought a privileged community!
 But now we have to take our chance
 Of gun or bomb — "Pauvre Excellence!"
 And not to mention Fer-de-Lance
 They get us with impunity!

With all those cocktails that we quaff
 There comes, perhaps, a 'molotoff'.
 And though we take what care we can
 Those canapés are often "off".

We're battened on by every pest,
 Amoeba germs and all the rest,
 Yet try to do our little best
 Before we are quite "polished off!"

In regions red, whence knighthood's fled,
 A head of post was lately bled,
 In other climes the price is set
 At fifteen thugs for one poor "head".
 So when those estimates you freeze,
 And every single dollar squeeze —
 Could you — we pray — consider please:
 Some danger money ere we're dead?

— Evelyn Munro, 1970



Smooth skin
 ripe red and gold
 soft, firm
 smelling of musk, of heat
 plump flesh promising pleasure in
 ambrosia of golden juice
 gift of gods
 one does not eat it
 one becomes one with it.

First the cheeks
 sensuous texture
 sweet firm succulence
 yielding to increasing desire
 strip skin to reveal the centre in
 glorious musk of gold pink flesh
 you are no mere fruit
 you are an emotional experience,
 mango!

— Terry Jones

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 other particulars: _____

We have _____ members in our family. Our children's ages are: _____

We require: Catholic Schools ☐ Protestant Schools ☐ French Schools ☐ Other _____

Remarks: _____

Leopold Battel a servi à Abidjan et en Algérie. Il est présentement à la direction de l'Afrique francophone.

Bill Dymond has served in Geneva and Brussels and is currently with the Trade Negotiations Office. He is the Canadian representative of the Western Front Association, an organization dedicated to perpetuating the memory and courage of the soldiers who fought in the First World War.

Chips Filleul is Special Advisor on Federal Provincial Relations. He has served on the Official Wine Selection Committee. His postings include Dakar, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, New York and a recent stint as Ambassador to Costa Rica, El Salvador, Panama and Nicaragua.

Robert Ford is a poet and expert on East/West Relations. Winner of the Governor General's medal for poetry, he spent sixteen years as Ambassador in Moscow. He now resides at the Château de la Poivrière in France.

Sidney Freifeld is a regular columnist for *bout de papier*. An accomplished angler, he is a former Ambassador to Bogota.

James A. Gibson joined the Department in 1938 and 20 minutes later was seconded to the Prime Minister's Office. He served Mackenzie King throughout the War as External Affairs Liaison Officer. He is President Emeritus of Brock University and lives in Vineland, Ontario.

Michael Hart has served in Geneva and is currently with the Trade Negotiations Office. He is the author of several volumes on trade policy, including a study for the MacDonald Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects.

Terry Jones has served in Sydney, Port of Spain and Accra. He is currently Deputy Director of the Consular Operations Division.

T.F. Kanguidi est ingénieur et vice-président de la Chambre africaine de commerce et industrie du Canada.

Dan Livermore has served at the UN (New York) and in Santiago. A former professor of Canadian history, he is currently deputy director of the Human Rights Section in the UN Bureau.

Mukti Lok spent four years in Egypt with her husband and four children. She is currently a principal in a consulting firm specializing in health care.

Len Mader is President of PAFSO. He has served in New York and Dublin.

Christine Manseau is Executive Director of PAFSO.

Wendy Mesley is a parliamentary correspondent for CBC whose current beat for the National includes External Affairs. She was the Quebec City reporter for the National in the last years of the Levesque Government.

Evelyn Munro lives in Victoria with her husband Don Munro. Together, they served in a variety of posts including Laos and San Jose; in the latter assignment, her husband was Ambassador.

Laurel Pardy is a regular columnist for *bout de papier* and a principal member of a foreign service family.

J. Ross Quigley is President of Group Services Insurance Brokers Ltd.

Patrick Reid was Commissioner to the 1986 World Exposition in Vancouver. He is currently Consul General in San Francisco.

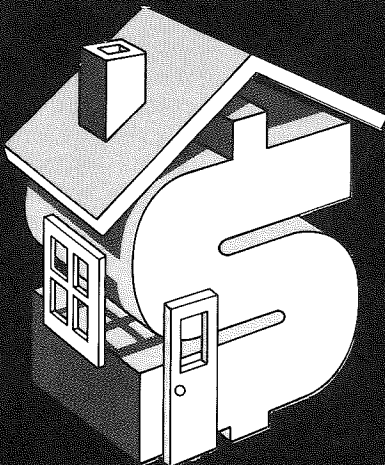
Colin Robertson is Editor of *bout de papier*. He has served in New York and is currently with the Trade Negotiations Office.

John Starnes is a member of the *bout de papier* Senior Editorial Board. A former diplomat whose postings include terms as Ambassador to West Germany and NATO (Brussels), he is also an author of spy fiction including *Deep Sleepers* and *Scarab*. A new work is forthcoming.

Gwynneth Turner is a partner with Barnes, Grenville-Wood and Turner.

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Murder in Academia

Puzzling Mendacity by A. Aalto

Chief Inspector de Toombs was discussing his latest case with ace logician LDC Liebnitz. "Terrible mess, Liebnitz. Head of the University biochemistry department, name of Fynkk, killed with one of his own chemicals — some new wonder drug to which he (and only he) was deathly allergic. Suicide ruled out. Someone slipped the drug into his campari-soda as it sat on a little table outside the phone booth he was using. Funny thing was, there was *another* drink there and it had the drug in it as well — which makes no sense at all, since it was only poison to Fynkk. The second drink belonged to a man named Borox. We checked both glasses for fingerprints and typed the saliva on the rims, but everything linked to the rightful drinkers. Only five suspects, all fellow-professors. Each was sitting in the bar outside the vestibule (look at this map, Liebnitz). Each entered the vestibule once while Fynkk was on the phone. No more than one of the suspects was in the vestibule area (including the washroom or the booths) at any given time, except when two met briefly by the door. No-one else went in. All of them had access to the new drug and knew about Fynkk's allergy. We put them all through a lie detector test the same night and got these twenty-five statements:

Art Arthurs: (1) I didn't kill him. (2) Just before I went into the vestibule, a short man came out. (3) Dawson is up for President of Harvard and desperate to get the job. (4) I had no reason to dislike Fynkk; we certainly never fought. (5) All my statements are true. **Wes Borox:** (6) I didn't kill him. (7) Caswell came into the vestibule as I was leaving and we spoke; that's why I forgot my drink. (8) Caswell's wife was having an affair with Fynkk; Caswell only found out this morning. (9) Fynkk told me earlier today he had discovered that one of us five had faked important research results — he crowed that he would soon expose his "Piltown man". (10) Arthurs had hated Fynkk ever since Fynkk published a savage critique on Arthurs' landscapes. **Leon Caswell:** (11) I didn't kill him. (12) Yes, my vision is poor these days, but my other senses are enhanced — I can smell the rose in your lapel from here. (13) Arthurs went into the vestibule some time after I came out. (14) No, Fynkk wasn't my wife's lover; he was Mrs. Borox's lover. (15) Borox has a nasty temper — nearly killed a man in a brawl last year. **Charles Dawson:** (16) I didn't kill him. (17) I was first into the vestibule after Fynkk;

I went in to get some tissue for this bloody cold in my nose. (18) Everyone knew the Campari was Fynkk's — he's the only one on faculty who drinks it. (19) Exmund hated Fynkk because Fynkk stole Exmund's formula for the new drug, published first and made a lot of money from the patent. (20) Exmund was the last of us to enter the vestibule.

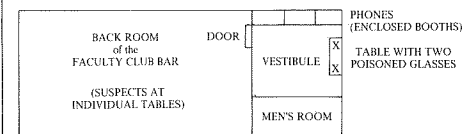
Roger Exmund: (21) I didn't kill him. (22) Mrs. Borox is utterly faithful to her husband. (23) Arthurs and Fynkk had a big shouting match this morning. (24) I've noticed mucho eye trouble among your suspects — Caswell has advanced glaucoma, Dawson has protanopia and Borox severe hyperopia. (25) I went into the vestibule right after Arthurs came out.

"Our lie detector operator unfortunately got the print-outs mixed up the first time through. At that stage all we could tell was that twenty of these statements were true while five were false in whole or in part (we verified later that there were no "honest mistakes"). Only two of the suspects were fully honest with us, but no-one made more false statements than the murderer. We ran the tests again of course and found that the killer (there's only one involved) was..."

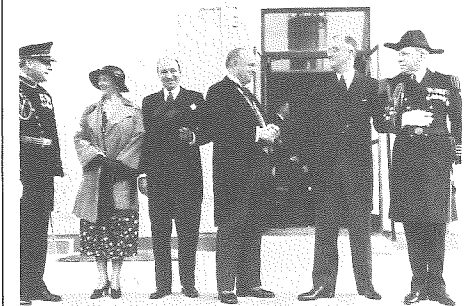
"Wait a tick," interrupted the logician. I think I can tell you who it was, just from the information you have given me, plus a little browsing in the encyclopedia. Hmmm. And three other questions — how tall was each suspect, what was each's Department, and what was each drinking — I assume that all the glasses were the same?? "Yes on the last point," replied his friend. "As to the rest, Arthurs, who is an artist, drank Cuba Libres (rum and coke); Borox the chemist drank something called a Starboard Light (crème

de menthe, lemon juice and soda); Caswell the archaeologist drank Singapore Slings (mostly gin and orange juice); Dawson the biologist (used to work for our lab) drank gin and tonic; and Exmund the biochemist drank Harvey Wallbangers (mostly galliano and vodka). Borox and Caswell are over six feet, Athurs is five-eleven, Dawson and Exmund are about five-seven.

After a few minutes, LDC Liebnitz threw down his pencil and told de Toombs, "Although the case is not completely airtight, I can give you the simplest solution that fits all the facts." Can you duplicate LDC's feat by naming the murderer, the motive and the five lies?? Please send your answers to **bout de papier**, which is still trying to cheer up the Chief Inspector.



CAPTION CONTEST



Caption Contest Winners — It's a Tie!!!

Ted Lipman
Pittsburgh

Barbara Streisand had beautiful eyes but what I really likes was her nice big ... ooooooh!

Harry Van Der Veer
TPE

Watch my lips:
F.U.D.D.L.E. D.U.D.D.L.E!



Solution to Previous Puzzle

A. AALTO PUZZLE WINNER:
Ron Halpin RBR

The Poem

We are the pilgrims, master; we shall go
Always a little further; it may be
Beyond that last blue mountain barred with snow,
Across that angry or that glimmering sea,
White on a throne or guarded in a cave
There lives a prophet who can understand
Why men were born: but surely we are brave
Who take the Golden Road to *SAMARKAND*.
(James Elroy Flecker, 1884-1915)

- (1) *DONNYBROOK*
- (2) *SHANGHAI*
- (3) *UTOPIA* (of Sir Thomas More)
- (4) *MARATHON-ER*
- (5) *TURKEY*
- (6) *VENETIAN BLIND*
- (7) *DIET OF WORMS*
- (8) *SANDWICH*
- (9) *PANAMA*
- (10) *FLYING DUTCHMAN* (of Wagner)
- (11) *CUBA LIBRE*

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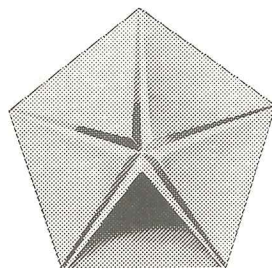
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