

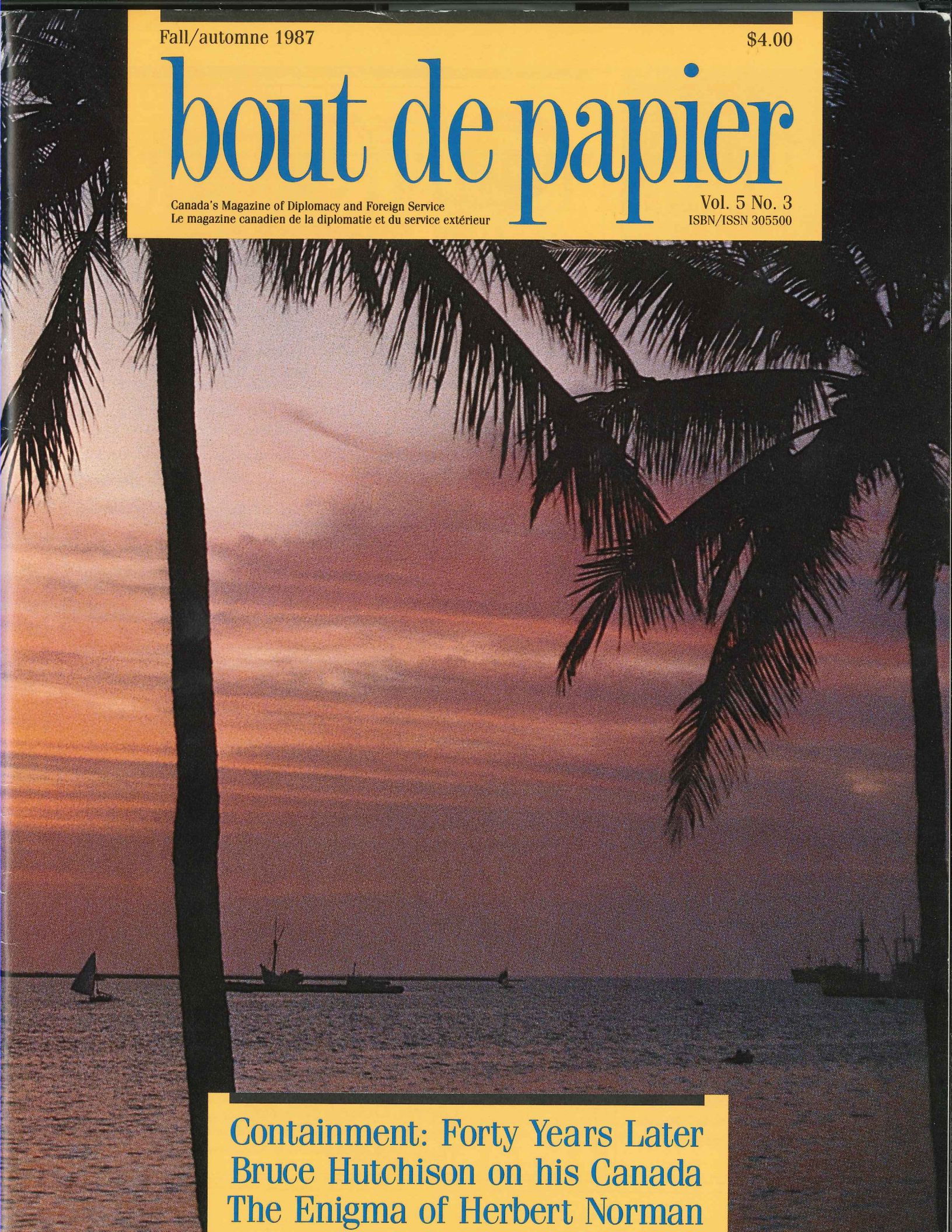
Fall/automne 1987

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Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

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Containment: Forty Years Later
Bruce Hutchison on his Canada
The Enigma of Herbert Norman



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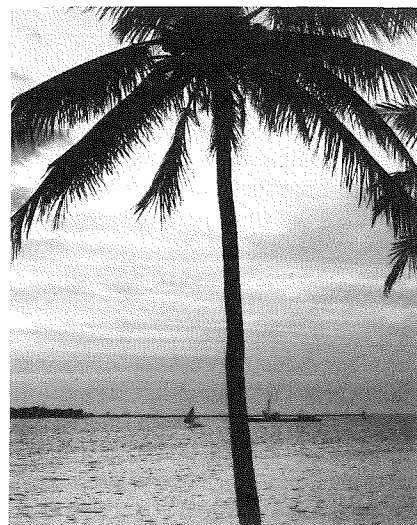
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Rotationality. It is the central feature of the foreign service. It is the pivotal element that differentiates the foreign service from its partner domestic service. It accounts for the bulk of our management dilemmas and is the source of our most visceral frustrations. This year, rotationality has claimed its usual toll of targets among the PAFSO executive. It has also claimed the editor of **bout de papier**, Colin Robertson.

Colin has made a signal contribution to PAFSO and to the emergence of **bout de papier** as a first-rate professional journal. He assembled the senior editorial board and gathered contributions beyond the foreign service community. Thanks in part to a tolerant attitude towards fiscal restraint on the part of the PAFSO Executive, he converted an association newsletter to a professional journal, building incrementally upon the accomplishments of his predecessors. It was a job superbly done. We wish him well in Hong Kong and await his return to the editorial board.

With rotationality comes the inevitability of change. New editorial board members will take the places of David Adam, Herb Fraser and Neil Reeder. There will be additions to the senior editorial board, already representative of the finest accomplishments of the Canadian foreign service. Over the course of the next few months, new contributors will emerge with articles, commentaries and reviews on a variety of topics both timely and arcane. We welcome new ideas, suggestions and contributions.

And while change will come, **bout de papier** has now reached a point of confident maturity. Among its roles, in effect, is ensuring that this journal does its share in meeting the communications needs of all members in ways which PAFSO requires. In a rotational foreign service, communication is critical. If discussion at the recent Annual General Meeting is any indication, there is a pressing need for more communication among members and greater timeliness in getting information to those outside the capital region. There is also a desire for a focussed debate on the professionalism of the foreign service and meeting the challenges that face us. **bout** will play its part.

The face of the foreign service has changed enormously in recent years. At the time of PAFSO's formation, some twenty years ago, few questioned the need for a foreign service or the quality of the Canadian diplomatic corps. The Prime Minister was a former colleague, and the "mandarinate" was well salted with External veterans. Since the heady days of Centennial Year the foreign service has been buffeted by a series of shocks and after-shocks. Our role has

changed; Departmental structures have evolved; personnel policy has been bounced around, re-shaped, re-cast and re-visited; and Governments have come and gone with new ideas both good and bad on how to structure the foreign service to meet the perceptions of the public.

As a professional institution, the foreign service has come under heavy and sustained assault. Yet it's as difficult to blame our political masters as it is to gather sympathies from the rest of the public service. We have an atrocious collective image and too few friends to spring to our defence. We have allowed ourselves to rest on past achievements, and we have failed to grow with time. As proud as we are of the acquired traditions and accomplishments of the foreign service, we need new roots anchored in contemporary realities. Part of **bout's** task will be to present those realities, as interpreted by PAFSO members, critical observers and interested partners.

*As proud as we are of
the acquired traditions and
accomplishments of the foreign
service, we need new roots
anchored in contemporary
realities.*

The Annual General Meeting was a step in the right direction. It was larger than past sessions, indicating an interest in association matters that augurs well for the future. There was solid support for the PAFSO Executive and endorsement of "going public" on issues central to association concerns, especially patronage appointments. A healthy degree of group solidarity was balanced by the presentation of a diversity of views on issues dear to us all.

Past executive boards have been hesitant, even reluctant, to become involved in what they perceived as management issues. As an organization, we have remained aloof from commenting or negotiating on personnel questions or organizational reforms, except as they affected a limited range of negotiable rights. We have paid a price for timidity and vacillation. In refraining from protesting decades of discriminatory hiring practices, we have exposed ourselves to guilt by acquiescence and the consequences of necessary but unpalatable remedial measures. By failing to state clearly, frankly and openly our concerns over such issues as patronage appointments, we have, until recently, been accused of sour grapes.

If PAFSO has now come of age, how do we explain this mildly frightening trans-

mogrification? The tangible factors seem to predominate. Contract settlements that have left our members behind other comparable bargaining units. Diminishing prospects for promotions. Delays in contract negotiations and a failure on the part of Treasury Board to bargain reasonably or in good faith. Declining job satisfaction in positions where the ravages of austerity and fiscal restraint have hobbled effectiveness. The declining attractiveness of a life abroad in the age of AIDS and a weak dollar. And there are others.

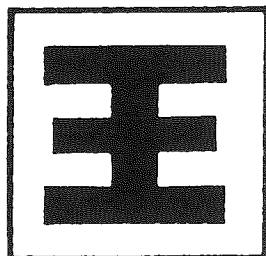
Some have characterized this transformation as a drift towards radicalization. But this term conjures up ideological or political connotations that are still inappropriate to a highly non-political service. Militancy is an equally unsatisfactory description, although many would argue that we are ready for a J.C. Parrot or a Bob White. Let's call it stridency, or self-assurance. Whatever the term, its chief manifestation may well be a less deferential attitude on the part of FSO's, combined with a more structured insistence that a professional service merits a professional partnership between management and labour.

bout de papier, to re-cycle an old phrase, is both part of the problem and part of the solution. As a magazine dedicated to objective and impartial analysis of foreign service and diplomacy, we intend to focus on timely areas of controversy and difficulty. And our contributors will no doubt comment with alacrity on the state of PAFSO, the diplomatic service, the Government or foreign policy. For these articles presenting our problems with naked brutality, we offer no apologies in advance. But we are also an agent of our association, in favour of a forward-looking, outwardly-oriented organization that can help find the solutions to the dilemmas of a modern, effective foreign service. We are an agent of communication and information, not only within PAFSO but on behalf of PAFSO, to a wider world with a limited appreciation of the foreign service and an ingrained disposition for doubt.

In the months ahead we hope to offer a balance of reflection, controversy, analysis and provocation, in two languages and unilingual cartoons. On behalf of the editorial board and the senior editorial board, I express thanks for continued PAFSO support, appreciation to our outgoing editor and confidence for the future of a lively journal.

by Dan Livermore

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Reflections on Current Canadian Refugee Policy



by G.E. Dirks

Informed observers within and beyond Canada recognize and acknowledge that this country has contributed significantly to the alleviation of global refugee problems during the past forty years. Over this period, more than half a million refugees and displaced persons have gained permanent entry to Canada. In excess of one billion dollars in grants and materials have been donated to the programs of intergovernmental and voluntary agencies. This enlightened approach to the refugee phenomenon may not entirely make up for the appalling stance Canada adopted in the nineteen thirties towards European refugees who were seeking a safe haven from Nazi persecution.

Canada's recent financial support to international humanitarian agencies, when combined with generous and ambitious private and government-sponsored refugee

resettlement schemes, goes a long way to explain the awarding to this country of the Nansen medal by the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in 1986. Now, however, legislation about to be promulgated by the Canadian government has filled long time observers of this country's refugee activity with apprehension and dismay as well as with a little despair and even anger.

*Ironically, while Canada is
a country built by immigrants,
Canadian society has not
welcomed newcomers, exhibiting
instead a latent animosity
verging on xenophobia.*

Bill C-55, aimed at improving the efficiency of the refugee status determination process, and Bill C-84, intended to deter

*Immigrants from Central Europe arriving at
Winnipeg, Man. 1920's.*

persons from abusing the immigration intake process, have caused civil libertarians, immigration lawyers, and students of refugee affairs to assert that Government policy will act contrary to the provisions and spirit of both the U.N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which Canada is a signatory, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Rather than dissecting the two pieces of legislation, this article will briefly suggest why the Government has felt the need to adopt a more restrictive refugee policy than has been the case in recent decades, and why Canadians should be alarmed rather than satisfied with this new posture.

In analyzing the Government's motivation for seeking a more restrictive refugee policy, it must first be pointed out that refugee and



Messrs. Krag and Dawson entering Canadian Emigration Offices, London, England, July 1911.



Immigrants, Quebec, Que. 1911.

immigration issues are inevitably intertwined in the minds of policy-makers, and for that matter, Canadians generally. Indeed, there are separate branches or divisions within Employment and Immigration Canada that specialize in refugee affairs and in the movement of the more numerous, economically-motivated immigrants to Canada. Yet, statements by Parliamentarians, including Cabinet Ministers, as well as from Canadians at large, frequently demonstrate a lack of awareness of the major distinctions between refugees and immigrants, erroneously considering all persons in these categories as a threat to Canadians with jobs, a burden to the taxpayer and possibly a socially destabilizing force. Without doubt, unscrupulous immigrant consultants both here and abroad,

along with many of their clients, have muddled the distinction between immigrants and refugees still further. These persons have attempted to use the provisions of the refugee status determination process to improperly gain a permanent foothold in this country. By means of C-55 and C-84, the Government seeks to control and manage the global migratory pressures which are confronting virtually all the more affluent Western industrialized countries.

Broadly speaking, political and bureaucratic/administrative factors in large part account for C-55 and C-84. Survey research over the past thirty to forty years has demonstrated that immigration has never been particularly popular with the Canadian public. Ironically, while Canada is a country built by immigrants, Canadian society has not welcomed newcomers, exhibiting instead a latent animosity verging on xenophobia. The Government has sensed this public distrust of immigration programs which are perceived by Canadians to be bringing foreigners to these shores in an uncontrolled, self-selected manner. In the face of mounting abuses, the present Government believed there were political gains to be made by passing legislation that significantly prevented migrants, be they refugees or economically-motivated immigrants, from entering Canada and remaining here without first having been screened and processed abroad at Canadian posts.

Bureaucratic and administrative pressures also had a part to play in the decision to enact C-55 and C-84. Career public servants in Immigration had for years been endeavouring to persuade governments to adopt legislation that would enable them to more effectively manage and control who should enter Canada, using trained, no-nonsense visa officers, often portrayed by their critics as "gate-keepers." Existing policy and regulations, it was argued, permitted persons to

arrive at Canadian ports of entry, or on our beaches for that matter, and defeat administrative procedures by simply claiming to be refugees. Even if these claims were subsequently found to be frivolous, the elapsed time would have enabled these persons to settle in Canada, thus making removal most unlikely. The present Government then, frustrated by the undoubted widespread abuses to immigration procedures and regulations, moved to tighten up the admissions process and justified the decision to do so on political and administrative grounds. The public, it was asserted, would endorse restrictionist-protectionist legislation and the bureaucracy would welcome tools that enabled control and enforcement to gain at last an upper hand.

It is not certain, however, that the solutions the Government has adopted are workable or are within the humane and compassionate traditions that have been a part of refugee policy evolution in Canada over the past few decades.

Why should Canadians be alarmed rather than satisfied with this legislation? Is it not obvious to all that, as a result of unforeseen migratory pressures and unscrupulous immigration consultants with desperate clients, real problems existed for Canadian immigration authorities? Is it not also the case the steps had to be taken to erase a state of affairs where thousands of persons were jumping the queue of would-be immigrants who had chosen to follow proper procedures through processing at overseas posts? Indeed, few observers would argue that certain policy modifications had to be made to halt abuses to immigration programs and to curb fraudulent refugee claims. It is not certain, however, that the solutions the Government has adopted are workable or are within the humane and compassionate traditions that have been a part of refugee policy evolution in Canada over the past few decades. Canadians should show wariness and caution towards the new restrictive legislation, particularly to C-84, which embodies a harshness and illiberal quality not in keeping with Canada's political and ethical values.

Even before this country finally formally signed the U.N. Convention on the Status of Refugees, Canadian governments adhered to the spirit of that international agreement by accepting persons with a "well founded fear of persecution" and not threatening "refoulement." Moreover, The Immigration Act



(1976) acknowledges Canada's obligations internationally to assist refugees and places them very high in the processing priority. In addition, persons arriving at Canadian ports of entry, according to the 1976 Act, were guaranteed the right to claim refugee status. Subsequent rulings by the courts have given persons who have had this claim overruled the right to an oral hearing before the Immigration Appeals Board. Fair and just practices such as these contributed to Canada's international stature and indicated to other governments that this country practiced domestically what it preached internationally. Canada's international credibility may be endangered with the passage of both C-55 and C-84.

Specifically, there are a number of worrisome shortcomings contained in the new legislation. First, persons claiming to be refugees are not guaranteed a hearing before a panel of the newly established Refugee Board and may, in fact, be prevented from landing on Canadian shores. This latter provision gives Canadian officials the right to "refouler" persons, a step explicitly prohibited by the 1951 Convention on Refugee Status. Second, Canadian authorities may detain refugee claimants without a court hearing for up to 28 days. Some lawyers argue that this provision is contrary to "habeas corpus" and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Third, persons and organizations found to have offered advice and counsel to foreigners concerning how to apply for refugee status in Canada may be fined or imprisoned. Fourth, claimants awaiting a ruling on their request for refugee status may be required to depart from Canada and go to a "safe country" until the

Foreigners on Kensington Avenue, Toronto, Ont., June 1922.

decision is rendered. It is by no means certain what constitutes a "safe country." Finally, there is no right of appeal, except on points of law, when a request for refugee status has been rejected.

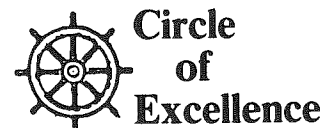
Of the two pieces of legislation discussed here, C-84 is the more hurriedly drafted and threatening to civil liberties and Canada's liberal traditions. While a number of chronic factors had a part to play in explaining why this bill came to be, the arrival on Canadian shores of 155 Tamils in 1986 and 174 Sikhs in 1987, without doubt, acted as a catalyst, causing the Government to recall Parliament this past summer to pass hastily what it believed to be appropriate legislation. Had the occupants of those two small boats been nationals of East European countries, it is extremely doubtful that Parliament would have been recalled, or that legislation such as that introduced in the House of Commons would have been passed, even though their arrival would have been just as improper.

Some Canadians may indeed suggest the present Government is courageous for taking this hard line towards would-be refugee claimants and persons prepared to abuse immigration regulations. Many others, however, would assert that these two pieces of legislation reflect a negative overreaction and a turning away from the sort of national behaviour that placed Canada in the forefront of the international community in refugee matters and which resulted in this country being awarded the Nansen medal for its humanitarian work in easing global refugee problems.

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Looking Back Over Sixty Years

by Bruce Hutchison

It would be absurd for an old newspaperman to expect, or want, a return to the politics and society of his youth. Ronald Reagan's aching nostalgia and grand fantasy are not widely shared by Canadians. But today's ruling generation, even if it reads history books, will not understand how drastically our nation has changed since 1925 when I first worked in the Ottawa press gallery.

Of those largely forgotten days two men will serve as monuments and public managers.

Directly below my seat in the uncrowded gallery sits William Lyon Mackenzie King, middle-aged, rotund, smiling and loquacious — not a likeable sort nor yet a success in government. Across the aisle stands Arthur Meighen — lean, pale, ramrod-straight and contemptuous of his successor. When Meighen arraigns the minority Liberal Government in sentences and paragraphs that need no editing, a red line moves up the Prime Minister's bulging neck and covers his bald head. No one in politics but the icy Opposition leader can beat King.

That the blood feud and visceral hatred between these rivals was just beginning and would last for two decades until King's final victory did not occur to me or the nation. That, meanwhile, King would be morally defeated in the 1925 election but would cling to power, that the Customs Scandal of 1926 would bring him to the brink of ruin and that the Constitutional Issue would lift him to the peak of his career to hold office longer than any other man in the English-speaking world — all this was unimaginable.

So was the strange mix of brilliance,

honour and folly that distinguished Meighen's career. The "ready, aye, ready" speech on the Chanak debacle, the Hamilton speech proposing a referendum before Canada entered any war, the attack on the Ogdensburg defence agreement as "twilight twitterings", above all the arrogant underestimate of King as a windy "charlatan" were fatal mistakes.

Though Meighen was the finer human being of the two the myth of his superior talent is denied by the record. Doubtless Meighen possessed the finest intellectual machinery in our politics before the arrival of Pierre Trudeau but it was not made for government. It was made for law, business and, oddly enough, for enduring personal friendships beyond King's grasp. But Meighen lacked King's almost mystical antennae, his sure sense of the public will.

While I suspected none of these facts, I was awed by the decorous manners of Parliament. Today's noisy brawls in Question Period were then unknown.

Once, from the treasury benches, the newly-arrived Charles Dunning interrupted Meighen by shouting "rats!", a familiar term of offense. After Meighen had replied in language of classic scorn the master politician of the prairies looked like a whipped school-boy. That suited King who needed Dunning but accurately saw him as a Liberal competitor.

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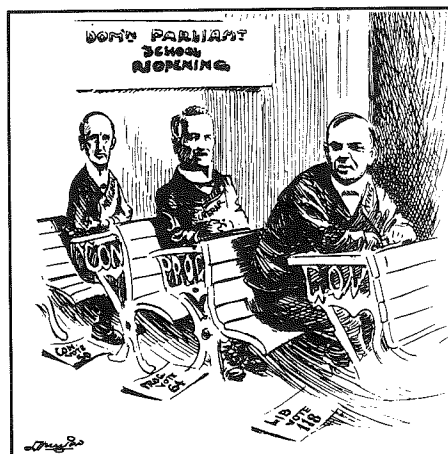
It took me a long time to realize that in my young days the politicians and the people understood the nation's business far better than we can understand it now.

Six decades ago, in the quiet town of Ottawa, Canada's problems that seemed formidable were simple and easily comprehensible by modern standards. When the Commons might spend hours debating the cost of a minor road, wharf or post office and weeks on freight rates, grain prices or the tariff, the government appeared equal to its task. Of no contemporary government can that be said. But all the political parties and most of the citizens in earlier times had totally misconstrued the dangerous world around them.

It was a world recovering from the Great War and on its way to a greater while a prosperous Canada assumed that peace was guaranteed by a League of Nations. Besides, as Senator Raoul Dandurand, the Canadian

delegate, informed the League at Geneva, his people inhabited a "fireproof house."

Even King, after visiting Hitler not long before the second war, told me, in the third-floor sanctum of Laurier House, that the German dictator was a "simple peasant" who, justly awarded the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, would pose no threat to Europe.



An Exchange of Seats

If this delusion was remarkable in a seasoned and usually sound judge of men it must be remembered that the people of Canada, nearly all of them, were as isolationist as King and strongly opposed to foreign adventures. They and their leader enthusiastically applauded the Munich deal and praised Neville Chamberlain as the world's saviour.

John W. Dafoe, the Winnipeg editor, was one of the few prominent Canadians who believed that the ultimate measure of appeasement must soon lead to war. Many of Dafoe's readers and some of his closest friends deserted him. King had been deceived by Hitler and his own horror of war but he had not misunderstood the feelings of the vast Canadian majority (including, alas, this reporter).

Though he had written an unreadable book, "Industry and Humanity", during his political apprenticeship to reveal the abuses of capitalism and to suggest incomprehensible reforms, King and the Liberal party still counted on the uncontrolled market, the Invisible Hand and sacred memory of Adam Smith to nourish Canada's prosperity.

When Franklin Roosevelt introduced his New Deal (and saved the free enterprise system from self-destruction) King warned Parliament that the spending of government money would not cure the prevailing depression. Until R.B. Bennett devised a Canadian version of Roosevelt's policy in a futile attempt to win the 1935 election the Conservative Party, except for its unchanging

protectionism, was also devoted to the market.

The mythology of politics was nowhere more distant from the reality than in the old tariff issue. The two parties, alternating in office, tinkered with import restrictions, pushing them up or down, but John A. Macdonald's National Policy was always the spine of the national economy. A western protest movement called the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, headed by the saintly J.S. Woodsworth, advocated total socialist planning which must involve far more protectionism than the old parties favoured. That remains true now in the New Democratic Party, child of the C.C.F.

The kaleidoscope of the Second World War revised the entire political pattern.

By 1943 the first believable opinion polls showed King's government, the Conservative Opposition and the C.C.F. running neck-and-neck. M.J. Coldwell, the C.C.F. leader, seemed likely to become Prime Minister at the next election and he was well fitted for the supreme office.

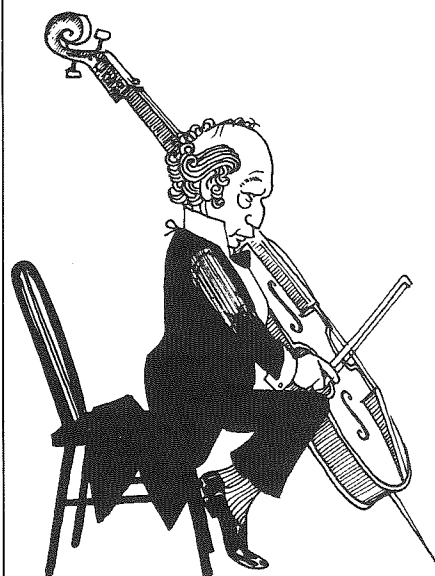
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But having refused King's invitation to join the cabinet, Coldwell suddenly found himself outflanked by the Liberal strategy and the Conservatives could not discover a credible leader when Bennett retired to the ancestral womb and the British House of Lords.

Convinced that a radical new economic doctrine was required to solve the new problems of society, or at least to win a final election, King announced the postwar Welfare State. It was something like his vague youthful dream and neatly preempted the middle of the road to secure his last mandate in 1945.

From then no party challenged his basic reforms. Instead, his successors multiplied them, usually disguising their future cost. The nation was and is liberal in the strictly non-partisan sense of the word.

At this writing the conventional wisdom holds that North American society as a whole is moving ideologically rightwards and cutting back government when actually it is expanding and the N.D.P. (thanks mainly to



Macdonald TORONTO STAR



the mistakes of the old parties) heads the polls.

Until very recent times no government or opposition seriously addressed Canada's underlying dilemma, its changed position in the economy of a technological world, and party labels have lost their meaning. For example, Robert Stanfield (who should have been prime minister) was not a Conservative by accepted definition, nor are such men as Brian Mulroney and Joe Clark while the Liberal Party contains many right-wing conservatives and the N.D.P. not a few members skeptical of orthodox socialism.

Partisan geography likewise is changing. Who would have guessed thirty years ago that John Diefenbaker (who once told me than he didn't know where he stood in the philosophical spectrum) would capture the ancient Liberal bastion of the West and, for one election, Laurier's and King's Quebec? The sweep of 1958 was repeated, in spades, by Mulroney in 1984 and its tide, like Diefenbaker's, may be ebbing already.

Behind all this shifting scenery is a nation that has hardly begun to grasp the nature of its peaceful revolution. Three things, among others, are creating an incalculable future.

During the years of the long postwar boom, after the government of the able Louis St. Laurent had avoided reckless finance and reduced the national debt, Canadians became

smug, fat and extravagant in a mockery of their historic character. The Trudeau Government piled up deficits without serious public objection, gutted the treasury and left a budgetary shambles to its successor.

But despite the appalling current figures the public still demands much more from government than it is ready to pay for and the moment of financial truth has been postponed, though not indefinitely.

Trudeau's constitution, his masterwork, has established a Charter of Rights and Freedoms modeled on the American original and thus begun to politicize the Supreme Court. Like its counterpart in Washington, it will be compelled to render, with bland constitutional language, many decisions of a political nature, decisions vitally affecting the polity. This change alone must profoundly influence the collective and private affairs of our society with consequences unknown.

Against all expectation the birth rate has fallen so far that Canada must seek massive immigration to increase, or even maintain, its present population. The myth of a country dominated by people of British or French origin and hence an overseas appendage of Europe is the relic of an age now dead and buried.

To understand, reflect and govern a different age Canada needs what Dafoe called

Great Parties but, he said, they had disappeared for good after the First World War. Apparently he was wrong since King soon organized the most durable party of modern times.

But today Dafoe's prophesy has been confirmed. There is no Great Party. None commanding the nation's full confidence. Nor are there in public life any great leaders comparable to Macdonald, Laurier, Borden and King. The cyclical weather of politics has produced a lesson of drought. Followership, too, has declined. Canadians who once conquered a wilderness and pushed the frontier from sea to sea expect miracles from politicians lacking the imagination, money and public trust to meet the new imperatives.

Nevertheless, as an old reporter sees it, the news is not all bad. On the contrary, I would guess that with Quebec's rejection of separatism and its acceptance of the constitution we have turned our most important and dangerous corner since 1967.

With its mistakes innumerable and its existing politics of confusion Canada is, I believe, a stronger and more enlightened organism than it was at the beginning. No country on earth offers the average citizen a better life. But Canadians, always full of self-doubt, have never fully appreciated the unique good fortune.

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Let's Go Camping

by Laurel Pardy

Ever want something so bad you could taste it? Ever wake up on posting and think, "If I have to spend one more day here, I won't be responsible for the consequences"?

Nearly three years of unremitting Indian sunshine had taken their toll. I was desperate for brisk dawns and sweater evenings. I wanted to sleep snuggled under a quilt and to stand in front of a fire with warm hands and cold cheeks.

I wanted to go camping, Canadian style.

High in the Kulu Valley, 800 kilometres north of New Delhi, is a memorial to an Indian who fought and died with British Columbia's Rocky Mountain Rangers in WWI. In his memory, his father brought a little touch of Canada to this far corner of India.

Part of this memorial is a massive boulder carved with commemorative text, the rest is a cluster of log cabins which huddle beneath ancient evergreens along the edge of an escarpment.

These cabins became our destination.

For a homesick Canadian, the rushing stream with its stone grist mill and water wheel, the waggy-tailed sheep in the lush meadow and the cold pure mountain air made the sweaty, unpredictable drive through the Punjab worthwhile.

The pine trees reared up in triumphant splendor; the mountains soared in purple majesty; the log cabins glowed warmly in hospitable welcome. I clutched my jacket around me, collected pine cones, dabbled in the brook and wallowed in nostalgia. However, behind the familiar facade lurked the reality of another culture.

The differences tiptoed up on me and for a time I resisted their intrusion. I did not want to be unblinded but India, as usual, refused to be ignored.

The cabins offered beds, flush toilets and electric heaters but nothing to cook on except a recalcitrant clay oven on which it took four hours to brew the morning coffee.

In the market one could buy beautiful wool shawls but no meat, coca cola but no charcoal. Chapati flour, cooking oil and salt; a few expensive onions, carrots and potatoes; tumeric, dried chilis and tea were the luxuries that the people worked long hours to afford.

Children waved gaily and both men and women climbed the steep trails with towering loads but were old at fifty, or forty.

The cluster of tents in the valley did not belong to happy hikers but were instead the

urts of Tibetan refugees. Every tall tree had its top festooned with strings of their prayer flags.

The two lane highway was not to ease the labours of the populace but, this close to the Chinese border, for military traffic. We would be allowed into the mountains beyond the village only on the sufferance of the local military commander.

Drawn by the lure of snow on the mountains farther up the road, we obtained permission to drive to the top of the Rotang Pass. Any farther and we would have been on our way into China.

India, as usual, refused to be ignored.

Two hours and thirty-five kilometres of tortuous turns later saw us at the top of the pass and five hundred metres from the snow line. We started up the gentle slope only to collapse to the ground after a few metres.

New Delhi sits 10 metres above sea level, our cabins were at 2200 metres but the top of the pass was at 4500 metres. The ignominy of it all was that little boys had run up the mountain paths beside our van and happily played chase as we gasped for air.

After reassuring myself that I was going to survive the experience, I became aware of the awesome surroundings in which I was resting. The silence was absolute. No birds, no trees, no cars, no habitations. There was only the soundless vigilance of a stone prayer cairn erected by Tibetan refugees who believe that their gods live in these mountains.

As I stared at the rows of snowcapped peaks that stretched to every horizon, I believed it, too. Man could not have conceived or constructed anything so audacious, so humbling.

Finally, cold and hunger forced us off the mountain and back to our campsite where a delectably pungent curry dinner awaited us.

The rice was fluffy, the chapatis were tender but the lambs of mountain sheep have to be tough, and it was a characteristic they refused to relinquish, even on the dinner plate.

It was not wasted, though. As in campgrounds the world over, there was a big, friendly golden labrador retriever who did not object to handouts. That, at least, was the same.

The Sporting Life

by Sidney A. Freifeld

In recent years Washington has become the scene of considerable diplomatic intramural sport; around thirty embassies and international organizations headquartered there compete regularly at soccer, and a smaller number joust in that most American of games — baseball. I wonder how many of these athletes realize that the grand-daddy of such diplomatic athletic skirmishes dates back to 1943 and that, in the midst of World War II, the Canadian Legation was the initiator.

By a sort of verbal osmosis, some of us who used to toil in External Affairs' early headquarters in the East Block used to hear a fleeting word about a legendary baseball game supposed to have been played in the war years between the Canadian Legation in Washington and the U.S. State Department. According to the legend, if a Canadian made it to first base, an American Third Secretary would be standing in the first base coaching box to hand him a martini from a loaded tray. If an American made it to first base, a Canadian Legation slavey would be in the coaching box to offer him a maple leaf cocktail.

And for those on either team who managed to make it all the way to third base, this offer of refreshments would be repeated — presumably to re-charge the diplomatic batteries for the hoped-for assault on home plate.

This legend gained credence around Ottawa because, for one thing, the second-in-command of our Legation in Washington during those wartime years was a notoriously avid baseball fan, with an irrepressible sense of humour — none other than Lester B. "Mike" Pearson. For another thing, in those days, when our bilateral problems with the United States were less complex and vexing and when, after Pearl Harbor, we were marching arm-in-arm as Allies in a struggle to the finish against Hitler's Axis, there was a happy back-yard informality, an easy intimacy, a genuine warmth and friendliness between the two North American diplomatic communities that just might have made such a far-fetched baseball game possible.

While I heard rumours about this "sporting" event long ago, it took me fully forty years to catch up with the *res gestae* of this path-breaking episode in Canada-United States relations. I owe the discovery to an old friend and fine colleague, Dr. Don Page, the Department's senior historian, who directed me to External Affairs file 5526-40. In it I found some extraordinary *bouts de*



Lester B. Pearson

papier which — you will soon see why — he could not use when drafting the Department's yet-to-be-published history. Since my scribbles deal with matters somewhat less formal, I have no inhibitions in now bringing these remarkable documents to the attention of readers of **bout de papier**.

But first of all, a word about their *dramatis personae*. Mike Pearson needs no introduction, nor should Hugh Keenleyside, whose fiefdom at that time was the entire Western Hemisphere, as Head of Political III. Jack Hickerson was a distinguished officer in the State Department then dealing with Canadian affairs, and he had previously served in the American Embassy in Ottawa; in both places he had gained esteem and had a close friendship with our people. The "Hull Hillbillies" were not denizens of our neighbouring city of Hull, but were officers in the State Department then headed by Cordell Hull, the United States wartime Secretary of State.

Now to the game. The Canadians, as visitors, are batting first, and have sent their lead-off man to the plate. The Americans have taken up their positions in the field. I will now let these documents — surely unique in the annals of Western diplomacy — speak for themselves.

SECRET, CONFIDENTIAL, AND
ALMOST IMPORTANT. TO BE
DESTROYED BEFORE READING

The Hon. Theodore Achilles
Department of State
Washington, D.C.
April 20, 1943

Sir:

I have been requested by Their Excellencies, the various Canadian officials now serving in this penal settlement of Washington, to throw at the State Department a challenge to a test of strength or skill on what is, I believe, known as a baseball diamond. This game of baseball is understood to be the national sport of both the United States and Japan, and, though unknown in Canada, it is consistent with the well-known chivalry and generosity of the challengers to offer to participate in this game in preference to one of the more familiar Canadian games, such as snowshoe running, ludo, bull-baiting, and "I spy Dominion status".

Details as to the time, place, and circumstances of the proposed encounter can be left, it is hoped, to the State Department. We would, however, like to submit certain conditions for your consideration, and, if possible, acceptance:

1. It is felt that complete secrecy should be observed about the whole matter: therefore the publicity and press facilities to be given this contest should be those laid down by the United States Government for the forthcoming United Nations Food Conference.
2. Mr. John Hickerson should be a member of the State Department team. In view of the fact that we are

playing baseball at all and not one of the Canadian sports mentioned above, and also in view of the fact that we propose to use Mr. Merchant Mahoney as a base runner, we feel obliged to ask for this concession.

3. The umpires should be the Director General, Office of Civilian Defence, and the Controller of Bits and Pieces of the War Production Board.

4. All wagers on this game are to be in terms of "Unitas" and not of "Bancor".

5. The challenging team shall have the right to call off the game at the end of the first innings if sufficient replacements for the exhausted and the maimed are not available.

6. In all correspondence, the Canadian team shall be referred to as "Les Panzers Canadiens".

7. The locale of the game shall be considered as a combat area, and all those participating shall be eligible for combat medals and the Order of the Purple Heart.

The Canadian Legation awaits in hope and confidence your favourable consideration of this challenge, which, I may add, is sent without the knowledge or approval of either Dr. Goebbels or the Canadian-American Permanent Board on Defence.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With highest respect,
Your most humble, obedient servant,
L.B. Pearson

* * *

The Dishon.
L.B. Pearson
First Base (Very)
Canadian Legation
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I am directed to acknowledge your discourteous note of today's date and to assure you that it will receive the consideration which it merits. You will be advised in due course of the views of the competent authorities.

Accept, you so and so, the renewed assurances of my moderate consideration.

Very truly yours,
Theodore C. Achilles
Chargé d'Athlétiques Etrangers
(but *not* of the Division of Cultural Relations, by God).

* * *

NOT CONFIDENTIAL BUT
UNPRINTABLE, URGENT
AND USELESS

The Dishon.
L.B. Pearson
First Base (Very)
Canadian Legation

Dear Lester:

Having regard for the presumptuous tone of your ignominious communication of the 29th ult., I have little honor in informing you that the State Department Team (Hull Hillbillies) accepts the challenge of his Britannic Majesty's representatives for Canada in Washington, Georgetown and Falls Church, under the following conditions which, it is hoped, need not be formalized in an exchange of notes. (If, however, you won't play without such an exchange, it is proposed that the necessary exchange or exchanges be exchanged at the official discount rate prescribed by the Foreign Exchange Control Board).

1. The game to be baseball — softball, in fact, in consideration of the softness of the Canadian team — and to last three innings or until your team is unable to take the field, whichever comes first. Under no circumstances, however, shall Les Panzers Canadiens use hockey sticks, or lacrosse sticks. (Crutches, however, will be permitted for purposes of locomotion only).

2. The game to be under the control, when convenient to the Hull Hillbillies, of two umpires, who will be under no obligation to extend unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. Instead of the persons so ungraciously nominated in your note under reference, it is proposed that the said umpires shall be selected from a panel to be composed of high ranking officers of Northwest Airlines and farmers from Aroostook County, Maine. Representatives of other American airlines whose operations in Canada have not yet come to the attention of the Canadian authorities may, however, qualify if they can evade the terms of an overall master agreement between the two Governments.

3. The umpires to have sole, not concurrent, jurisdiction over all crimes including murder, manslaughter and rape. In general, the "knock for knock" policy will prevail although due regard may be had for the principle of "hot pursuit". "Wildcatting", however, is not to be permitted save in an area to be bounded by the 49th

parallel, Hudson's Bay, the Alaskan boundary, the Arctic and Pacific Oceans and by line A-B (if Canada can find it).

4. The teams to be costumed and disarrayed as follows:

The Hull Hillbillies — Tuxedos
Les Panzers Canadiens — Prince Alberts (with or without Medicine Hat).

5. The Hull Hillbillies, out of sympathy for the Canadian manpower problem, to be composed exclusively of gentlemen from the Division of European Affairs* speaking the national language of the United States and Les Panzers Canadiens to be bilingual representatives of the Dominion, including not less than:

One Protestant from Quebec
One Catholic from Ontario
One nephew of Sir Wilfrid Laurier
One niece of Sir John A. Macdonald
One exponent of Maritime Grievances
One member of the Cooperative Commonwealth Confederation who shall be a Rhodes Scholar
One member of the Department of External Affairs who shall not be a Rhodes Scholar
One member of the Canadian Delegation concerning whom there is no dossier in the files of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

It is, of course, understood, stipulated and insisted upon that all members of the Canadian team shall be in favor of full Dominion status, although, if it is so desired, this Government will interpose no objection to the nomination as batboy (not batman) of a representative of the Colonial Office.

It is agreed that complete secrecy shall be observed and to that end the counterproposal is made that full details should be placed in the hands of the Wartime Information Board of Canada. The suggestion that these representatives of the press should be entertained at the Homestead, is, however, indignantly, irrevocably and irresolutely rejected unless Mr. Grierson is prepared to accept conditions of reverse Lend Lease. Refreshments will, however, be served by the Bronfman brothers.

I am further authorized to inform you that Mr. John Hickerson, the Texas Terror, shall indeed be a member of the State Department team and that, out of special consideration for Les Panzers Canadiens, he has consented to participate without his distinguished colleagues on the Permanent Joint Board of Defense. Mr. Hickerson's wagers will be

in Confederate currency, not Unitas; accordingly, Mr. Merchant Mahoney may, if he can, place bets in terms of Social Credit.

The combat area in which this stupendous struggle is to take place, as well as the date and time, shall, it is suggested, be the subject of discussions between your assistant, Mr. Magann, and my assistant, Mr. Parsons, inasmuch as they are already quite used to arguing with each other.

Accept, my dear Lester, what consideration I have left.

Very truly yours,
Theodore C. Achilles
Chargé d'Athlétiques Etrangers

* Canadian affairs had always been handled in the State Department by its Division of European Affairs. The Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs dates from 1981.

* * *

Unnumbered
Secretary of State
for External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada
June 25, 1943

Sir:

I have the honour to enclose herewith copies of secret and insulting correspondence between the Department of State and this Legation regarding a challenge issued by the latter for a game of baseball between "Les Panzers Canadiens" of the Legation and the "Hull Hillbillies" of the State Department. It is hoped that this correspondence can be carefully considered by those in the Department who are — and have been since 1927 — working out regulations regarding the correct form and style to be used in diplomatic communications between governments. The Legation considers these exchanges to be models of their kind and have been informed that the feeling in the State Department supports this view.

The game in question, after many delays due to heat, work, and the general disinclination to indulge in any form of unnecessary activity, was finally played Wednesday evening of this week on the campus of Georgetown University, before a large, enthusiastic, partisan, and perspiring audience.

The Canadian team, all of whom are hereby mentioned in despatches and who, it is hoped, will receive suitable recognition in the forthcoming Honours

List, which, it is understood, will be issued on the 12th of July, consisted of practically every member of the Legation Staff, together with three members of other Canadian Government offices in Washington, who, in recognition of their long and effective service in those offices, were made honorary Attachés of the Legation for the day.

The State Department team, violently led by Mr. John Hickerson and under the field captaincy of that redoubtable athlete, Mr. James Bonbright, suffered a catastrophic Pearl Harbor in the first innings, when Les Panzers scored ten runs before they declared the innings closed. However, the Americans, undaunted, rushed in reinforcements, and, with the able assistance of the sportsmanlike Canadian team, who withdrew their best pitcher and substituted for him the aged and inefficient Mr. Pearson, were able to creep up until they were within striking distance of Les Panzers.

It would, of course, have been inappropriate if the Legation had won; it would have been humiliating if it had lost. With the score 17-13 in favour of the Legation and two out in the 9th, it appeared that our desire to ensure permanently friendly relations with the State Department might not be achieved. However, four errors in quick succession, and a tremendous, but accidental three-base hit by Mr. Hickerson permitted four runs to be scored. The game thereby ended happily for all concerned, who immediately adjourned to the residence of Mr. Theodore Achilles, where hospitality was accepted and aching muscles assuaged. The final score 17-17 will, it is hoped, be interpreted as the most striking evidence yet submitted of the diplomatic skill of the officers of the Legation.

Yesterday, the State Department was temporarily converted into an emergency hospital, but the Legation functioned in its usual smooth and efficient manner.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
L.B. Pearson.

* * *

No. Blank
The Canadian Minister to
the United States
Canadian Legation
Washington, D.C.
July 17, 1943

Sir:

I regret that it is my duty to acknowledge your unnumbered despatch of June 25, 1943, and attachments, in which you reported certain of the more printable details of a recent encounter between representatives of the Legation and the United States Department of State in a game described, with your habitual inaccuracy, as "baseball". Fortunately, and as usual, we have been able to supplement and correct the material supplied in your despatch under reference by information received through more responsible channels. Eminent among these have been Mr. Drew Pearson, Colonel Robert MacCormick, Informed Circles in Washington and Mr. Lewis Clark. (In the latter case an acknowledgement giving the views of the Canadian Government was demanded by 3 p.m. E.W.T. on the day of receipt.)

It would be a difficult and, of course, a useless task to cover in one despatch all the points at which the Legation was in error in the correspondence under reference.

Why, for example, was no protest made in relation to the name selected by the representatives of the State Department? The fact that Mr. John Hickerson, Mr. Graham Parsons and other Hillbillies were customarily to be found within the environs of the municipality located north of the Ottawa River during the time they were laughingly referred to as being *en poste* in the Canadian Capital should not have been accepted as justification for the adoption of the name of a Canadian city to describe a group of Giraudists and Ottonians.

Your despatch, moreover, gave no indication of the means employed to remove the Americans from bases once occupation had been achieved. Surely a significant accomplishment of this kind was worthy of detailed report. It is the omission of vital information of this kind that has created the impression in the American Division of the Department that reports from Washington are edited to avoid all the news that's fit to print.

Certain textual aberrations should also be brought to your attention. In the second paragraph of your despatch you referred to the "general disinclination" of members of the Legation staff "to indulge in any form of unnecessary activity". "Unnecessary" is surely unnecessary.

In the fourth paragraph you refer to the "first innings". Surely even a team of Rhodes Scholars, led by a pensioned player of lacrosse, should know that

"innings" is cricket but baseball is "inning". In baseball the singular is always used, and never, I should judge, with more justification than in the present instance.

I observe that you omit all reference to the aluminum bat with which I understand the Legation team was supplied by grateful representatives of a distinguished Canadian political party. Nor do I find any comment on the Land-Luce movement which certain members of the State Department team are reported to have initiated with a view to distracting the attention of the Canadian players. A message on this subject was received by our Code Room — en clair.

In the final paragraph you wrote "Yesterday the State Department was temporarily converted into an emergency hospital, but the Legation functioned in its usual smooth and efficient manner". May I suggest that the truth would have been macerated sufficiently to meet your usual standards if the last phrase of this sentence were altered to read "and the Legation functioned period".

Your explanation of the failure of the Canadian team to win the game is neither plausible nor convincing and varies in many particulars from the accounts given by Mr. Hickerson to the members of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, the Soviet airman at Fairbanks, the United States contractors on the Alaska Highway, the Sourdoughs of Skagway and Whitehorse, and certain Army nurses encountered at various points on his recent tour of Western America. These accounts, however, varying as they did with the alleged position of the sun in relation to the yardarm, were often as incredible as your own. Perhaps under the circumstances it would be as well to allow the matter to rest. This objective can, of course, be most effectively achieved by referring it to the Department of State with a request for an early and intelligible expression of views. Such reference is hereby authorized.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
H.L. Keenleyside

P.S. It is with some regret that I feel compelled to point out that attendance at the alleged baseball game — or some other cause — has made it impossible for the officers of the Legation to report to this Department on the extinction of five and the creation of seventeen new Boards or other major agencies of Government

which took place in Washington during the hours in which the said game was in progress. You will undoubtedly wish to take this fact into account when considering further activities of a sportive nature.

* * *

When the Montreal Expos of the National League and the Toronto Blue Jays from the American League meet each year to play in the Pearson Cup exhibition game, it is unlikely that many of the spectators — or the players for that matter — will know for whom the trophy is named. And probably none of them will know of the earlier Canada-United States baseball game that Mr. Pearson originated and that is depicted in the documents reproduced here. That he never lost his sense of humour and his uncanny faculty for producing the appropriate *mot* off the top of his head was illustrated two decades later when, as Leader of the Opposition, he made an autumn visit to his Northern Ontario constituency of Algoma East. After fielding some political questions from a group of reporters, one of them asked whether he would venture a prediction on the outcome of the World Series

games that were soon to be played between the New York Yankees and the Cincinnati Reds. When he unhesitatingly picked New York to win, he was asked why, and replied: "Can you imagine the headlines in all the newspapers if I predicted it the other way? PEARSON PICKS REDS OVER YANKEES." 

P.S. The story of these documents, which I originally wrote for the Toronto Globe and Mail in slightly abridged form, was published, with exquisite timing by the Globe, on its Op-Ed page on the morning of October 15, 1984, i.e. when the newly-appointed Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, was to meet for the first time with his American opposite number, Secretary of State George Shultz, in Toronto. Our Minister's staff included a clipping of the Globe's story in the briefing papers prepared for Mr. Clark, and learned that Mr. Shultz' aides had done the same for him; both Ministers were thereby given this glimpse into just how special the relations between the two countries were in years gone by. The Globe's headline over the story was: A FAR CRY FROM THE WORLD SERIES. The 1984 World Series baseball contest began that evening!

— S.F.

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Editor,

...on page 48, column 1, Vol. 4, no. 4 (this is the only point I hope you may find it possible to print): "Currie, unlike victorious British and French generals was granted no special vote of thanks nor given a gift from a grateful country".

The fact is that the Government proposed to give him a cash gift of \$250,000, but could not get it past the Unionist caucus. I had the story from the late Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, who told it to three of us at the request of the late Hon. J.M. Macdonnell. I can give it in precisely Mr. Meighen's words:

"We decided in Council to recommend to caucus a cash grant of \$250,000. We took it to caucus, where it was immediately assailed with the utmost virulence from all sides. Not one member had a good word to say for it. This went on for some time. Then Borden intervened. 'Well', he said, 'I think I have now heard sufficient. It seems evident that the Government's proposal does not command the assent of caucus. I can't see that any useful purpose would be served by prolonging the discussion. Indeed, had Sir Arthur Currie himself been present, and had he listened to what I have been listening to for the last half or three-quarters of an hour, I think he would tell us to *take* our \$250,000 and *stick it* — in our Exchequer."

Eugene Forsey

* * *

Editor,

I was delighted to re-discover **bout de papier** during a brief Ottawa visit. Congratulations on your new format and variety of content and long may you prosper.

Stan V. Allen

* * *

Editor,

I wish you and your team the best of success with **bout de papier**, which I found most interesting.

Oscar Maertua
Ambassador
Embassy of Peru

* * *

Editor,

I wish to comment on Peyton Lyon's article "Ethnics and Foreign Policy" in the spring issue of **bout de papier**. Discussion of important foreign policy issues in the journal of our professional association is welcome

and I hope it continues. Like many in our service, I have appreciated the contribution Professor Lyon has made over the years to discussion of important questions. However, as an officer deeply involved with the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe I cannot let some of his comments concerning the CSCE pass without rebuttal.

While there is no question that "ethnics", like other groups of interested Canadians, exert influence on foreign policy (as on other aspects of Government policy), Professor Lyon's suggestion that our position in the CSCE is solely driven by the desire of Governments to cater to pressure groups results in a one-sided and misleading portrayal of Canada's role and objectives. I will illustrate this by highlighting certain of his statements and setting the record straight.

"The Government continues to exploit the CSCE to cater to East European and Jewish minorities".

The Canadian Government values the CSCE as a multifaceted Conference in which security and cooperation in Europe, in all their elements, may be pursued and middle powers such as Canada can play an important role. One aspect of security is human rights, a subject which arouses concern in Canada not only among "ethnics" but among Canadians of all origins. As Mr. Clark said in his speech at the opening of the CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in Vienna, progress in East/West relations depends upon the building of confidence, and poor implementation by the Soviet Union and some other East European countries of their commitments under the CSCE is not conducive to an upward trend in confidence. This is not "catering" to any group, much less a shift in "Canada's traditional roles and style". It is a simple recognition that, if we cannot ensure that commitments in one important area are honoured, there are major roadblocks in our attempts to pursue viable agreements in others.

At the consultations with interested NGOs in October 1986, "spokesmen for East European and Jewish organizations predominated".

In fact, the whole morning session was devoted to security and economic cooperation, and the afternoon to humanitarian affairs. Every effort was made to invite representatives of major NGOs and academic experts with an interest in any aspect of the subjects covered by the CSCE. Indeed, this may have been the first time this mix of arms control, "ethnic" and human rights groups, and individual specialists, was brought together to discuss a common subject. Whatever may have been the actual numerical balance of the interests of those who attended, there were many able and articu-

late spokesmen for arms control, and we believe the dialogue among those present was mutually interesting and profitable.

[They] were strongly encouraged to raise complaints about Soviet transgressions to Ottawa, or directly to our Delegation to the Conference."

They were encouraged to share with us, then and on an ongoing basis, information about events in Eastern Europe, such as family reunification, on which, in many cases, they and not Government might have important factual details. We requested all those represented to keep in touch with us and feel free to express their views, and we undertook to keep them informed. Anyone who has followed the hearings of Parliamentary Standing Committees concerned with human rights over the past two years knows that they require no special encouragement to make their concerns known.

"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."

In response to questions from Professor Lyon, it was pointed out, to the apparent satisfaction of most of those present, that there is no contradiction between vigorous pursuit of human rights and of military stability in the CSCE. Indeed, they are mutually inter-related and complementary. If we had not taken such a position in the past, we could not have achieved the balance reflected in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. And Canada played an important role in the CSCE Stockholm Conference, whose final Document represented the significant achievement in arms control.

"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."

The question whether pressure or détente has promoted "mellow" conditions in the Soviet Union may produce lively discussion among specialists, presumably in light of the experience of the dozen years since Helsinki. At Vienna, Canada had sponsored or cosponsored proposals on air pollution, the ozone layer, biotechnology, commercial contacts and information, countertrade, tourism, science and technology, terrorism, and information, and the western proposal for conferences on confidence- and security-building and conventional stability, as well as a wide range of proposals in the "human dimension". We have played an active and constructive role in all three Baskets. We have repeatedly and forcefully expressed our concerns about the human rights record of some countries, and will continue to do so,

since this is crucial to security and cooperation in Europe, a goal we are pursuing on a broad front and with every resource available at this important Conference.

Alan Bowker

* * *

Editor,

Re: Martin I. Levine letter, Summer 87

I am sorry that Mr. Martin Levine was offended by my column on "Ethnics and Foreign Policy". That was not my intent, or expectation.

I did not — and do not — presume to know how *all* Jewish-Canadians think about our Middle East policy, or even the majority. I am well aware of the splendid diversity of view found among the Jews of Israel and, to a lesser extent, among those of North America.

Politically speaking, the fact that really matters is that the Canada-Israel Committee (CIC) claims to speak for the entirety of organized Jewry in Canada, and Jewish-Canadians rarely challenge that claim. (Does Mr. Levine ever do so?) And does the CIC, by far the most efficient of the lobbies seeking to influence our foreign policy, ever criticize an Israeli action or policy?

The problem is greatly compounded by a second fact: all our political parties accept

the claims of the CIC, and also believe that there is a cohesive Jewish-Canadian vote, greatly attached to Israel, and able to swing a number of precious constituencies, mostly in Toronto. They also believe that Jewish-Canadian wealth can do wonders for the party coffers! True or false, this perception explains far more about Canada's pro-Israel bias than the rational deliberation imagined by Mr. Levine. (The situation in the United States is similar, and far more serious in its consequences.)

The CIC doesn't always win, and Canada's policies have been inching towards greater balance and effectiveness. But note our isolation at the recent Francophone Summit. Canada alone refused to vote in favour of Palestinian self-determination! Instead we quibbled. Did we hear Mr. Levine, or the CIC complaining?

Wrong I may be, but not alone. Professor John Kirton and I recently surveyed Departmental views for a forthcoming book on the domestic sources of Canada's Middle East policy. In sharp contrast to its cooperation in three earlier surveys, the Department pressed the public button (does anyone wonder why?) and urged all DEA members to clam up. Almost all heeded the advice. (This obedience should reassure Joe Clark, and confound Flora MacDonald!)

Fortunately for scholarship, the response from former officers was more than ample, and entirely consistent with the half dozen

returns from serving officers and about thirty interviews in recent years. The respondents included at least sixteen ex-Ambassadors to the Middle East (three to Israel), three ex-Assistant Undersecretaries and one ex-Undersecretary. An overwhelming majority concurred that our policies have been unbalanced in favour of Israel. Even more striking was the response to a question about the respective weights of the various inputs in making our Middle East policy. By a decisive margin, the panel put the "Jewish Canadian Community" in *first* place, followed by the Prime Minister and DEA; "Israel" was not far behind.

In view of this, can a serious student of Canada's external behaviour really ignore the "ethnic" factor?

In a nasty little dig, Mr. Levine implied that my views reflect "prejudice", presumably anti-Jewish. This has become a standard ploy of the die-hard champions of Israel, and the risk that one might be branded an "anti-Semite" has silenced many critics. I choose not to be intimidated by this McCarthyite blackmail. British and American courts have recently been very generous towards individuals falsely accused of being anti-Jewish. It may well be time to ask a Canadian court to rule whether criticism of Israel, or Canada's pro-Israel posture, constitutes racist "prejudice".

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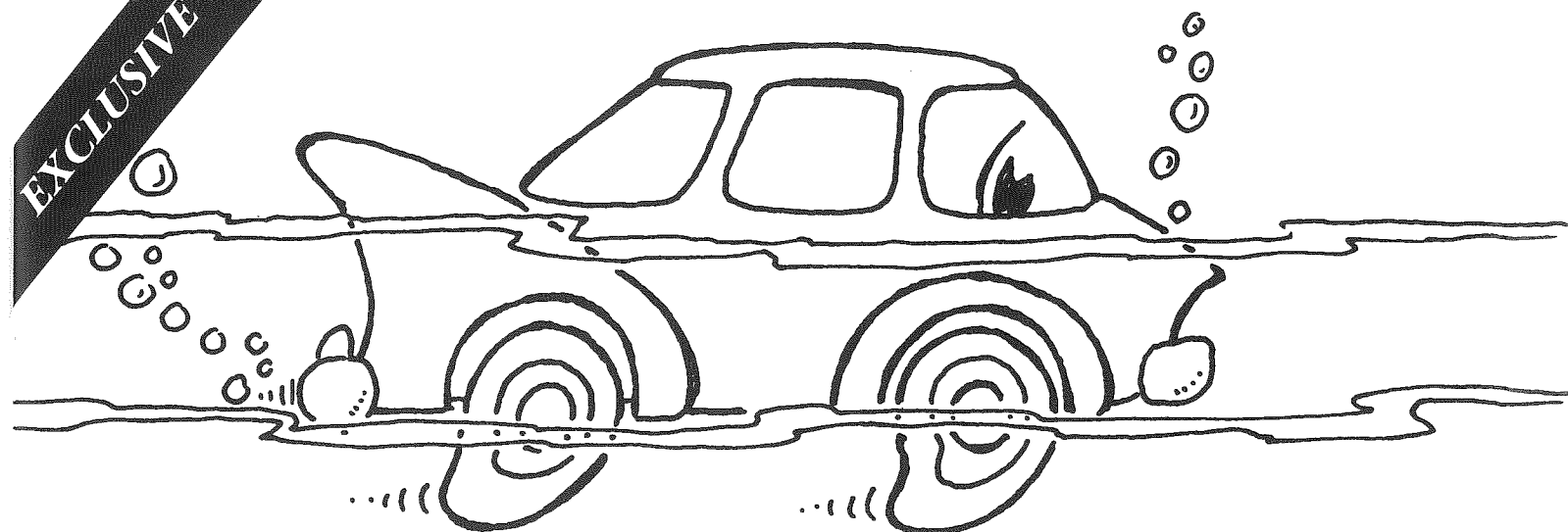
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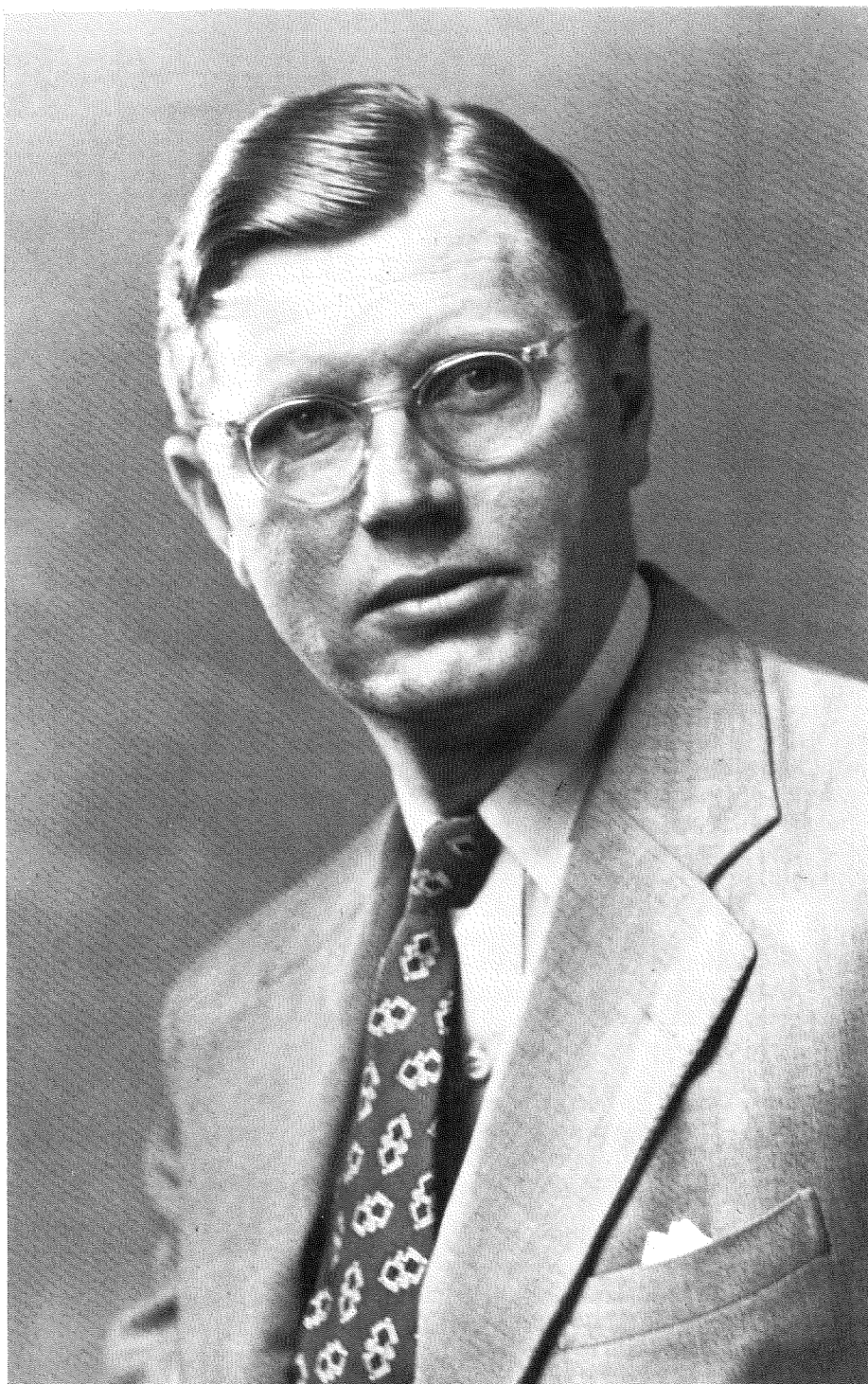
An Interview with James Barros

by Colin Robertson

*James Barros is the author of a controversial book, No Sense of Evil, on Herbert Norman. He lives in a row house on a cobble-stone street that looks more Bostonian than Toronto. These past couple of years he has immersed himself in the mystery that surrounds and continues to shroud the memory of Herbert Norman. In view of the controversy surrounding the former Canadian diplomat, **bout de papier** decided to interview Barros.*

bout de papier: The book aside for a moment — what did you think of the man?

Barros: I thought he was terribly intelligent, very sophisticated and probably a terribly hard worker. I think the most important thing about him was that he was a very well-meaning person — one who helped out his fellow human beings. He was the type of fellow you would like to be on a desert island with if you had to be isolated with anyone. That is one aspect of him. The other aspect is that a well-meaning person of this type, particularly someone who goes through the trauma of the Great Depression, is exactly the kind of person that the Russian intelligence services were interested in recruiting. The question is whether they recruited him. We know that he was a member of the Communist Party but went beyond that. He was someone who was in the Communist Party and went out and recruited others into the Party. Let us assume it is like being a Catholic but not going to church. Then you



Herbert Norman

are the type of Catholic who does go to church and that shows further commitment. Then you are the type of Catholic who goes out and tries to convert others to Roman Catholicism — that is an even greater commitment. I think that same process can be looked at from the point of view of Herbert Norman. He was a Communist and a member of the Communist Party. He went out on the Cambridge University campus and recruited his Indian classmates of the sub-continent into the Communist Party;

that shows an element of commitment which goes quite far. To go from that type of commitment to being recruited for the Russian intelligence services I do not think would take very much effort on the part of the Russians. I think if they made that proposal to him in 1934 he might have jumped at it. I know that in his op-ed column for *The Globe and Mail*, Michael Straight raised that possibility. Straight was in a position to write this since he went through that type of experience himself when he was a member of the party.

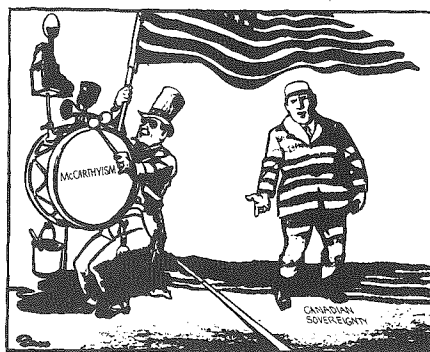
and then recruited into the Russian intelligence services by Anthony Blunt. I can see this scenario unfolding from being a Communist, to being a member of the Communist Party, to being a member of the Communist Party who goes on to recruit others and then is asked to join the Russian intelligence services. Norman also had some attributes which were very important to the Russians: he spoke fluent Japanese. Their ability to penetrate Japan and Japanese circles was very difficult and Norman, of course, would have a perfect cover. If he became an academic he would have a perfect cover, or if he went back to Japan in some capacity, assisting his father or teaching English at a University. He would have been of enormous value to Russian intelligence, particularly Russian army intelligence because Russian Army intelligence was greatly interested in Japan. The KGB were largely concentrating their attentions on Western Europe, particularly on Weimar Germany and later Nazi Germany.

He was the type of fellow you would like to be on a desert island with.

bout de papier: To go back to the one possible scenario, do you have proof that he may have made that quantum leap from being a member of the Communist Party in Cambridge to actually going to work for Russian intelligence?

Barros: No, we have no direct evidence but we have lots of oddities and similarities. For example, when all the Communist neophytes left Cambridge, they were going to get themselves involved in the Foreign Office or into some department of the British Government. The interesting thing about Norman is that no sooner does he arrive in Toronto (keep in mind that at this point he admits to a former classmate that he is a committed member of the Communist Party) then he immediately writes a letter to Oscar Skelton making an application to join External and he keeps on pounding at the doors of External for the next four years until he is finally admitted into External in the summer of 1939. Now, I grant you, at some point between 1935 and 1939 he may have dropped out of the Party or his attitudes may have changed but that scenario — coming back in August 1935 and asking for a job — fits into the general scenario that we have of people who left the Cambridge circle of Communists who successfully did infiltrate different departments

of the British Government. The similarity is too great to be dismissed or ignored.



"Mind keeping that shadow on your side of the line?"

bout de papier: At the same time there were a lot of Canadians that had gone to Cambridge and Oxford who came back and joined External Affairs.

Barros: Yes, but they never were members of the Communist Party who recruited other people. In particular, they were not members of the Communist Party who were in Communist Party pay. Norman admitted to his classmate in the summer of 1935 that not only was he a Communist, but he was working for the party and being paid by them (see Chapter 3 of my book). The classmate was a chap called Alexander George Heakes, who described this conversation to Paul Martin in a letter he wrote to him in the 1950s. Again, the similarity of his behaviour with that of other Cambridge men who became Communist intelligence agents and his connection with the Party is just too strong to be dismissed. We do not have a shred of evidence that he ever left the Party. Indeed, even in his suicide notes he never admits that he was a member of the Party and also never discusses that he left the Party. We do not know when he left the Party, assuming he ever did; that is another conundrum which makes prudent and reasonable people uneasy.

bout de papier: He joined External in 1939. After that date, were there still associations with the party?

Barros: There are no documented associations with the party but we begin to see a number of oddities. There is the famous telegram that Gouzenko tells us about from Moscow Central to his GRU boss Colonel Zabolotin saying, "Do you know Norman?" I examine this at some length in the book for it is a very odd telegram. Whether it meant Herbert Norman is unclear, but External Affairs in its discussions with the RCMP was willing to admit that it probably pertained to Herbert Norman and they thought he was

being discussed as a possible target for recruitment. I think if he was being discussed for recruitment it would not have been in a telegram form; it would have been in some other form. They do not use a telegraph process except if it is very necessary. The less they use the telegraph process the better, as it lessens the possibilities of their codes being deciphered. Something like that would probably have been put into a letter. Why would they send this telegram to Zabolotin asking about a Norman when the problem for Zabolotin would remain whether they were referring to Herbert or not. That is an oddity among many that the book points out. Another oddity is that when he was in Japan after the war, he makes it a point of seeing an old Chinese friend, Chi Ch'ao-ting. This relationship with Chi Ch'ao-ting begins about 1935 when he returns from Cambridge. Chi Ch'ao-ting was an American National by 1935 although he had been born in China. Chi Ch'ao-ting is an identified member of the Communist espionage apparatus. He was a senior member of the American Communist Party and during the war years he was seconded into the Chinese Nationalist government to work in the ministry of finance. During the period he was working for the ministry of finance in China, he was an agent for Chou En-lai. This association between Norman and Chi Ch'ao-ting, which Norman never divulged to anyone, is again one of these oddities. He picked up the friendship in Japan after the war, although exactly when is unclear. Was it after the Chinese Communist takeover of Peking or was it before? I think you will admit that it is odd that a senior official of the Department of External Affairs should have a friend who is an identified member of the Communist espionage apparatus. Another friend, V. Frank Coe, was a member of the Communist espionage apparatus who fled from American jurisdiction to China, where he died, because he was going to be prosecuted by the American government for espionage and perjury. I think that very few people in the Department of External Affairs have friends of this nature for so long a period of time. Again, it is an oddity. I do not believe in guilt by association — because he knew these two people is not a crime. However, I do not think that CSIS or the old RCMP would have been very pleased with any member of External Affairs who happened to have such associations.

bout de papier: Did you have any proof that Norman knew these chaps were agents?

Barros: Yes I do. Norman probably knew Chi Ch'ao-ting was an agent. He was with Norman in February of 1936 at a meeting of

the Canadian League Against War and Fascism. The presiding officer of the meeting, Alexander MacLeod, was a member of the Communist Party. Indeed, MacLeod introduced Norman to others as 'Comrade' Norman. Chi Ch'ao-ting told Norman to become the provisional secretary to a Communist front organization which was going to be set up called the Canadian Friends of the Chinese People. There was already such an organization in the United States and there was also a similar organization called the League Against War and Fascism. I think that he knew Chi Ch'ao-ting was a Communist, certainly in 1935-36.

bout de papier: But to know he was a Communist and to argue that he was a communist agent are two different things.

Barros: Yes, I think they are two different things, but it is odd that he seeks out Chi Ch'ao-ting when he returns to Japan. Is it possible that this man at one point was assigned as his control officer? It would not have been an unusual association. If you look at how the Russian intelligence services operated in the 1930s, many non-Russians were intelligence control officers. We do not have an example of an oriental as a control officer, but you have to keep in mind that Norman was a very unusual fellow and it would have taken a very unusual control officer to handle him. I think Chi Ch'ao-ting had that brilliance of mind. He was sophisticated, an intellectual, a student at Chicago and Columbia, he wrote a very fine dissertation, subsequently published in England. He would have had the intellectual-type credentials to have kept up with Norman. But did Norman actually know that Chi Ch'ao-ting was a Communist agent? I just do not know. Again, it is another oddity.

I do not believe in guilt by association.

bout de papier: Pearson gets a chapter in the book. Why?

Barros: Elizabeth Bentley's executive session testimony before the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security that Pearson conveyed secret information to the Russians during the war through Hazen Sise is mere hearsay. However, all the other testimony she gave the afternoon of August 14, 1951, which can be checked out, proved to be absolutely accurate. Her track record that day is excellent. She was a good witness before Congressional Committees and trial juries in the sense that she had pretty good

recall and was very accurate. Like any witness she made small mistakes. You notice she misspelled Sise's name. She probably had the sequence of events wrong as to when she first met him, but on the substance she seems to be quite exact. When you get to the Pearson question, she is telling us something that Hazen Sise told her which is hearsay....

bout de papier: Elizabeth Bentley never identified Pearson. She talked about Hazen Sise but nothing was ever proved. You are drawing a long reach to get to Pearson.

Barros: No, nothing against Pearson and certainly nothing against many of the other people that she named because there was no collaborating witness or documentary evidence. But in those cases where the American authorities could use her as a witness she proved to be correct and the accused was convicted. Bentley knew Hazen Sise very well. The problem with her testimony about Pearson was how it was perceived in the United States at very high levels of the American government. I suspect that from August 1951, top level Americans had the deepest suspicions about Pearson. I think the way he handled the Norman case increased those suspicions and indeed certain aspects of Canadian foreign policy may have increased those suspicions even more.

bout de papier: Aspects such as...

Barros: Canada was initially sluggish in responding or reacting to the North Korean invasion of South Korea. It was not until some months later that it began to pick up in the sense of materiel and military support. If you read Acheson's memoirs you come across those episodes in 1952-53. Public opinion was pressing on the Canadian government to respond. It would have been very difficult for the government not to have responded beyond their initial response. I think certainly people in Washington were suspicious.

bout de papier: Does that not say more about potential paranoia in Washington?

Barros: Of course it does. But intelligence types are not people who are moved by the first ten amendments to the American Constitution. I do not think I am misquoting Norman Robertson when he says in Granatstein's book that where the security and safety of the state is involved and the privilege of working for the government is involved, the privilege would have to be waived and the civil servant would have to be dismissed if there are suspicions about him. The safety of the state is really the be



and end all of politics. We are there to see that the state and its value system are not destroyed. If intelligence types, whether they be in Washington or anywhere else, are suspicious of people it is the nature of their work and I think it becomes a conditioned reflex that they develop over the years. They are interested in the safety of the state. If suspicions develop about someone, they are going to take them seriously even if there is no collaborating evidence or witnesses. Certainly in Pearson's case, as you begin to look at the record, there is a whole series of events which undoubtedly made them very uneasy. I think the sluggish response...

bout de papier: Perceived sluggish response.

Barros: Yes, the perceived position he assumed in the Korean cease-fire negotiations where he was hand in glove with Krishna Menon who was certainly perceived by the Americans as unfriendly. All Indians were perceived as unfriendly.

bout de papier: But our association with India was part of the basis of our foreign policy in building a close association with developing commonwealth countries.

Barros: That is right. Then they would look at the Norman case and that would add, to use your expression, to their paranoia. The Vietnam business in the 1960s would have also added to their paranoia with Pearson's speech at Temple University.

bout de papier: At that time, Pearson was reflecting Canadian opinion on the war.

Barros: There is also the liquidation of the Canadian military which starts with Pearson and begins to pick up speed under Trudeau. All these things, misperceived or correctly perceived, nevertheless, contribute to paranoia.

bout de papier: Do you honestly believe Pearson was working for the opposition?

Barros: I do not know. I just find it very odd.

bout de papier: But you have no doubt about Herbert Norman?

Barros: I think with Norman there are just too many coincidences and too much lying. Something is wrong somewhere.

bout de papier: Going back to the early 1950s when there was great concern over the Soviet influence is it not possible that a man like Norman, holding a very responsible position and a successful career in the foreign service, would deny this kind of association simply because he knew that during the spirit of the times that if he identified himself as a Communist he would likely lose his job over what some could interpret as youthful indiscretion?

Barros: He could have. But Canadians cannot have it both ways. Canadians say that there was McCarthyism in the United States and unfortunately they are right. There was no McCarthyism in Canada. McCarthyism was an American phenomenon. I grant you that there may have been some-spill-over the border but not the way it was in the United States. In the early 1950s, the St. Laurent government was attacked for being weak on Communism. If Norman had come clean in the first interview he had with Norman Robertson and Arnold Heeney, keep in mind it was one mandarin talking to two other mandarins who are of the same class, had gone to the same universities, the same meetings, clubs and so forth, if he had told them about his indiscretions I think he would have found a sympathetic hearing. That would have been as far as it went and the RCMP would never have gotten involved ever. Let us face it, Norman Robertson, when he was at Oxford, had also 'bitten the apple' so to speak. But we are not going to say that Norman Robertson was a communist. Even later on in 1952 during the only interrogation that took place with Norman, one of the interrogating RCMP officers threw him the life line by saying to him, "Look you were a Communist in the 1930s. It was no crime then and it is no crime now so admit it — let's get that water under the bridge and start off now from square one". But Norman was quite vehement that he was never a Communist. Even though he denied it, in the correspondence between Glazebrook and Heeney, they came to the conclusion that he was a Communist. What bothered them was that there was no evidence that he had ever left. But they gave him the benefit of the

doubt. He said that he almost became a Communist. He was a near Communist. It strikes me that as colleagues they were damn generous and very understanding.

bout de papier: But with their own credibility at stake, surely if they had doubts, would they not have pursued it?

Barros: That is the question I raise. Why is it that the government never asked the RCMP to do a full field investigation? They could have gotten around the difficult position they were in by asking the RCMP to do a full field investigation but they never did that. Norman says many things in that interrogation which are not true. For example, he says that he was a student at the University of Toronto in 1935, but he is not to be found anywhere in the records. All these oddities could have been discovered by having a full field investigation. Certainly the greatest oddity is when the German, Professor Karl Wittfogel of Columbia University, a former Communist, testified to Congress that he knew Norman as a member of a Communist study group in 1938. No one ever bothered to call Wittfogel up here and subject him to a real thorough RCMP interrogation. I suspect that Wittfogel met Norman in 1934 at Cambridge. It is a slip that Norman makes in one of the documents he wrote. He said that

he had first met Wittfogel after he had recently been released from a German concentration camp. If he had admitted that he had met Wittfogel at the home of the two men who were his hosts, Maurice Dobb and Roy Pascal, this would have had the RCMP off and running because both of these men were charter members of the recruiting organization for the Communist Party at Cambridge. He would not have wanted to admit that because it would have raised all sorts of eyebrows. So he admits meeting with Wittfogel in Columbia in 1938. Had there been a full field investigation, they may have discovered that he met Wittfogel in 1934. Wittfogel should have been subjected to a very thorough interrogation by the same officers who interrogated Norman.

bout de papier: Are you continuing your research?

Barros: Yes, since I have written the book lots of people have stepped forward with some interesting information. Not so much about Norman but a lot of it about Pearson and I hope to revise the book because Random House intends to put out a revised edition in the United States....

bout de papier: Mr. Barros, thank you. 

The Norman Conundrum

Willis Armstrong, a former American foreign service officer who knew Herbert Norman, reviews Barros' No Sense of Evil, Deneau, Toronto, 1986, 259 pp., and Roger Bowen's Innocence is not Enough, 1986, Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver/Toronto, 409 pp.

Herbert Norman, missionary son, one time Communist, distinguished foreign service officer, important advisor to SCAP on Japanese constitutional reconstruction, and protégé of Lester Pearson, has become an object of Canadian attention 30 years after his death by suicide. Two recent books, one a biography and the other a case study, are the centrepiece for academic and public attention. Both are written by Americans. (The reviewer is also a Yankee.) Both are possible as a result of

recent opening of files and archives of the Canadian and US governments under legislation designed to encourage such disclosures. Thus the two authors draw on much of the same material. Both are advocates. Roger Bowen argues Norman's innocence of being a Soviet agent. The other author, James Barros, is determined to prove the opposite. Neither succeeds in making his case, and both admit it. The weight of available data favours Bowen; knowledge of how the Soviet espionage system works favours Barros.

Bowen has written an outstanding book, notable for its meticulous scholarly research, its excellent organization, careful documentation, and care in drawing conclusions. While clearly in sympathy with his subject, he has not hesitated to look intensively at every aspect of the "case", warts and all. In addition to the files of External Affairs, RCMP, State Department, FBI, and the US Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, he has had access to the records, correspondence, and reminiscences of the Norman

family, and he has interviewed survivors of the era with great diligence.

As revealed by Bowen, Norman was self-assured socially and in his professional career — an assurance justified by his demonstrated competence, well supported by quotations in the Bowen book from his despatches and cables. A former colleague of Norman's told the reviewer "He was a damned good foreign service officer". The issue of course was and is "Was he anything else at the same time? A Soviet agent?"

Bowen makes the point that Norman was above the nitty-gritty of life, a man who lived very well and who moved only in the most stimulating intellectual and social circles. Norman is quoted on his own security problems as saying "innocence is not enough" — convinced, as he said he was, of his loyalty in his diplomatic job. But if he was really not guilty of being a Soviet agent, he comes across in this book as much too innocent in a different sense of the term. Insufficiently aware of how one's past tends to become an open book when one enters important government service, he clearly did not tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" when he was under scrutiny by the RCMP and External Affairs — at least not in the beginning. Perhaps his allegedly clear conscience as to his loyalty and his foreign service performance seemed to him adequate refutation of what people might think or say about the significance of his Communist affiliations and views held in the past. If so, this seems to have been a fatal error in judgement, explicable only by an arrogance that failed to recognize the vital importance of dealing candidly with the real world. It is worth noting at this point that Barros' book is entitled *No Sense of Evil*.

*Neither succeeds in making
his case, and both admit it.
The weight of available
data favours Bowen;
knowledge of how the
Soviet espionage system
works favours Barros.*

In Norman's day, as now, the real world considered a person who had held Communist views and had such affiliations to be guilty of being a Soviet agent until he could demonstrate his innocence or convincingly recant. Granted, this attitude is contrary to the precepts of common law, but working for a government is not a citizen's right. Rather it is a privilege which the government

has the power to grant or withhold. Norman eventually began to tell more of the truth than he had at the beginning of the investigation, but no one knows whether he told the whole truth and nothing but the truth. As the author sagely remarks (p. 257) "truth told

late is perceived as lies told earlier". Norman's performance must have aroused suspicions on the part of his investigators and accusers, despite his "clearance" by External. One does wonder about the wisdom of granting a security clearance to a



EGERTON HERBERT NORMAN
(1909-1957)

man who has manifestly lied to his own government about his past. It is thus hard to avoid questioning External's procedure in this case, in the face of considerable RCMP material of a quite derogatory nature, including reports from British services.

The relationship between External and the RCMP seems muddy. The interrogation by colleagues (Heeney, Glazebrook) seems to have been too much "in the family".

On the other hand, if one assumes that Norman was "hooked" as a Soviet agent since well before his entry into Canadian government service, his conduct in failing to tell the truth initially, and his reticence at all times, would be plausible. He is said to have manifested extreme apprehension in 1957 just before his suicide, being reluctant to "name names" if investigated again — as detailed in Bowen's book. This sort of conduct could provide a basis for suspicion substantially greater than the circumstantial evidence cited by Barros and others. He was a very clever, cool, secretive, and competent person who *could* have maintained Soviet contacts over a long period of time, without getting caught.

No evidence is presented, by either Bowen or Barros, that Norman actually served as a Soviet agent while employed by the government of Canada. Perhaps, although he might have been a tempting target for Soviet recruiters, he didn't pass *their* preliminary security screening because of his loquacity and apparent naiveté. On the other hand, he could have been a "sleeper", consciously or otherwise. In any event, he was certainly in place.

A word is in order regarding government procedures for security clearance. Obviously they were in the process of development and had been since the Gouzenko revelations. The relationship between External and the RCMP seems muddy. The interrogation by colleagues (Heeney, Glazebrook) seems to have been too much "in the family". The fact that in this instance the RCMP could give raw data to the FBI with impunity seems contrary to normal governmental prudence, especially since the RCMP seems not to have had the authority to grant or withhold security clearance.

The role of Lester Pearson is a fascinating aspect of the case. In his memoirs, written

perhaps posthumously by others on the basis of his notes, Pearson recounts General MacArthur's statement that Norman was the most valuable man in SCAP. He defends the thoroughness of the security scrutiny given to Norman and shows his full support of him. But in his public statements on the Norman case, Pearson was initially not forthcoming and later somewhat confusing. Pearson probably attracted unfavourable comment to himself without materially helping Norman. Clearly we do not have the full story of the Norman-Pearson relationship, and it is unlikely that we ever shall.

Bowen deals sensitively and comprehensively with the suicide, recounting all that is known of Norman's movements and contacts, moods and attitudes, during the days before he jumped off the high building. He concludes that it was a carefully meditated decision, arrived at from a complex of motives: 1) a decision to make a Socratic statement of his own correctness; 2) a concern over the impact of renewed interest in his security status on his colleagues and friends, notably Pearson; 3) a sense of *noblesse oblige*, Japanese style (*hara-kiri*); 4) self-importance about his role in life; and, finally 5) a quailing at the thought of having to face investigators again. (A very private person, despite his outgoing and gregarious style, he had obviously found earlier interrogations painful.) In a sense, Norman was too precious (if innocent) for the profession in which he was engaged — a profession much rougher than a lot of North American idealists thought when they joined their respective foreign services. And of course if Norman *were* a Soviet agent his ego could not have borne the consequences of disclosure.

Norman was too precious (if innocent) for the profession in which he was engaged.

All of us deplore the chain of circumstances which led to the tragedy — the provision of unevaluated data by the RCMP to the FBI, the unobjective methods of Hoover's FBI, the unwarranted provision of data to a Senate Subcommittee out for blood and headlines (with the avid cooperation of the fanatical General Willoughby), the inadequate handling of the matter by both governments, and the yellow journalism of the day. The continuing debate about the issue by publicists and writers of the present day reflects the fact that tales of espionage

are a growth industry. As a CIA veteran remarked to Bowen, "a file has no age".

Bowen's treatment of Norman's wife leaves her a shadowy figure. Clearly Norman was the dominant marriage partner, but how important was family life to him? He did discuss suicide with his wife several times, but mostly in terms of method. She does not appear to have been privy to his thought process or to have known what he knew. Such remoteness from his career seems odd in a foreign service couple, where mutual dependence is often necessary for survival. We learn more about Norman from his letters to and from his brother, and from his brother's testimony, than we do from his wife, as far as Bowen is concerned. While Bowen's own motivation in his biographical effort doubtless arose from interest in a fellow Japanologist, he has obviously become personally concerned with the Norman family, and he writes with great sensitivity.

The Norman story belongs to an earlier era when both the US and Canada were emerging from the age of innocence, and when they were amateurs in dealing with security questions.

Innocence is Not Enough is a tragic story of a brilliant but flawed man caught up by the political forces of his time. He seemed unable to protect himself, either under the assumption he was innocent, or under the assumption that he was serving two masters. He was imbued with a desire to help his fellow man, at least in the generality, but he had trouble dealing with the world of practical men. The case against him is still mostly one of assertion and deduction (once a Communist, likely to continue). The case for him, although persuasive and fairly well documented, is not proven, despite the talent and sympathy Roger Bowen has dedicated to it. But his book makes fascinating reading.

The Norman story belongs to an earlier era when both the US and Canada were emerging from the age of innocence, and when they were amateurs in dealing with security questions. Sophisticated techniques have since been adopted for handling these matters in a discreet and professional way, without public scrutiny or hearings, and without either the complacency of the old boy network or the excessive zeal of the J. Edgar Hoovers. 

A Chat with the Ignatieffs

Part Two

by Colin Robertson

Last spring we ran the first half of an interview conducted with George and Alison Ignatieff. In this concluding half the Ignatieffs talk of life in Washington during the McCarthy era, at NATO, as Ambassador in Belgrade, working with George Drew in London during the Diefenbaker years, as Ambassador to NATO in Paris, and at the UN both in New York and Geneva, as well as between postings in Ottawa.

bout de papier: Tell me about defence relations in the early fifties?

Mr. Ignatieff: Prime Minister St. Laurent and Pearson both asked me for a written statement that would be published and made available to the House of Commons on what our relations in the United States and nuclear matters should be. They wanted the statement to look at the strategic implications for Canadian foreign and defence policy of the advent of nuclear weapons and missiles for Canada. The point of the whole question is one which is still unresolved: in previous wars, military have fought military, but with the advent of nuclear weapons it is the bulk of the population which is threatened as victims. Therefore, it cannot be just delegated to military people to make decision on the real issue of survival. The Prime Minister put this thought in writing to Ralph Campney who was the Defence Minister and to General Foulkes who was Chief of Staff, asking that they cooperate in working out a paper. General Foulkes refused point blank. He said that this kind of enquiry would prejudice the flow of privileged information on nuclear matters through military channels, which he was getting from Admiral Radford and General Bradley. "Rad" and "Brad" as he used to call them.



George and Alison Ignatieff relaxing with Jules and Gabrielle Léger on vacation in Rome 1964.

Diefenbaker did have profound suspicion of the Department claiming it consisted of 'Pearsonites' or 'Pearsonalities'. He was a western populist who had very little use for the kind of high academic qualifications that people like Norman Robertson had.

The refusal ultimately led to the signing by executive agreement of NORAD under conditions of misinformation — this was during the transition from St. Laurent to Diefenbaker — the Prime Minister was told that this Document "had gone to Cabinet", but the St. Laurent government had not approved NORAD in fact as an integrated command structure. Moreover, Diefenbaker was not told what the implications were:

that this continental command, like any command of the alliance, would not come under the North Atlantic Council but would be under the control of the American President and Secretary of Defence. The Prime Minister of Canada would only be consulted. There would be no effective consultation with Canadian decision-makers about alerts, especially in an emergency.

When it came to the Cuban Missile crisis, Diefenbaker's memoirs show how this strange state of affairs when a nuclear alert was declared for NORAD in continental North America, with Prime Minister Diefenbaker refusing to accept it. Therefore, our military both in Canada and in Europe would not know whether they were on alert or not. I remember sitting in NATO during the Cuban Missile Crisis when we were on the very threshold of war not knowing where we stood. I will never forget that.

I had said and would say to the present Defence Minister — something has to be done to put NORAD under responsible civil



George and Alison Ignatieff on Queen Elizabeth, Winter 1957, en route to Belgrade — their first posting as Head of Mission.

control through the North Atlantic Council. You cannot have the state of affairs where one military command makes no report to the North Atlantic Council at the ministerial level or any other level. This creates a detachment, which in a crisis separates North America from Europe, and it involves the whole question of the American guarantee. This has been exacerbated by statements such as that of Henry Kissinger, to the effect that there are certain situations in which the United States would not be willing to use the nuclear deterrent if there was any kind of attack in Europe. The whole solidarity of the alliance is involved in this thing. My relations with General Fowlkes were not very happy and I was sent off to Yugoslavia with the issue unresolved in 1957. In a way the most challenging and

exciting test of the Department came under Diefenbaker and Howard Green.

bout de papier: Because of the change in government?

Mr. Ignatieff: The Conservatives had not been in power except for a very short time under Arthur Meighen for generations. Mr. Diefenbaker did have profound suspicion of the Department claiming it consisted of 'Pearsonites' or 'Pearsonalities' as he called them. He was a western populist who had very little use for the kind of high academic qualifications that people like Norman Robertson had. He himself had been the product of the little school house and a tough upbringing in the Prairies. He had suspicion of the wealthy and the privileged. The strange

thing was his appointment of Sidney Smith as Secretary of State for External Affairs. He was a very loyal conservative from the academic world. He thought that Sidney Smith would be able to handle the Department with all its "eggheads". Sidney Smith took a particular liking to me. It had something to do with the fact that he knew my brother as Warden of Hart House and we were both from the University of Toronto.

He took me out of Yugoslavia. I thought I was going to be banished into the outer darkness being a friend of Mr. Pearson's, but I was sent to London to be deputy to George Drew. This experience was the greatest possible education in "conservative" thinking. I found myself in a strange relationship because, in fact, the Prime Minister did not like Mr. Drew. He had been his competitor for leadership of the Federal Conservative Party (1948). George Drew felt that he had to give it up because of ill health and that he would have been the winner of the subsequent federal election. He did not particularly relish being banished to London. However, this posting as Deputy High Commissioner in London, gave me a tremendous opportunity because George Drew was away a good deal of the time and Alison and I had to fill in and do all kinds of things; especially in social representation activities. These included meeting DeGaulle at Buckingham Palace and speaking at various functions. Being Deputy to George Drew was quite an education in higher echelon diplomacy. I had been Ambassador to Belgrade but it was a rather obscure capital in comparison to London from a representational standpoint.

I enjoyed Belgrade. I was as happy in Belgrade as anywhere in the foreign service. It was a tough time but the whole family was together. I had wonderful support from my staff; Bert Hart as my counsellor and Don Stevenson as third secretary. It was the first time that I had somebody posted to me that I was old enough to be his father.

This is one of the things that the Department really has left me with. Not a nostalgia, but this feeling that the friendships made which have lasted a lifetime. I still feel very close to Bert Hart and to Don and Anna Stevenson.

Anyway, I found myself in this very different ambience in London with George Drew and Diefenbaker. Since Diefenbaker did not like Drew and I was his Deputy, this made me the sort of "confidante" when he would come to London. He drew me in into his entourage and summoned me back to Ottawa. By that time Sidney Smith had suddenly died and Howard Green had taken over. The Prime Minister told me that he was in this mess about NORAD and nuclear

weapons and was there anything that I could do to try and straighten things out. I was to report to him directly. I had to go to Howard and Norman Robertson and say, "Look — what am I to do?" They said to play along with the Chief and see what I could do. But there was not anything I could do because he had signed the executive agreement committing Canada to NORAD. I explained to him that this really meant that we were involved in the United States nuclear infrastructure. We had to accept nuclear warheads or get out of NORAD. We could not be in between two positions.

bout de papier: What did you recommend?

Mr. Ignatieff: I said that we frankly should get out of NORAD.

bout de papier: Was it a departmental view?

Mr. Ignatieff: It was the view of Howard Green as Minister and Norman that Canada should not get involved in a nuclear-weapons role. What was of greater importance to Canadian security was to try and promote arms control and peacekeeping roles — the multilateral internationalist approach.

bout de papier: Tell me about Howard Green.

Mr. Ignatieff: He influenced policy giving priority to arms control and negotiation of disarmament. Howard Green, of course, was very much affected by the fact that at that time there was atmospheric testing which had very serious fallout effects on Western Canada. He was representing the constituency which Mr. Turner now represents in Vancouver Quadra so he got very worked up about the radioactive fallout. He took this issue up in company with the Irish Foreign Minister Frank Aitken and pursued both the idea of monitoring the radio-activity and trying to put an end to testing in order to curb the nuclear arms race.

It was under Green that General Burns was appointed not just as negotiator but as chief advisor on arms control with people like Allan Gotlieb as his research assistant. He had research assistants in Geneva and in Ottawa. Disarmament and arms control were given priority by Mr. Green. I cannot pretend that I had very much influence in that. I supported Howard Green's policy and worked very closely with him. I felt that this was the policy which was basically in the interest of Canada. I had been influenced by an awareness that the option we faced in Canada was that we were going to be drawn deeper and deeper into the nuclear strategy of the United States, one in which the decision-



On NATO manoeuvres in Norwegian Arctic with Canadian contingent 1965 as Canadian Prem. Representative to NATO

making would be essentially American and consultation would be minimal. This constituted the continentalist approach to Defence policy. The alternative option was the internationalist approach, based on NATO. This involved the kind of agreements which we had concluded in the early fifties in the Korean period, when Canada reserved its sovereign right to decide about American deployments into or over Canadian territory. This sovereignty had been sold out under the integrated command structure of NORAD. Therefore, my instinct was certainly to support Howard Green and Norman Robertson in the policy that they had set. We could not get out of NORAD so soon after Mr. Diefenbaker had signed it, but the Prime Minister and Mr. Green hesitated about accepting the nuclear warheads for the weapons acquired by the Canadian armed forces, which constituted one of the consequences of NORAD.

We then got into trouble in the NATO context about nuclear warheads for our NATO contingents and I was sent to NATO. We had this remarkable state of affairs where our air division was equipped with CF-104's that were supposed to be nuclear capable and were supposed to have nuclear warheads and would take their turn to be on "alert" with no ammunition at all. We had the 'Honest Johns' weapons without any warheads. The whole scene was a terrible mess.

We lived through the Cuban Missile Crisis in that state of affairs. What persuaded me about the inadequacy of the NORAD situation was the declaration of a nuclear alert by the U.S.A. with Diefenbaker not accepting it, and our armed forces not knowing if they were on alert or not. The Minister of Defence, Douglas Harkness, declared an alert because he felt that the troops would be in mutiny if they did not know what they were supposed to do. It took about three or four days before the Cabinet finally agreed

to accept a state of alert for the Canadian armed forces. In these days of nuclear threat when the time for response is counted in minutes, rather than in hours or days, this is an intolerable state of affairs. We ordinary Canadians would be the victims of any nuclear exchange and our elected representatives have no effective voice in the declaration of a nuclear alert for our country and all the catastrophic consequences that could flow from a nuclear exchange. All the agreements about what happens under nuclear alert are secret. The Prime Minister and Minister of Defence know about them but information is on a "need to know" basis. The consequences of nuclear war would fall on the mass of the people. They would be the victim. This remains a totally unresolved problem.

At the conclusion of the Cuban-missile crisis in 1962, I was invited, along with the rest of the members of the NATO Council, by Mr. Kennedy to see all the nuclear establishments of the United States. Taking advantage of being in Washington I went to see Mr. McNamara, who I knew from my involvement in NATO and asked "What do we do about these 104's sitting on the ground? They are targeted by the Soviet military and yet we have no means of doing anything until we get the warheads." He took down one of his "black books" and said, "They are very good for high altitude interception but I would not think they would make a very good nuclear weapons carrier. Anyway, we are going to depend more and more on missiles. Why not try photography with your 104's?" So much for the 104's! We bought American hardware without defining the function or responsibility of the Canadian armed forces. This is a continuing problem that, based on my NATO experience, I believe is unfair to our excellent defence establishment. I disagreed with Fowlkes, but this does not mean that I had not the highest possible regard for our defence personnel, especially in NATO.

After the election which brought the Liberals back into office, I was sent to the U.N. as Ambassador. Paul Martin came to see me and said that we were going on the Security Council and he wanted me to be the representative. That was very exciting and perhaps the most rewarding experience of my career because my relations with Paul Martin and Mike Pearson were very close.

If anybody has to represent Canada on the Security Council it is absolutely essential that he or she have direct access to political authority. Paul Martin used to phone me at the earliest hours of the morning and go over all the things which were going to come up that day in the Security Council so that I knew and the Minister knew what were the

decisions that had to be taken. If I had a problem on about a vote, which often happens in the Security Council, I could phone or have somebody phone the Minister and say that we were voting. The Minister, for his part, would be aware of the choice to be made. I got immediate instructions. We got through the Six-Day War crisis in this way which was televised world wide. When the Soviets were asked whether they wanted to tape this program they said, "What are we going to be listening to?" and we said, "The representative of Canada is speaking" and they said, "What, that peerless count!" Mr. Pearson used to watch the television. One day, I got a message from the Prime Minister saying, "George keep your head up because you look asleep." Alison tells a story that she saw on television that I was nervously playing with my button and it came off. When I came home she said I had better give her that coat to be mended. So much for the impact of television on diplomacy!

Mrs. Ignatieff: I was watching him on TV. It was so fascinating to watch your husband and know what he was going to do and I was sort of shouting into the television to stop it.

Mr. Ignatieff: After the Six-Day War in the Middle East, came the Czech crisis. My relations with the United States Ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, had been extremely close. He was a person that I trusted and he trusted me and we worked extremely closely. Together with Lord Caradon from Britain, we worked, as a trio, closely together. It was very important to know what Canada's role should be. If possible it should be to work with a United States representative if the United States representative is of the quality and experience of Arthur Goldberg. He gave up the Supreme Court and Ministry of Labour to work for the world organization. When Goldberg left, I was asked to be the coordinator for the Western Group during the 1968 Czech crisis because there were a series of American representatives that filled in temporarily. During the Czech crisis, I was the coordinator for the Western Group and I had to choose tactics.

After Canada's term as a non-permanent member of the Security Council came to an end in 1969, I was posted to Geneva as Ambassador for Disarmament and later to the European office of the UN and to GATT. Under the Trudeau régime the Prime Minister quite clearly downgraded the whole role of diplomacy and I was coping, at the time in Geneva, with disarmament, trade in GATT, and with all the specialized agencies. I felt that what he said publicly about the foreign service was confirmed by the fact that when I asked for reinforcements to try and cope at the same time with

preparations for the Tokyo Round, the American reaction to the OPEC oil cartel and the Nixon "surcharge" on exports to the U.S.A., the only reinforcement I got was from a former assistant manager from the Chateau Laurier. This confirmed my impression that we were expected to act as hoteliers and greeters for the élite of the mandarins from Ottawa that surrounded the Prime Minister. When I was asked to take over my old college at the University of Toronto, I decided to accept. I still believe that, particularly in the nuclear age, there is no alternative but to find a *modus operandi* through diplomacy between competitive systems such as the Soviet and the industrial countries of the West, as well as between the developed countries of the North and the developing nations of the South.

bout de papier: Several of your pals have alluded to a letter you had written about this when you left?

Mr. Ignatieff: I made it very clear to Mitchell Sharp, who was then Secretary of State, what I thought about what was happening to the Canadian foreign service. It has never been published and since it is confidential I do not propose to reveal anything. Basically what I said was that never has diplomacy been more necessary than at present, considering the increasingly interdependent world and that Geneva was the meeting-place for the transactions of this global business. In a nuclear age where prosperity was rooted in the whole question of economic interdependence, it is more essential than ever to have professional diplomats trained to find a *modus operandi* through negotiation between different systems and national interests to resolve differences and settle disputes. Any downgrading into 'instant diplomacy', where chaps are suddenly sent off to negotiate and make statements of some sort or another is incompatible with true professionalism in diplomacy. I found people arriving in Geneva, for instance, and making statements and going off without even consulting me about what they said. Then I was asked what the Canadian position was meant to be — I did not know, especially as I was receiving different instructions from different departments in Ottawa. I thought that was a fine way of running a railroad...

bout de papier: You came back briefly on an appointment by Turner?

Mr. Ignatieff: That was just a political gambit not to be taken very seriously. It was an interesting footnote to my diplomatic career. The 'Rainmaker' in his book says that in Winnipeg, Mr. Turner phoned Shultz

about SDI as to whether he should support it or not. What in fact happened was that Axworthy and Iona Campagnolo, who were trying to give Turner a boost in the West he badly needed, said that he should come out for a nuclear freeze. That was the issue, not SDI. Whether Turner phoned Shultz on the nuclear freeze or not, I do know that he did not feel that Canada should unilaterally come out for a nuclear freeze. He felt it had to be reciprocal and should have some support in the Alliance. Mr. Turner phoned me in France to ask whether I would come back and I said that I would not come back as a member of the bureaucracy. I was already seventy and Chancellor of the University of Toronto and had my hands full as the academic year was opening. I asked to be given twenty-four hours to think it over. The next day my reply was: "Look, I am interested in having the post restored that Howard Green made for General Burns, namely there should be a senior advisor to the Government on the vital issue of nuclear arms control and disarmament which I think should be on top of the agenda as far as our foreign affairs was concerned. If you are prepared to restore that position I would be willing to do that and have an alternate as the actual negotiator." I was thinking of Allan Beesley who is in Geneva. We are close friends and I have the highest regard for him. That was agreed and indeed I dictated what my understanding was to Mr. Turner's staff, so that an order-in-council could be drawn up. Then of course when the election results came out, somebody came to see me in France and said I was supposed to go and chair the "Barton" Group. I said that I did not know anything about any Barton Group. I said I was advisor to the Government but not available for day-to-day negotiations. This was reported to Mr. Clark and Mr. Clark called me in and said, "We understand you are not going to be able to take this on full time and we think that this should be a full-time job." I said that I was not prepared to give my full time and that was that. Mr. Clark said that they were thinking of Doug Roche for the job and I said I was happy to work with Doug Roche who was a friend of mine. I had confidence in him. He also told me that he was appointing Stephen Lewis to the U.N. I said those were two excellent appointments and I was willing to work with either or both of them and if there was anything I could do I would be glad to do it in an advisory capacity. I have remained on the Consultative Committee of the Ambassador for Disarmament; so I have not severed all connections with the Department.

bout de papier: Mr. and Mrs. Ignatieff, thank you very much. 

Containment: Forty Years Later

We asked four retired Canadian diplomats: George Grande, John Halstead, John Holmes and George Ignatieff for their views on the success of containment. They all reread Kennan's famous piece and then went to work.

George Grande

Has containment worked? The short answer is in the affirmative. Otherwise, we wouldn't be here writing learned themes about such a question.

It is impossible to measure the degree to which containment has helped maintain the peace — or heightened East-West confrontation — in the past four decades. But the fact is it has worked.

Is containment the wisest policy for us to pursue today even if it were the right one for the U.S. forty years ago? Indeed, is containment still a feasible policy in these days of satellite observations, mutual nuclear restraints, confidence-building measures and summit diplomacy?

Perhaps not.

The West's greatest strength is not its military power. It never was. It's difficult in peacetime for democracies to maintain strong military forces against the competing demands of social services, industrial superstructure and a better standard of living.

Wartime sacrifices are patriotic. Peacetime ones are usually politically disastrous.

For all kinds of reasons, the most sensible policy for the U.S. and the rest of the Western Club to follow vis-à-vis the Soviet Union is a multi-faceted one complete with carrots and sticks — economic co-operation and nuclear deterrence, joint crisis management where feasible and maximum pressure for the observance of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Our optimum strength is the freedom enjoyed by individuals in democracies and the resultant lack of fear. The tyranny of dictatorship does not make for strong unity of purpose and a resultant social base on which to espouse the merits of communism/socialism.

Next to freedom, the West's economic superiority is its finest asset. It is a lightning-rod that can be used to promote close co-operation with the Soviet bloc that badly

needs our superior technology and economic support. And it can help maintain strong defences for as long as necessary.

Containment in today's multi-polar world cannot be only a facet of American policy. To work it must be embraced wholeheartedly by a united and willing Western family of nations.

Yet our joint determination to face together any Soviet challenge is offset to a large degree by differing priorities among Western nations and different views about the need for détente, nuclear-free zones and a strong Western presence and response in the world's trouble-spots.

To maintain a strong and unified Western policy is much more difficult than the maintenance of a strong and unified Eastern one. Democracy's limitations are there for all to see. Communism's are of a different nature. They are more apparent in the fields of social progress and personal liberty than in that of national defence which always receives top priority.

To the extent that successful containment counts on the weakening and ultimate collapse of socialist societies, it is both unrealistic and even undesirable in national security terms. That wouldn't lead to a more stable world.

The history of Russia, both imperialist and communist, has generated a fear and suspicion of the outside world. The result has always been that Russia builds up its military strength to a level far above that required for defensive purposes only. This has been accompanied by a process of sealing off its people from perceived bad and infectious outside influences.

Another consideration is that — up to now — communism has depended for its survival on expansionism and a dedication to its ultimate domination of the world in both territorial and ideological terms. For the West to adopt a similar public policy could spell permanent confrontation and needless and dangerous instability.

Freedom will survive and prosper because of man's inherent nature and provided

enough attention is paid in democracies to collective Western defence and co-operation. It doesn't require expansionism to survive.

The challenge the U.S. and the rest of the West faces today — 40 years later — is that being posed by the new Soviet leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev.

As British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe put it in a landmark speech a few months ago to the Royal Institute of International Affairs: "Their 'new political thinking' does now acknowledge that there is more to security than military might and that one's own security cannot be maintained on terms that inevitably mean insecurity for others. It brushes aside fears of Soviet claims to world domination as outdated. Theories of the triumph of Socialism worldwide, we are told, were just that — bookish theories, not guides to action. The 'new political thinking' lays stress on interdependence and the joint search for solutions to problems of global importance. It recognizes that the Soviet Union cannot play a part on the world stage commensurate with its intrinsic power until it has put its own house in order, and that to do this it needs a stable international environment."

If there has really been such a fundamental change in Soviet thinking — and it continues — containment must be gradually replaced by the West with a combined policy of realistic political détente and other tension-reducing measures, on the one hand, and the continued firm defence of our national and Western interests, on the other.

There is no single simple policy still suitable in today's complex world where, unlike 40 years ago, both sides have countless nuclear warheads and the ability to wipe each other out thousands of times over. Nuclear war can never again be either an Eastern or a Western policy. It would be mutual suicide.

Strength? Yes. We must continue to deny the Soviets the opportunity to increase their control of other parts of the world. But we must also give them the opportunity to live a better life without fear of war or conquest. This is the challenge today's statesmen must deal with in trying to define the best policy for the West.

It is not simple containment we need so much as a greater resolve to use strong collective defences and other measures as the means to forge a successful working relationship with the Soviet Union. That's containment with a difference. It isn't an end in itself any longer because the only end has to be a new beginning characterized by mutual tolerance, trust and survival in a balanced and sane world.

The alternative is mutual assured destruction (M A D).

Forty years ago the Soviet Union, though exhausted by World War II, appeared to have the political will and the ideological power to exploit the weakness of the war-torn states around its periphery to expand its influence. In response the United States took two major steps which marked a decisive departure from pre-war isolationism. The first, which became known as the Truman Doctrine, was to grant aid to Greece and Turkey against internal subversion and outside pressure. The second was to adopt the Marshall Plan to help the Western

peaceful and a stable world." He also contended that "it is entirely possible for the United States to influence by its actions the internal developments, both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement." He went so far as to suggest that "the United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate... and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

If he had to do it again, I suspect Kennan might be more precise in the terms of his prescription for U.S. policy, making it clear that he was not advocating a global police-

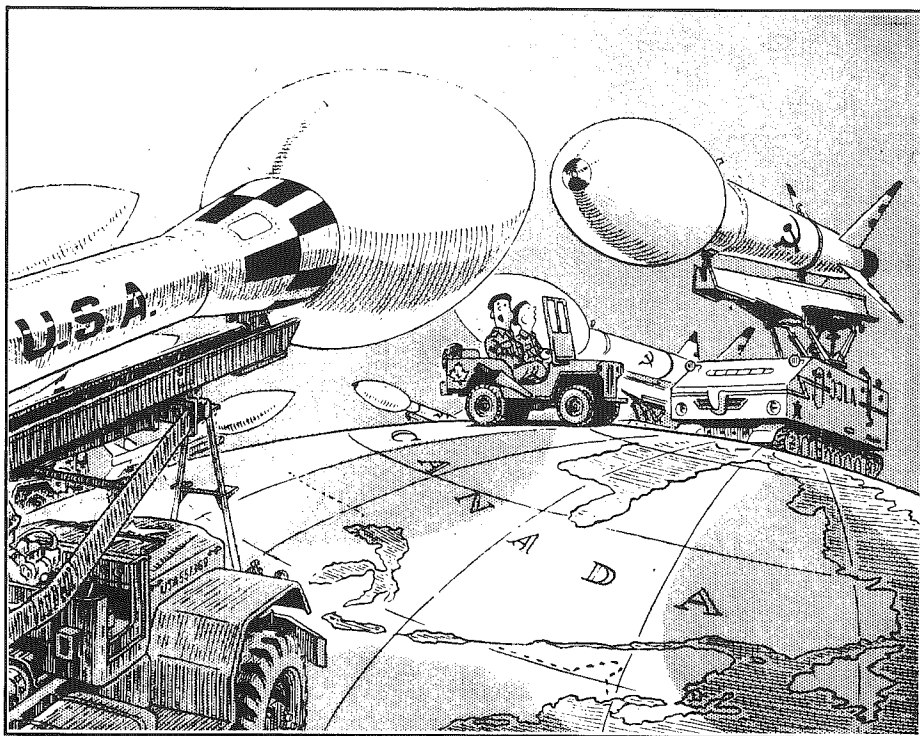
were supposed to benefit by it as dependencies of the United States and as instruments of U.S. policy, with the Marshall Plan, which he commended because it treated the European governments as independent powers which the United States was trying to help but not to govern.

The containment thesis was in my view based on three premises: first, that Soviet expansionism was embedded in a combination of Communist ideology and Russian national interests; second, that it would be deterred only by the prospect of facing superior force; and third, that the United States had the strength, self-confidence and dynamism necessary to contain the Soviet Union successfully. Each of those premises was valid within limits, but each held a defect which, if not recognized, could lead to fatally flawed policies.

Take Kennan's analysis of Soviet foreign policy. He was undoubtedly correct in observing that the United States must regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, and that there could be no appeal to common purposes. But this led all too easily to the conclusion that the Americans could do no serious business with the Soviets as long as that was so. Moreover, Kennan's reference to the possibility of influencing internal developments in the Soviet Union and the eventual breakup or mellowing of Soviet power was all too apt to feed the illusion that the Soviet system was on its last legs.

Again, it was undoubtedly correct to assume that Soviet expansionism could be deterred only by the prospect of facing superior force, but it was too easy to slip from that to the view that military measures should constitute the main ingredient of the U.S. strategy to deal with the Soviet Union. That was playing to the Soviets' strong suit, instead of focussing on the economic field, where the United States had by far the stronger suit. And it worked out in practice that the United States, in pursuing its military rivalry with the Soviet Union, made three serious mistakes: it chose partners on the basis of anti-communism alone; it failed to distinguish between vital and less important interests; and it became over-extended.

Finally, the assumption that the United States had the strength, self-confidence and dynamism necessary to contain the Soviet Union successfully, while certainly true in the short term, was fraught with hard questions over the long haul. Dynamism could be misdirected if it were applied exclusively to holding the line against Soviet expansionism. Self-confidence could become over-confidence if it were based on the wishful thinking rather than on an objective calculation of the strengths and weaknesses on both sides. And strength could too easily be



Drop in the Bucket

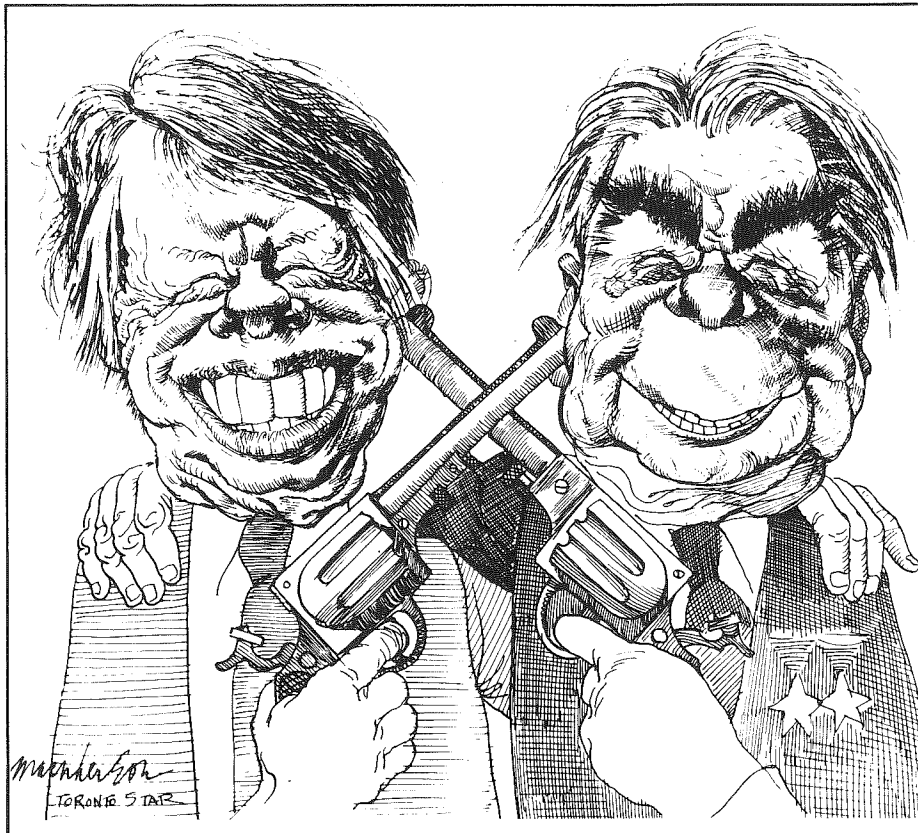
"Doesn't it seem kind of academic to be debating whether we should have nuclear weapons?"

European economies to recover. Thus was born the policy of containment, which was given its name and its intellectual concept in George Kennan's famous "X" article in *Foreign Affairs*, fittingly reprinted in the Spring 1987 issue.

It is significant, I think, that Kennan's article was entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." That reinforces the impression that its main purpose was to present a reasoned analysis of Soviet foreign policy, its motives and ambitions. That is the part that Kennan clearly felt most at home with, but he did not stop there. He went on to present a prescription for U.S. policy. He advocated "a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a

man's role which would put the emphasis on military means. Indeed, he has now explained that he did not intend to depict the Soviet Union as primarily a military threat, but rather as an ideological-political threat, and that his main objective was to prevent the Soviet Union from manipulating Communist parties to seize power in Europe and Japan.

At the time, his article was strongly attacked by Walter Lippmann, one of the leading commentators, in an article which is also reprinted in the latest *Foreign Affairs*. Lippmann argued that the strategic conception of the containment policy was "fundamentally unsound... and that the attempt to make it work will cause us to squander our substance and our prestige." He contrasted the Truman Doctrine, of which he disapproved because it treated those who



dissipated in an effort to confront the Soviets with counterforce at points of Soviet choosing, particularly if it involved defending weak border states.

These dangers were only heightened by the sense of historic mission which infused the containment policy. At the end of his article, Mr. "X" expressed gratitude to a "Providence which, by providing the American people with this implacable challenge, had made their entire security as a nation depend upon their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear." To which Lippmann replied that "it is not leadership to adapt ourselves to the shifts and manoeuvres of Soviet policy at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points."

History may well have intended the United States to bear the responsibilities of leadership at a time which was fateful for the free world. But there was nothing pre-ordained about containment, still less about the way that policy was implemented. It was most successful in Europe, where the United States worked effectively with its allies to put together both an economic recovery plan and a collective defence alliance to ensure that the power vacuum left by the collapse of the Third Reich would be filled peacefully. It was least successful in Southeast Asia, where the United States suffered a humiliating defeat in a war fought on the opponents'

ground, without well defined political objectives and without effective allies. In this sense it can be said that containment has worked only in part, and that a dreadful price has been paid for the part that failed.

*Where containment was
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needed to define what
the United States and
its allies are for.*

More important, in my view, is whether the correct lessons have been drawn from this experience. Today the United States is in greater need of allies than ever, because its relative strength has declined and it is more vulnerable to the international environment; yet the "go it alone" voices are stronger than ever in Washington. At the same time, the Soviet Union under Gorbachev represents a far more subtle challenge than the overtly expansionist power of yesteryear; simple anti-communism is no longer sufficient to ensure Western solidarity. Where containment was once enough to define what the United States was *against*, a new effort is now needed to define what the United States and its allies are *for*.

John Holmes

Canada's legendary first ambassador to the Soviet Union, Dana Wilgress, consistently argued that we should be firm but fair with the Russians. Insofar as the doctrine of containment was pursued in this spirit it was successful. George Kennan, the author of the doctrine, used similar language, and the Canadian ambassador in Washington reported that the State Department thinking was very close to that of Wilgress — but the State Department's influence on the policy of its government is much less than that of the Department of External Affairs. They did, however, have the ear, most of the time, of President Truman. The acceptance of containment as a sober rather than a hysterical policy did fortunately prevail in the climactic years 1947 and 1948. Already there were over-excited ideologues in America and Europe preaching military provocations, but the crises were met in fact with steady nerves. The Russians won Czechoslovakia, but they lost Yugoslavia, and in that latter reverse there was a message about the 'Communist monolith'. The loss of Czechoslovakia was heartbreaking. Military intervention would have been folly, but it was the Prague coup that started the move to a rational response, NATO. The blockade of Berlin shook our hope that the Russians would be prudent in their probing of our containment, but in the end we won because the Western powers rejected the proposals for violent response in favour of the air lift, which was certainly fair as well as firm.

By the end of 1948 the Russians were pulling back. They had pressed too far in Greece and Turkey and brought American power into the area. Their hostility had cost the French and Italian Communist parties much ground. Most important of all was the Marshall Plan, which brought new life and confidence to the peoples of Western Europe. It proved the most effective kind of containment because its main purpose was broader than that and recognized as such. It is unfortunate that in the standard history of that great enterprise, no mention is made of the fact that a Canadian loan to Britain, far larger in scale than anything the Americans had offered, kept Britain afloat while the Americans were going through their endless round of policy making among the divided powers in Washington. We and the Americans were, of course, serving our own interests in our endeavour to restore the Europeans as prosperous trading partners, but it was in their interest to be prosperous. If in so doing we thwarted hopes of the Russians to build communist states out the misery of Germany and its neighbours, that

was positive rather than negative containment. The Canadians and the British were prime movers also in getting out of the US Senate a commitment to European security that would give the Europeans confidence in the future and dispel panic, a dangerous state of mind in times of crisis.

I think it was essential to let the Russians know that there were limits beyond which they would meet stiff resistance in their efforts to extend a security zone. However, as the wise men in Washington who sponsored the doctrine of containment have admitted themselves, they oversold the argument. Far from being eager cold Warriors the Americans at the end of the war had happy illusions about getting on with the Russians. They had to be convinced that Soviet aims were hostile. To get the message across it was put in almost religious terms, the fight between good and evil. Truman said everyone had to choose between two alternate ways of life. Kennan and company were horrified, but the endemic American messianic spirit was unleashed against the devil. The Russians, even more paranoid, did everything they could to aggravate the blackness and the whiteness.

It seemed particularly unfortunate that containment was getting out of hand in the late forties when its more sober application was proving successful — in Europe at least. There was still great uneasiness, however, about how far the Russians would go. I recall the sinking feeling I had in Moscow in 1948 when they took great risks over Berlin, because we believed they would be prudent at the brink. I was at the UN in 1950 when we met to cope with the North Korean invasion, and the feeling was even worse. Contrary to the hopes of the sober men, it looked as if the Communists were going to act as a bloc and challenge the West on very disadvantageous ground. They met, however, not just an American but a United Nations response. It was a very near thing, but fortunately the UN forces did manage to repulse the aggression. As it worked out, I think it was worth while to discourage Soviet expectations of easy expansion, but we became more cautious about enforcing collective security universally.

So long as the United States acted with its allies and through the UN over the Middle East or the Congo, containment was based on rational calculations of strength. But when John Kennedy proclaimed that the United States would bear any burden, fight any battle anywhere in the cause of liberty, containment as a sane strategic calculation of Kennan and company was gravely threatened, although Kennedy did respond rationally to the Cuban missiles. The great powers had got together in Geneva in 1954

to contain the fighting in Indo-China, but the Americans eventually went their own way to ultimate disaster. In the wake of the disaster they sought to share the burden with their allies, but they had lost the art of sharing policy. During the Reaganite regime they have sought to act unilaterally even though the enormous economic and military power which had assured their hegemony is melting away. Their nuclear power is still predominant, but it is largely inapplicable.

As the wise men in Washington who sponsored the doctrine of containment have admitted themselves, they oversold the argument. Far from being eager Cold Warriors the Americans at the end of the war had happy illusions about getting on with the Russians. They had to be convinced that Soviet aims were hostile. To get the message across it was put in almost religious terms, the fight between good and evil.

We are still dependent nevertheless on a strong and healthy American counterforce to maintain détente and deterrence and make possible a transition to a more stable world order. We have to show an honest disposition to move beyond cruder doctrines of containment when there is an opportunity to do so. Prudence is always required in dealing with the USSR, but we dare not ignore the opportunities Gorbachev is holding out for a more lasting détente. The really serious issues confronting the world, economic and environmental, make the Cold War irrelevant. If — and it is still a big if — Gorbachev has realized this, then we can say that containing Soviet messianism has been successful. Containing the American crusaders is, however, an urgent problem. If we judge United States policy by their deeds rather than by their rhetoric, the prospects are more hopeful. They are seriously trying to get an arms control agreement, and they have tried to get a united policy on the Persian gulf in the UN Security Council despite all the sabre rattling. They haven't invaded Nicaragua either. There is reason to hope that, as in

1947 and 1948, the sober containers will prevail. Kennan did believe that if the Russians realized they had been checked it would be possible to coexist with them. The mad escalation of nuclear power has made all of us more keenly aware than we were in the Forties of the need not only to contain our adversaries but ourselves as well. 

George Ignatieff

To answer whether containment has worked, one needs to go back to the objectives of containment as originally perceived by George Kennan and distinguish between the military, political, and economic problems which it was supposed to address.

I met George Kennan originally in 1947 when I was Secretary of the Canadian delegation in the tripartite conference on atomic matters in Washington, D.C. This conference had been called to review the wartime Quebec agreement, which provided for cooperation between the U.S.A., U.K. and Canada on atomic matters in sharing materials, research and bomb-making. This agreement was being subject to criticism by some U.S. senators and was revised. The war-time agreement provided for consultation between the U.S.A. and Britain before the use of the new "absolute weapon". This promise that Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed to was to be terminated. This was to lead Britain to make its own bomb and nuclear proliferation was to start.

The meeting took place under the chairmanship of James V. Forrestal, then Secretary of Defence, (and soon after to throw himself out of a window of the Bethesda Naval Hospital). The diplomatic advisor at these talks from the American side was George Kennan. He and General Lauris Norstadt tried hard to persuade the British to rely on the American nuclear deterrent — but to no avail. The British insisted on their own; the French were to follow.

I recall this because the setting of Kennan's historical article was written in the context of his views of what problems the West faced in dealing with the Soviet Union, their wartime ally that had admittedly borne the brunt of the war in Europe against Hitler, as the U.S.A had in the Far East. Particularly Kennan set out in detail how he regarded the prospects for cooperation between the victorious allies. His answer first given in a 'long telegram' direct from Moscow, (of which the article in Foreign Affairs was a condensation), argued that the Soviet Union under Stalin was going to "play hard ball" and it was no use relying on any illusions or blandishments of the kind used with "Uncle Joe"



at Yalta. This came as a shock to Washington in the days preceding the Truman doctrine, and the cold war enunciated by Churchill, and had something to do with both developments.

Kennan, incidentally, was not by any means alone in uttering timely warnings about the limitations on cooperation to be expected from the U.S.S.R. in implementing the new cooperative institutions set up under the United Nations Charter, which assumed, in the first place, great power cooperation in maintaining international peace and security. It was on this assumption that the five permanent members of the Security Council were given each a veto to encourage "unanimity." Arnold Smith, then at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow with Dana Wilgress, wrote me letters warning me about being too optimistic concerning the tendency of the U.S.S.R. to "go-it-alone", instead of cooperating to make the newly founded institutions required to build "the brave new world" operate in the way some Canadians had hoped.

While attacking the naive hopes for Soviet collaboration, which stemmed from idealism as well as from an awareness of what the Soviet wartime contribution had meant in defeating Hitler, Kennan found wild-eyed anti-Communism, which spouted hatred of Russia, equally insidious. His theme, in short, was that Russia would probe into areas of weakness but had no compulsion to wage wars of aggression when faced with resolute opposition. Lecturing at the War College in Washington, D.C., Kennan summed up his theory of containment in words which have been interpreted as a military doctrine, (which was not Kennan's intention, as he told me many times). "There is no reason in

theory," he said, "why it should not be possible for us to contain the Russians indefinitely by confronting them firmly and politely with superior strength at every turn." This was to become the basis of the Truman doctrine in stopping Soviet pressures against Turkey, the Balkans and the Middle East. It was also to be the basis of the North Atlantic Treaty, the intent and terms of which were to be subject to various interpretations at the time of its negotiation as well as subsequently.

Canada, situated between the two superpowers, has an unusual opportunity to choose between being helpless or helpful, in working for a more cooperative world through functional institutions, as we have shown ourselves capable of in the past.

It was to Canada's credit that we did not overlook the word "politely" in Kennan's formula, in addressing the question of how Canada was to commit itself for the first time to an alliance for the purpose of containment in peacetime. It was on Canada's insistence, (as I know, having worked with Escott Reid on the text), that Article 2 was included that committed NATO members "to contribute toward the further peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions... and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being." It was

Kennan's view, as well as Canada's, that the manipulation of political and economic power was involved in containment as well as military.

Kennan, as I know from personal contact with him in Washington in the late forties and early fifties, was among the first to come to the realization that because of atomic weapons, the concept of total war, which sought the unconditional defeat and occupation of an enemy country, when nuclear powers were involved, at least, was no longer realistic. Future wars would either have to be avoided altogether or restricted in scope, conducted with small flexible strike forces to achieve limited political ends. He went on to urge later that the U.S.A. should make it clear that it would never be the first to use atomic bombs, and that NATO must restructure its strategy to take this into account. In this rational way Kennan anticipated the agreement reached in the 1986 summit at Geneva between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev that nuclear wars are "unwinnable and must not be fought."

Kennan, like Harriman and other knowledgeable American statesmen familiar with Russian history and attitudes, at the time realized that the language of military power and intimidation was likely to provoke a response in kind from the Soviet side. The trouble was the military language and the idea that containment meant a striving for superiority, or at least parity in weapons and armed forces, has stoked the East-West arms race ever since.

This interpretation of containment overshadowed an awareness that the lives of real human beings with real values were at stake, and that the real issue was how to engage the cooperation of both nuclear superpowers in working for the improvement of the human condition, instead of threatening mankind with destruction through unilateralism in preparations for war and the cultivation of super-nationalism.

The dispute over why Soviet-American cooperation failed, or more broadly why the cold war began, has been debated ever since. The misinterpretation of George Kennan's essay on "containment" has something to do with it. Certainly the dictatorial excesses of Stalin domestically, and his pressing for ever greater reassurance against Russian security concerns, at the cost of his neighbours, had started it.

As far as Canada and the Canadians were concerned, the combination of the Gouzenko spy revelations, and our experience with the negative Soviet approach which we encountered at the United Nations, especially over the discussion of the control of the atom, and the coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948 followed

by the Korean war, all convinced most Canadians of the need for containment by 1948.

How has it worked? In my view it is the impact of modern technology, in its benevolent as well as potentially destructive aspects, and the reaction of the new Soviet leadership to the revolutionary developments in science and technology that have had more effect than any military theories, however justified they may have been originally.

Unlike Stalin, Gorbachev and the new leaders around him have shown convincing signs, in my opinion, of turning away from the terror tactics of a secret police state, a centrally planned and controlled economy, and isolation from the "imperialist" West, and the expectation that somehow "historical dialectics" will give them the victory without the incalculable costs of modern war.

Soviet domestic reform has been combined with a new emphasis on international cooperation. Russia is seeking membership in economic institutions of cooperation, previously spurned, like GATT and the IMF. Their new plans seek to derive as much as 15% of GNP from foreign trade. Help in management as well as foreign investment is being sought through joint ventures. Domestically, farmers are being encouraged to sell more of their produce on the private market. Individual initiative is being encouraged as a corrective to the errors of centrally controlled planning and excessive bureaucratization.

Gorbachev's program of liberalization, including freeing dissidents like the Nobel Laureate Sakharov, threatens the power and privileges of a vast network of party functionaries and the habits of citizens accustomed to the state's cradle-to-the-grave control of their lives. His success is therefore by no means assured at this time. Gorbachev's campaign is "rocking the boat" domestically and abroad. Conservatives, who would prefer the known status quo to the unknown new thinking and action in the Soviet Union, have to adjust the concept of containment to opportunities for cooperation through joint ventures, respond to more open contacts across frontiers, as well as an invitation to seek a less threatening system of international security than one founded on the terror of mutual nuclear annihilation through arms control negotiations and disarmament.

There have been various reactions to the challenges of technological revolution so far. The Soviet reaction may be out of "sync" with that of the U.S.A. at the moment, but changes have to be anticipated on both sides. Then we have the reaction of fanaticism and terrorism, and the reversion to tribalism in order to establish "identity" in face of the

global blending effects of computers, word processors, and communications by satellite.

Canada, situated between the two superpowers, has an unusual opportunity to choose between being helpless or helpful, in working for a more cooperative world through functional institutions, as we have shown ourselves capable of in the past.

The change-over from the closed non-cooperative society of the Stalin era, which had provoked containment, to a more open internationally cooperative society of the Gorbachev experiment, was best summed up by Andrei Sakharov, the great Russian scientist and Nobel Laureate, at the international forum held in Moscow in 1987, as recorded by *Time* magazine of March 16, 1987.

A nuclear-free world is a desirable goal, but will be possible only in the

future as the result of many radical changes in the world. The conditions for peaceful development now and in the future are settlement of regional conflicts, parity in conventional arms; liberalization, democratization and greater openness of Soviet society; observance of civil and political rights; a compromise solution on the issue of anti-missile defences without combining it in a package with other strategic weapons. Convergence — a rapprochement of the socialist and capitalist systems — offers a real and lasting solution to the problem of international security.

This sounds to me a pragmatic and realizable agenda, if we are to move from containment to cooperation. 

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Being snippets from the press...

On Pompous Asses

From the MP from Halifax West, Mr. Howard Crosby:

"Our federal people in other countries have colossal gall to pass themselves off as experts in the areas they serve," Mr. Crosby complained after it was revealed 176 East Indian refugees had come ashore in Shelburne County. "They (members of the foreign service) are for the large part pompous asses, hired on an old-boy system," Mr. Crosby said in a telephone interview. "They are anything but knowledgeable in the areas they serve." Mr. Crosby thought it was time to "shake up and investigate the foreign service to discover how its members once again managed to miss the organization and arrangements surrounding the movement of refugees into Nova Scotia. "They do not seem to be able to pick up these schemes...How can it be that they don't know about these things?" The MP suggested that...foreign service members seemed more interested in cocktail parties. "I think it is time to take a real look at them."

From Crosby: Foreign service no help.
Halifax Chronicle Herald

With another view, the former MP for Halifax and one-time Minister for International Trade, Gerald Regan:

I can only recall having written a letter to the editor once before. I am somewhat reticent to do so now because, as a former politician, I believe that once you have been defeated you should allow your successors to govern without criticism that could be interpreted as sour grapes.

However, the ill-informed and intemperate attack on Canada's foreign service by Conservative member of Parliament Howard Crosby...compels me to comment.

As minister of trade from 1982-1984, I had the privilege of working with the foreign service of our country. My experience was that the officers and Trade Commissioners were among the most able and dedicated people with whom I have ever associated.

Far from being selected on an old boys club basis, position is attained by competitive foreign service exams which thousands of our country's top university graduates write each year. The fact that there are only a handful of vacancies means that successful candidates are exceptionally qualified.

Throughout their careers they are required to take postings in distant corners of the world, adjusting to a wide variety of cultures

and languages while serving the vital interests of Canada.

The education of their children is often disjointed as a consequence of frequent moves.

The spouses are expected to participate in their representational work even though they are not paid. In fact, the image of Canada has been considerably enhanced by the generous, sensitive and unremunerated work of most spouses on worthwhile causes while stationed in "have not" countries.

Our foreign service has produced many people who have subsequently achieved high office. In this category one thinks of former prime minister Lester B. Pearson, former governor general Jules Léger, Norman Robertson, George Ignatieff and Jake Warren.

Great Nova Scotians who have distinguished themselves in the Foreign Service include Charles Ritchie who was Ambassador to Washington as well as High Commissioner in London; Margaret Meagher, one of the first women to be an ambassador, and Arthur Andrew. New Brunswick contributed Ed Ritchie.

The ability of another Maritimer, Don MacPhail, who until recently served as our Ambassador to West Germany has been recognized by the Mulroney government with his appointment to the top position in the new Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. One had only to watch Ambassador MacPhail literally work around the clock during the last GATT ministerial negotiations to realize how well Canada is served by people like him.

I believe a case can be made that our foreign service is the finest of any country in the world and that we get good value for our money. It is unfortunate that Mr. Crosby, as a backbencher, has not had the opportunity to observe the true value of their work.

I am sure that Nova Scotia's representatives in the federal cabinet and Prime Minister Mulroney would want to disassociate themselves from Mr. Crosby's views.

As a former provincial civil servant Howard Crosby should realize that it is unfair to attack those who are not in a position to reply.

In relation to the specific criticism that our External Affairs personnel in Germany did not warn of the pending arrival of a shipload of refugees, Mr. Crosby should realize that with the small number of officials Canada has in Germany it is not possible to police every clandestine shipping movement in a country of greater population than Canada, nor is that their job.

From "Unfair Criticism", Halifax Chronicle Herald

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And How is Your Financial Picture?

by Bruce Etherington

Financial Planning — a buzz word to many, of interest to most and a profession to a few.

The old phrase "people don't plan to fail, rather they simply fail to plan" has significant meaning when it comes to the world of finance. Financial planning is not simply the maneuvering of dollar bills but the preservation of your money from the impact of items ranging from impulsive purchases to economic change through bull and bear markets, tax impact and inflation.

A few people are able in their spare time to develop a method which proves successful in terms of managing not only their own money on a day to day cash flow basis, but accumulating it as well in the most tax and economically effective manner. If you are one of these people, then consider yourself blessed for you are indeed a rare creature. Most people, after spending a full day at their chosen profession, particularly yours in the far flung reaches of the world, find it of little interest to actually sit down and balance their cheque books, review their revenue and expense statements, analyse their stock holdings, compute their estate situation, calculate the outstanding tax and explore market and investment opportunities with the few minutes of their day that remains. On the contrary, we find that most successful people are extremely busy in their profession, and at the end of the day, seek some relaxation which generally does not mean a painstaking review of one's financial circumstances.

If you are one of the many who simply do not list high on your priority list any of the aforementioned financial subjects, but nevertheless wish to minimize your tax and maximize the capital which you accumulate while enjoying your current lifestyle and, at the same time, being able to sleep well at night, then the subject of financial counselling and/or planning may well be for you.

Just as you have likely formed a good working professional relationship with your general practitioner who upon completing your annual medical will refer you to medical specialists as your physical health determines, a good financial counsellor is charged with the responsibility of referring you to financial specialists as your financial health dictates. For instance, if you require tax or legal assistance then you should be referred to tax and legal specialists who, just as a cardiologist or urologist will help you with their medical specialty, are able to help you with your financial planning.

Rather than putting you in the position of

being your own physician, a good financial counsellor will direct you through the maze of financial options, opportunities and obstacles. What are some of the obstacles and opportunities?

Cash Flow Management

How is yours?

Are you constantly running an overdraft?

Is your cash flow adequate to support your lifestyle?

Are you saving off the top or spending it all and trying to save what is left over?

Do you know everyday of the week where you stand in terms of your budgeted spending, how much you spend for entertainment, clothes, transportation relative to what your budget really is?

In fact, do you have a budget and if you do, do you stick to it and how do you measure it?

These are some general questions to which if your response indicates that there is some room for improvement, you may well want the assistance of a counsellor with whom to sit down and/or at least correspond in order to ascertain whether or not, subject to your lifestyle and cash flows, you can afford to live on your current income or are you actually living on "ifcome" or "whencome"?

Income taxes, of course, have to be paid and paid generally on time; however, with the proposed June 18th rules of Mr. Wilson, we have a situation developing where potentially lower income tax brackets will apply in 1988 as opposed to 1987. Thus, any deferrals which can be made from now through until 1988 of income, bonuses, or the receipt of other income, obviously will prove to be net cash effective as they will be subject to lower personal rates in 1988.

If your spouse is engaged in an income generating activity, have you minimized the tax impact on your joint incomes and, in fact, are you aware of what the June 18th proposals may well mean to you upon return to Canada?

Capital accumulation and taxes

What are you currently doing with your savings dollars and do you feel that you are taking advantage of all that you can with regard to the minimization of tax on the compounding of interest? As Albert Einstein said, the magic of compound interest is one of the greatest discoveries of the 20th Century and many mutual funds have proudly boasted of their 18 to 20% net compound return for investors over the past 10 years or more. The inside buildup of capital receives preferential tax treatment in a mutual fund

because it is not taxable until the fund is sold. Notice the interest accumulation as part of the mutual fund unit.

Whether or not you are able to participate in fund accumulation will really depend upon what your cash accumulation and savings habits have evolved to at this point in time. Do you save 10% of your income off the top or are you spending first and trying to save what is left over? There rarely is anything left over unless you plan on it and then work your plan. The beauty of mutual fund capital accumulation is that, while exposing your dollars to risk, you are averaging up and averaging down your buying units in a professionally managed fund which spreads your risk through bear and bull markets and throughout a variety of different equities. One is able to ascertain from the past performance over a 10, 15, 20 year period, how well a fund has performed through various economic cycles and markets and plan accordingly.

Registered retirement savings vehicles and defined benefit pension plans are two other options. A defined benefit pension plan has a maximum of \$60,000 per annum which a corporation or pension plan itself can pay to a retiree. A defined contribution pension plan, one that defines the amount of money paid into the plan, but not paid out of plan, contains no such maximum as the ultimate pension payout is not guaranteed and therefore does not contain a maximum. Mr. Wilson in his June 18th proposals has extended his tax equalization approach to defined contribution plans by attempting to structure the contributions in such a way that the end result will approximate \$60,000 a year pension. The key here is, what are you doing with regard to your pension benefits and do you understand exactly how your pension benefits work?

If you do, have you forecast the ultimate pension you will receive as a percentage of your then earned income.

The Stanford Research Institute has stated for some time that in order to maintain one's lifestyle the 75% formula should apply. Namely, that at one's retirement, disability or, in fact, death, 75% of income should be replaced on an annual cash flow basis with an offset for inflation in order to allow oneself and/or one's family to continue to live in the world to which they have grown accustomed. Will your pension and/or cash flow pay out to your family at retirement, disability and/or death allow for a cash flow stream of 75% or close to it?

From an estate planning perspective, are you familiar with the survivors income

benefits that are paid to your family and/or to yourself if you are disabled or die today?

Since cash flow, in many cases, dictates lifestyle the coordination of your government benefits with your own personal objectives should form the foundation of your financial plan with regard to the addressing of the three risks which can stop your cash flow, i.e. retirement, disability or death. Once you have guaranteed that these three factors have been addressed in sufficient income terms to meet your families and your own personal

requirements, then you have earned the right to talk about capital accumulation subject to your risk comfort profile.

All of these factors, combined with your absence from Canada, should prompt thought to the value of having a professional coordinate your objectives and match them to your balance sheet net bottom line. If your assets exceed your liabilities and the resulting equity is properly managed, what will it grow to and in what vehicles, with what tax treatment, and what effect will it ultimately

have upon your ability to enjoy a comfortable retirement and/or lifestyle prior to that.

Since the vast majority of Canadians will at 65 have less than adequate capital and/or cash flow to maintain their lifestyle, it is imperative that planning take place for if you don't plan on reaching a goal, how do you know if you have ever arrived at the proper destination? 

Wills: What to Consider

by Gwynneth M. Turner

Once you have reached the conclusion that a Will is a necessity, there are several considerations in giving proper instructions to your lawyer.

First, who do you wish to appoint as Executor of your estate. In normal circumstances, a spouse will appoint his or her partner as Executor. However, in situations where the administration of the estate will be complex, as in the case where there is property or there are beneficiaries outside the Province of Ontario, I recommend appointing a Trust Company to act as Executor, the rationale being that a Trust Company will be better able to ensure your testamentary directives and wishes are carried out with expediency.

Next one must consider who will be the alternate Executor in the event that the first predeceases you or is unwilling or unable to act. This should be a person over the age of majority who lives in the area where your estate is to be administered. If more than one person is appointed to act, I recommend an uneven number be used, as a majority decision will then bind the others. You do not want a situation where two Executors can't decide the same way on an issue and must resort to complicated means of resolving the matter.

It is also important to keep your lawyer or Executor informed as to the status of your assets and liabilities as they change. This enables them to quickly and easily take all necessary steps to finalize matters. At the least, a list of the following should be provided: where your banking is done, where your safety deposit box is kept, legal descriptions of property you own or lease, insurance policy companies and numbers, pension plans, death benefits, outstanding charge accounts, automobile or other personal loans and copies of agreements that may bind your estate such as partnership, cohabitation, marriage or separation agreements.

Of course in Ontario, we have the Family Law Act, 1986, to take into account when deciding on how you wish your estate to be distributed, and I recommend you consult your lawyer in the event you are planning on making distributions to persons who are not your spouse or dependants.

You must also be aware that any jointly held personalty or realty automatically vests in the surviving joint tenant and does not fall into your estate. In other words, you cannot bequeath property owned jointly with another person.

Aside from tax considerations, which are not addressed here, you must next decide if you wish to leave any specific gifts to specific people or charities. I do not recommend to clients that they draw up a list of every record album they own and bequeath each to a specific person. Obviously, the terms of a Will should be relevant and general enough to survive as long as possible, and some of the items listed may not even be around at the date of death. However, provision can be made to leave specific gifts to certain persons in the event that that person survives you and in the event the article is owned by you at the date of death.

Having appointed your Executors, paid the debts of the estate, made specific bequests and allowed your executors to call in and convert the remainder for distribution, you must decide to whom the residue is to be distributed.

The typical case is to leave the residue to your spouse; however, you must consider to whom the residue will go in the event your spouse predeceases you. Again, the typical Will leaves the residue to one's children in equal shares *per stirpes*. This means that if you have three children, and two of them have children of their own, and one of your children predeceases you leaving two grandchildren, that those grandchildren will share one third of your residue while each of your children who survive you has one third.

It is important to note that where you

have, for example, only one infant child, you make provision for a third alternate beneficiary of the residue of your estate in the event of the untimely death of the whole family in an automobile or airplane accident. But also, if an infant child survives you but fails to reach the age of majority and the capital of the residue of your estate has yet to be distributed to him or her, there should be provision for what will then happen to the fund.

When it is possible for infant children to inherit the residue, I recommend to clients that we put in a clause allowing the Executor to use the income from the trust monies and any part of the capital as may be necessary to maintain the needs of the child, with the income going directly to the child at the age of majority and the capital to be distributed only upon the child reaching an older age, such as 21 or 25 years.

One should also be aware that in Ontario, use of the word "child" refers to all children and makes no distinction between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" children. To circumvent this, I recommend re-instatement of the distinction to prevent the possibility of unknown "children" coming out of the wood-work, so to speak, and making a claim against the estate. However, as there are many instances today of children being born out of wedlock, I also recommend we specifically include such children where they are known to the Testator.

Finally, one may wish to appoint Guardians of infant children in the Will. This provision is not binding, but merely an expression of your wishes.

A further consideration is specific burial requests. These too are not binding on your Executor, but are merely an expression of your wishes. I recommend you apprise your Executors in advance of your wishes.

In summary, I advise all persons wishing to execute a Last Will and Testament to obtain proper legal advice for their specific circumstances. 

Coming to Canada

by T.S.E. Jones

With all the recent publicity about refugees set adrift off the coast of Nova Scotia, I remember my sea sick arrival in Canada. Mind you, my ship was somewhat larger than a lifeboat. But in memory "The Neptunia" as the battered vessel was called, seemed little more than a tub. This impression may have been coloured by the fact that during our crossing we hit the tail end of hurricane Hazel, which put our safe arrival somewhat in doubt, in my mind at least. In any case, I regard it as fitting that the Neptunia's next voyage was to the scrap yard.

My real awakening to Canada came the first time I crossed the country, hitchhiking to a student camp at the University of British Columbia. The splendour and the vastness of the country overwhelmed me, as did it's diversity and richness.

No one could have been happier to set foot ashore than I, although Halifax in a March day in 1954 appeared to my immigrant eyes as a trifle bleak. This reaction was heightened by the quiet of a rainy Sunday afternoon; the only activity we encountered as we walked the main street was in a Chinese restaurant where all the clients were blacks. Not quite the "true North, strong and free" of my schoolboy expectations, but evidence enough to deepen my conviction that life in "the colonies" was going to be beyond-the-pale! However, at least Halifax was on *terra firma*, and the firmer the land, the less terror in my heart.

Halifax was not our destination, but merely a port of call, so we boarded the rolling Neptunia again, and battered our way down to New York, where this huddled mass for one was damn happy to see the Statue of Liberty. New York is a blur in my mind, a larger-than-life city where skyscrapers seen from the window of the taxi seemed to do just that.

My most vivid memory of that first visit is of Grand Central Station, and it is there we (my family and I) first encountered the language barrier. We wanted a cup of coffee, but could see no cafés or restaurants (this was

in 1954 remember) so we asked a porter where we could buy one and were directed to a drug store. That couldn't be right, after all chemists didn't sell coffee, so after a moment of hesitation, my father asked again. "Sure. The Drug Store. And you can buy the kids an ice cream there and comics too." This really was unbelievable, and my father was slightly put out. Not the sort of welcome he expected from friendly Americans. But everyone we asked had the same response, so in disbelief we looked for the drug store. Incredible! No drugs, at least not that we could see, but coffee and milk shakes and ice cream. And what ice cream! Not the plastic ice cream of Britain after the war, which didn't drip as it melted between the wafers, but bulged, but ice cream made of real cream with (joy of joys) whipped cream on top. Life in North America was going to be all right!

We crossed into Canada at Fort Erie. After New York it was a disappointment. So was Kitchener, our final destination. The railway station didn't even have a platform! As I descended from the train into the snow I decided there and then not to remain. After all, I had come to Canada only because my family immigrated. As soon as I was independent I would shake the snow of the colonies off my boots and return to the "Old Country", to civilization, where railway stations had platforms, and March brought crocuses and daffodils, not feet and feet of snow. I didn't realize it at the time, but I was suffering a classic case of what we in the trade now call "Culture Shock".

We settled in Kitchener, and got used to being referred to as DPs (displaced persons) the term used for immigrants at the time. Despite constant comments on our British accent, which only strengthened my resolve to continue to speak "The Queen's English", we adjusted to Canada (and more important Canada to us) with ease. I still hadn't made the emotional break with Britain, however, and although I rarely thought of it during my halcyon days in high school and university, I had at the background of my mind the intent to return. For the present, I was too busy enjoying life, except for momentary irritations caused by the necessity to spell my name, Jones, and state that "No, it didn't take an umlaut". Where but in Kitchener!

My real awakening to Canada came the first time I crossed the country, hitchhiking to a student camp at the University of British Columbia. The splendour and the vastness of the country overwhelmed me, as did it's diversity and richness. On the trip back East, it dawned on me that I had been particularly blind in not seeing Canada for what it was,

and I became a naturalized Canadian almost immediately on my return to Kitchener — the first in my family.

My dear parents, not being nearly as stupid or short sighted as me, had always intended to become Canadians, but somehow had never got round to it. When they finally took out Canadian citizenship, I was a member of the Department, luxuriating in the splendid title of Third Secretary in Sydney, Australia. It was with great glee that I, the British prig of the family, was able to write to them on official Canadian Government stationery, welcoming them to the Canadian fold.

We Are the World

by Eduardo F. del Buey

Two years ago this was the thought on the minds of many people. The songs written and recorded for the starving children of Africa, the discovery by rock stars and media personalities of "alternative diplomacy" and the transition of many "baby boomers" from a "me" attitude to a greater awareness of the needs of others had a very special impact on me personally since I am not only a diplomat by profession and a "baby boomer" by inclination but also a musician and songwriter.

While watching the "Live Aid" concert I remember thinking how it would be if I could someday do something for children with my music — perhaps a grandiose dream for an unknown and non-professional (but always aspiring) singer/songwriter. Little did I know that, even in the Foreign Service, dreams sometimes do come true.

The most poignant moment of my artistic career was the moment that a very young girl came up to me at the Teatro Leguia in Lima immediately after my performance on the Peruvian Telethon, gave me a kiss on the cheek, and thanked me for the present I had made to Peruvian children.

During a temporary assignment in Peru in late 1985-early 1986, I met a number of

radio personalities who heard some of my songs and asked me to write one specifically for a charitable organization concerned with the welfare of children in that country. I promptly sat down to write the words and music to a song that I called "Somos Peru" (We are Peru) that caught the imagination of the producer involved. The production company offered to underwrite the costs of arranging and producing the song, and Ambassador Keith Bezanson kindly offered to subsidize the cost of donating 2000 records to the charity that we had selected (Clinica San Juan de Dios, a system of hospitals operating in many Latin countries (as well as in Montreal-Hôpital St-Jean de Dieu) that underwrites the cost of major corrective surgery for children from families who would otherwise not be able to obtain such medical services).

Within days of contacting the organizers of the National Telethon for handicapped children (the Peruvian version of Jerry Lewis' telethon that is broadcast in the U.S.A. and in Canada) I was invited to sing the song live on their special television broadcast on January 31, 1986. As well, arrangements were made for the video of the song to be aired on Lima's video rock channel on a daily basis as well as on music and video programmes on other channels. There I found myself in the company of Julio Iglesias and other well-known Latin artists (since the song is in Spanish). I understand that the video continues to be broadcast regularly in Lima and, during my travels through Central America and Europe, I have been surprised at the fact that travelling Peruvians have and continue to recognize me as "el diplomático cantante" (the singing diplomat).

When I arrived in Guatemala it did not take too long for word of my Peruvian adventure to make the rounds (I am not a believer in false modesty) and soon the Aldeas Infantiles S.O.S. requested that I write a song for their use. This organization is affiliated with the S.O.S. Kinderhoffer, headquartered in Vienna but operating in most countries around the world through local affiliates such as the one in question. Once again, I did my thing and wrote the song "Poco a Poco" (Little by Little) that was produced with the strong moral and financial backing of Ambassador Potvin and Pierre Giroux, our Aid and Development officer at the post. An accompanying video was also produced and has been frequently televised on major music and video shows in Guatemala. In addition, I was invited to sing this song live on the Guatemalan Telethon in December of 1986, making it the second time in one year that a Canadian artist sang in a national telethon in a Latin American

country. The song and the master recording are available for other Posts in the area to use should they decide to support the local Aldeas Infantiles S.O.S. organization in their country or countries of accreditation. Thus far, however, we have not had any feedback from colleagues at other posts.

While it is gratifying for an artist to achieve a certain level of recognition, fame, and appreciation for his or her talent from the general public, it is all the more gratifying to feel that one can make a difference in spite of the odds. Perhaps the most poignant moment of my artistic career was the moment that a very young girl came up to me at the Teatro Leguia in Lima immediately after my per-

formance on the Peruvian Telethon, gave me a kiss on the cheek, and thanked me for the present I had made to Peruvian children. At that moment I realized that the Foreign Service lifestyle had not only allowed me to accomplish what had hitherto been an improbable personal dream, but that I and my colleagues at the Embassy had somehow brought diplomacy up to the level of comprehension of a young child. This gesture was and continues to be far more important to me than all of the accolades that I may have received in Peru or in Guatemala with respect to my musical/benevolent activities because it was and continues to be living proof to me that "We are the World"...

Poco a Poco (Little by Little)

Words and Music by Eduardo F. Del Buey
English Translation

*Little by little and step by step fill the world with your love
Step by step and little by little open your heart like a flower
Look at a child's face who only asks for your affection and
That you give him a chance to live
Little by little and step by step we'll change his destiny
All that is needed is that you don't stop feeling.*

*Little by little and step by step show him a way
That will take him to a brand new dawn
Give a child your hand with tenderness and love
And that child will be reborn.*

*Be his morning sun and his sweet afternoon breeze
Be the cause of his laughter and his source of love and pleasure
Be the staff on which he leans and his strength to develop
So that he himself can plant his roots
Give him all that you can, strong wind for his sails
This child is the future of the nation.*

*Take a good look at his face how his smile changes when you give him
your tenderness and love
Take a good look at his eyes how his look changes also when he leaves
behind his pain*

*Little by little and step by step we will change these lives, you will see
You'll be able to touch their souls, they will finally achieve their inner peace
That peace and hope will not remain in the distance
They will finally be able to feel them
Little by little and step by step we will build for them a future
We'll ensure that they survive.*

*Little by little and step by step fill this sad world with your love
Step by step and little by little open your heart like a flower
Little by little and step by step step by step and little by little give your love.*

Dépêche d'Adieu: Or Three and a Half Years Later, the Self Indulgent Farewell

by Colin Robertson

As Walrus said to the Carpenter, the time has come to talk of many things. But for the ex-editor, with his bottom no longer in the chair, to pretend to have suddenly found fresh things to say would be suspect for having not said them earlier. The best and the worst he can do as he bids farewell, is to muse on what has been.

It was a different time when I became editor and concurrently a member of the Executive. Pierre Trudeau was Prime Minister, Allan MacEachen, Gerry Regan and Jean-Luc Pépin were our ministerial triumverate. Marcel Masse, de Montigny Marchand, Bob Johnston and Maggie Catley-Carlson were the principal deputies. At PAFSO, Russ Davidson was finishing out the term begun by George Haynal. The big issues were improved childbirth benefits for women, an assignment policy for employee couples, the FS3-EX conversion and the creation of a PAFSO honour roll. In celebration of our diamond jubilee a sixteen page tabloid-style **bout** featured an interview with Under-Secretary Masse, and a photographic essay on the Department's first 75 years.

So what has changed, aside from the political landscape and the under-secretarial pool? The most significant development has been the growing radicalization of PAFSO. While we will never be militant and I doubt we shall ever see foreign service officers on strike, there is new appreciation of ourselves and our problems and a growing willingness to speak out, even publicly, on what we believe is important. At a time when idealism and commitment is said to be on the wane, we surprise ourselves on what we have done. Today's organization is much different from the group I joined in the summer of 1984.

In looking back, certain events stand out as landmarks. The gag order of November 1984 was a singularly dumb move. It signalled a lack of confidence by the new political masters in a service which has prided itself on its non-partisanship and duty to the government of the day. It was the first time, since an earlier Prime Minister had spoken in derisive terms of "pearsonites",

that the loyalty of the Foreign Service had been cast in doubt. Happily, performance and the passage of time has assuaged unfounded fears.

The decision in March 1985 by Treasury Board to unilaterally impose a 25% increase in shelter costs ended, especially for those abroad, the complacent belief in the benevolence of management. Coming at the end of 6 and 5, Treasury Board justified their Friday night surprise with the pious claim that they had to catch up with rising costs. What made it harder to stomach was that this occurred shortly before Treasury Board offered us a 2 year contract based on a 0% increase (later extended to 1.5% with roll-backs on weekend overtime and severance pay). We had, they preached, to do our bit for restraint! In an unprecedented move, PAFSO President Jean-Paul Delisle went on radio and spoke to the print press about the issue. When the Department refused to permit departmental telex facilities to be used to send PAFSO's statement to our members overseas we did it ourselves through private means. And we took the Department to court and won. The Association's right to communicate with its members is now backed up by jurisprudence. While we did not succeed in rolling back the rent increase, we achieved a gradual phase-in of the rent increase by working with the other unions in the National Joint Council.

The rent increase was a watershed. Until then there was an almost feudal relationship between senior management and the officer class. The managed would accept a certain amount of paternalism in return for grace and favour benefits. We thought, naively, that by depending on that relationship everything would work out. It did not, so we went to court. And we broke with tradition by choosing, for the first time, to take our case to the court of public opinion.

That summer, negotiations on a new contract broke down and PAFSO went to arbitration for the first time since collective bargaining was introduced in 1967. A survey of membership, the first ever conducted in a methodical fashion, showed that members were prepared to hang tough rather than settle when the contract expired. Preparing

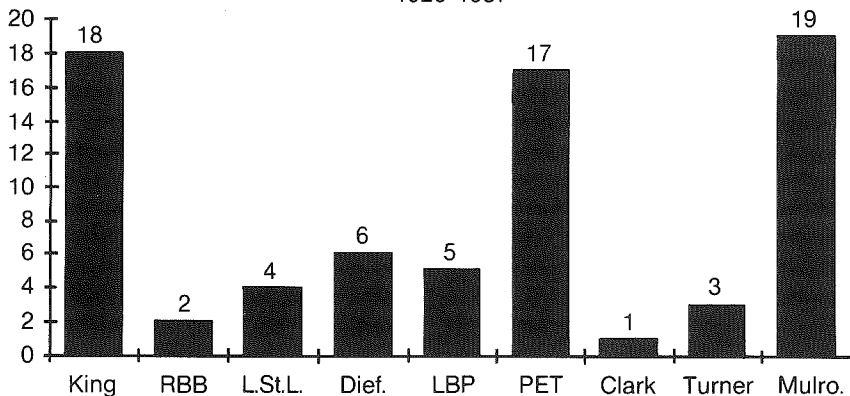
the submission to the Board was an eye-opener. We soon realized that within the category we have been placed (Administrative and Foreign Service) not only was PAFSO the group that had received the lowest cumulative salary increase since the introduction of collective bargaining but was the only group that had failed to keep pace with the consumer price increase. Collecting information to make our case was no easy task. Management's refusal to provide basic data on recruitment, years in grade and composition of the group forced us to file under Access to Information Act and to go the Public Service Staff Relations Board for help. Our goal, which was realized in the subsequent Arbitration Award, was to end the ongoing deterioration in the terms and conditions of our employment. In the latest contract negotiations we employed a new tool, mediation, as a means to resolving the outstanding issues.

Observing the transformation in attitude that occurs to those most intimately involved in the negotiation process has been fascinating. Listen to the articulate passion, even anger, of our negotiators, be it Margaret Huber and Jon Fried in 1985, or Jon Allen and Rodney Briggs in 1987, after they had been diddled by Treasury Board. The experience has been instructive.

The mark of any union is its defence of the individual. And in the cases of members Massip, Gordon, Egloff, Fraser and others, PAFSO has not shied away from taking on the unpopular in support of the basic tenets of fair play and justice for all. A policy on appeals and grievances has been established and funds made available. Slowly, we have begun to develop our own jurisprudence.

Adequate pay and acceptable conditions of service are the bread and butter of a healthy foreign service. The Foreign Service Directives are our shield against the perils of life abroad. They work well but can and are being improved. Perhaps their greatest strength lies in the fact that their interpretation and day-to-day enforcement lies in the hands of those who serve abroad. And still undone is a Foreign Service Act which

PATRONAGE APPOINTMENTS to
the FOREIGN SERVICE
(number by each PM)
1926-1987



would recognize, under the law, the unique conditions under which we serve.

The McDougall Royal Commission emphasized the importance of keeping the family and the entire foreign service community — clerks, secretaries, communicators as well as officers, adequately housed, properly paid and with sufficient recreational facilities. "Access to recreation facilities for all staff members and their families is vital for the maintenance of physical and mental health" wrote Ms. McDougall and should be a priority for the government. In response the Department created the Recreational Hardship/Support Program and it has made a signal difference to life abroad.

Applying this policy has required common sense; not always a big commodity. Putting most of the funds into the purchase of shares in Hong Kong's Aberdeen Marina Club was virtuous but inept. We made ourselves an unnecessary target for the Auditor General and an easy mark for public ridicule. The unhappy affair was compounded when, in spite of pleas to stand fast from PIPS and PAFSO, the political masters buckled and ordered the membership sold, a move that even Tory MPs on the Public Accounts committee thought was an overreaction. The slow sale of the memberships has provided easy copy for journalists with no ideas and an approaching deadline. It has also served to cast a pall on what is a very good program.

The foreign service is no stranger to political patronage and there is no question that there will always be a place for the talents of a Vincent Massey, Roland Michener or Stephen Lewis. They make a valuable contribution to the conduct of Canadian external

relations. And over the years successive governments, Conservative and Liberal had arrived at a balance between political and professional appointments. The professionals received the bulk of assignments, on average one a year came from outside the public service. King appointed 18 over 22 years, Bennett 2 in 5 years, St. Laurent 4 in 8 years, Diefenbaker 6 in 6 years, Pearson 5 in 5 years, Trudeau 17 over 16 years and Clark 1 in 9 months.

After the appointment of Messrs. Dupras, Mackasey and Whelan, and with an election underway, PAFSO president Russ Davidson had written to the party leaders to seek their stand on patronage. After September 4, the reply from Brian Mulroney was eagerly awaited. His letter of October 2 promised 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." His words were made good by deed when nine days later he rescinded the appointments of the Turner-appointed trio. This action, combined with his strong words on patronage during the election debates — "you had an option sir", established the standard against which future actions would be measured.

And the measure would find increasing use. After the appointment to Los Angeles in March, 1986 of Joan Winsor, former president of the Tory constituency association in Westmount a letter reminding the Prime Minister of his pledge was sent to him. It received a neutral reply. Then came the appointments of Lucien Bouchard, a former school chum of the PM, Chris Pearson, former Tory leader in the Yukon and Pierrette Lucas, a former Clark aide and

defeated Tory candidate. Two letters of mild protest were sent to Mr. Clark. They did not receive a reply. Following the appointment to Ireland of Dennis McDermott in January, 1986 another letter was sent and, in PAFSO's first press release, provided to the media. It gained minor media play as well as the attention of Mr. Clark. In his reply the minister claimed that "important Canadian communities are inadequately reflected now in Canada's public appointments — most notably women, organized labour, and Canadians of heritage other than English and French.... External Affairs must reflect those national priorities in our activities, appointments and recruitment." The statement betrayed an incomplete appreciation of foreign service selection and recruitment standards.

More patronage appointments followed. In December, another press release was issued in the wake of the Drapeau appointment to UNESCO. PAFSO President, Len Mader, appeared on CBC's *The National* to make our case. The item was linked with the closure of Canadian posts abroad. It was the first time we had ever received national television coverage. In February the only head of post from the shut six to receive a commensurate reassignment was Pierrette Lucas, the sole political appointee of the bunch; she went from Philadelphia to Boston. PAFSO protested by press release. An amiable meeting subsequently took place between the Minister and Len Mader in which patronage was discussed but left unresolved.

Then came the Glorious Tenth, as one wag dubbed it. Following a series of press stories rumouring the appointment of Patrick MacAdam, a long time crony of the prime minister, to London, PAFSO held its first press conference in which John Lobsinger, our new president, using forthright and unambiguous language warned of the consequences of such appointments to the national interest. The reaction of the Prime Minister and Minister guaranteed national attention. Mr. Clark's letter to the *Globe and Mail* remains a remarkable piece of literature. He decried our "crude and unprofessional... outburst," accused us of 'distorting history' and dismissed the "newly-elected executive" as representing "only the two most junior levels of the foreign service and none of its members would be senior enough to be considered for any of the positions in question."

In a dispute with our Minister neither we nor he will gain. It marks no victory for either party. As diplomats we should be able to do better. But we take heart from the many members who looked to us for leadership and decisive action. The nation's editorialists and pundits (see this issue) found merit in

our cause. Speaking out against the political masters is no easy task. It is the last resort. It can only be employed when quiet diplomacy has failed. It requires courage and conviction. And it must be done in defence of professionalism.

Keeping faith with professionalism has served to make us more aware of the place of the Foreign Service within the Canadian public service. To point out the importance of having career officers handling the conduct of foreign policy, we submitted a brief to the Joint Parliamentary Committee studying Canadian foreign policy and met with its chairman, Tom Hockin. The Committee later concluded that a "highly professional" career service is "a valuable national asset, strengthening Canada's hand in its international dealings." The Professional Committee, the brainchild of George Haynal and Howard Balloch has proved its worth time and again thanks to the efforts of its successive chairmen John Higginbotham and David Adam. Their breakfasts and seminars have put clothes on the dress horse of our profession. It has also mended the artificial tear created by the EX (FS) conversion exercise. We share a sense of community which transcends rank.

The most felicitous result of all these events has been their effect on PAFSO, especially its Executive. In 1986 the Executive was chosen for the first time by contested election. Candidates took stands on the issues and the membership got to pick and choose. If nothing else, it has breathed a diversity of opinion into executive meetings. Debate over issues like the Commercial Officers' conversion exercise, streaming, the creation of the Development stream, an AIDS policy, and affirmative action, as well as lost causes like evaluating managers are the vital signs of a vibrant organization. This year, two worthy candidates stepped forward to contest the presidency after Len Mader resigned. Today, when the Executive speaks it is with the confidence of the ballot box behind them. One day, we may even see direct election for a president. In my experience, finding time to devote to PAFSO business is our greatest handicap, we would benefit from having one of our own at the helm on a full time basis. And at long last, PAFSO has a new home. It was no easy task and Gordon Morrison is owed a great debt for his patience and perserverance.

What of the future? We must learn to adapt in pursuit of both principle and interest and ride time with a purpose but not be ridden or unseated by it. There will always be the gadarene who cry up, and whore after change

everywhere. There are the bourbons to whom change is always unfriendly and to be resisted. They can always be found, especially among the chatterers in the cafeteria. There is danger in change, but the greater danger is in the blind conservatism of the reactionary. This is the real threat to the Foreign Service. We could do with more, not less, fire in our bellies.

As we recognize change and use it, some observations to guide our path:

- The Foreign Service has been described as having many of the virtues as well as the faults of a jesuitical order. Our dedication to the institution is unique to the civil service. We have been a closed shop. With few exceptions, advancement through the ranks depends on a wholehearted and life-time commitment to the Service. This is changing because the nature of modern diplomacy requires more specialists than we can develop. A freer flow in and out of the Foreign Service is inevitable and should not be resisted. As well, there will be more non-rotational senior officers. This, too, is not a bad thing. For too long, External Affairs and the Foreign Service have suffered when we play the Ottawa game because of our exclusivity and unfamiliarity with the Capital scene.
- The traditions and camaraderie of what is still an essentially male-dominated profession are worthy. But they do not lend themselves well to the realities of our age. Affirmative action is an idea whose time has come and governments, regardless of their stripe, will enforce it. The hard truth is that there are too few women and minorities in the foreign service. It will require accommodation and adjustment in attitudes.
- The popular image of diplomats remains one of striped-pants dandies lolling poolside with their martinis. We have a long way to go to correct this false image. As journalists David Halton and Jeff Simpson pointed out when they spoke at a recent seminar of the Professional Committee, our preoccupation with secrecy and innate caution does not work to our advantage. When we are abroad the foreign correspondent can be one of our best sources. Without betraying confidences but by sharing what we do with them, the media has the potential to be our most important ally. Because when we appeal to the court of public opinion on issues like patronage it is the journalist who makes it relevant to our countrymen.
- It is ironic that the work we do which is most important to the average Canadian — immigration and consular assistance, are the areas which are seen by us

as the drudge work of our profession. Yet, when the bombs fall on Tripoli and Beirut, when the refugees in Central America or Indochina knock at our doors, when an earthquake rocks Mexico City, when Chernobyl melts down, when the boat-people arrive on the beaches of Nova Scotia, when terrorists kill Canadians in Malta, or when future citizens apply for entry and a Canadian abroad loses his passport it is our immigration and consular officers who are in the front line and must be seen to perform. And the Canada of tomorrow is created by the immigrants whose eligibility they determine. They are our most public face. They are our front line. Their actions create the impressions on which Canadians decide what the Foreign Service means to them.

- The Foreign Service continues to offer extraordinary opportunities to ourselves and our families. It is still an ideal career to gain an appreciation of our country. The skills we develop serve us well be it in industry or the boardroom, as Ministers or as chiefs of staff to prime ministers and premiers, as senior officials in the provinces or in Ottawa, or as international civil servants in the United Nations, the Commonwealth or NATO. But hand in hand with opportunity are demands and duties that can be difficult, especially for our spouses and children. The benefits and conditions of service are generally good. To ensure they are maintained we must continue to demonstrate through our professionalism and performance that we serve Canada well. Among other talents, this demands a certain political astuteness. In return, our Masters, who require able servants to carry out the conduct of our diplomacy, will be more easily persuaded that excellence must have its rewards.
- The gap between ambition and achievement will grow larger. Promotion will continue to be slow; post closings, patronage and consequences of restraint will further skew the road to advancement. The pollyannas who dream that one day 'merit' will be the sole criterion for success would do better to pack their bags. It never was the sole criterion. And success depends as much on time and chance.

The magazine's greatest debt is to its contributors and readers over the years. The former have made it what it is and the only recompense they have received is our warm thanks and the knowledge that they have served to further debate on vital subjects. Our readers tend to know much more about issues and we have benefitted from the argumentative letters and bent ear in the corridor. And if

this journal has on balance informed its readers and provoked discussion it has succeeded. To those outside the foreign service, we have tried to present an accurate picture, warts and all, of Canadian diplomats as they are and describe the conditions in which we and our families serve. We still have a long way to go.

Once when younger, I thought all problems had solutions. Now, I merely think we should pursue the solutions we think right. Editing this journal has been very satisfying. It has grown. It is improved and it is improving, although it is never as good as one would aspire to. I leave, confident that with an able editorial board and a stable of contributors, my successor will make an even better go of it.

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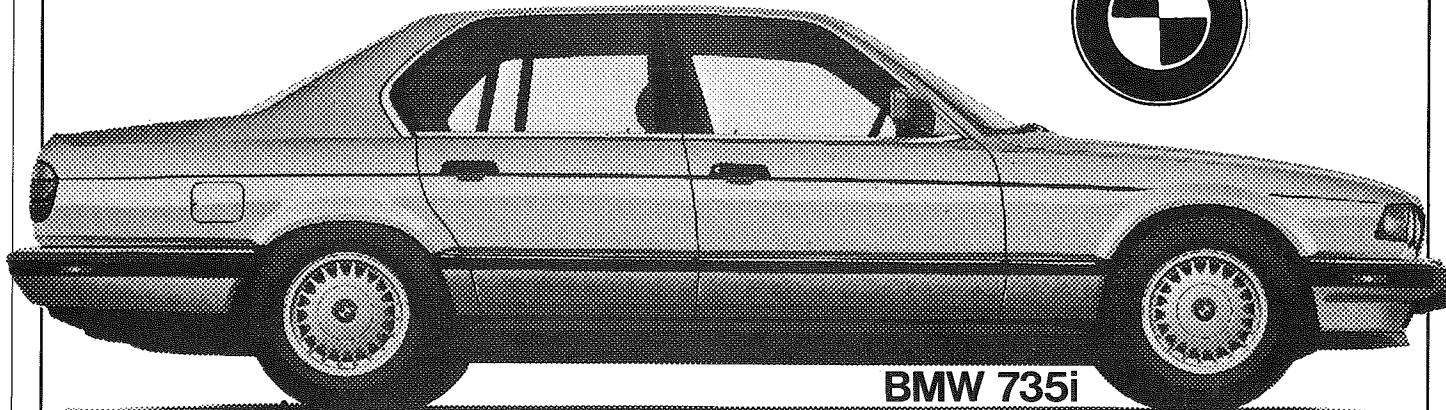
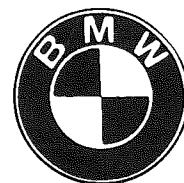
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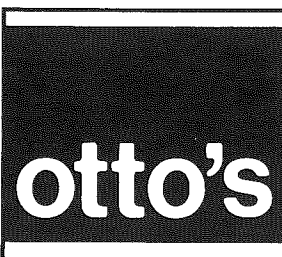
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by Christine Manseau

PRESS RELEASE
JULY 10, 1987

Debasing the National Interest

The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers views with outrage the proposed appointment of Patrick MacAdam to London. The appointment continues what has become a hallmark of the Mulroney Government — the abuse of diplomatic assignments. It also marks a further instance of pushing aside a civil servant who has devoted his career to the service of Canada in order to make way for yet another of the Prime Minister's cronies. This action makes a mockery of the merit system on which public service appointments are to be based.

During its nearly three years in office the Mulroney Government has made more political appointments to the Canadian Foreign Service than any other Government since Confederation. There are vastly more political appointees serving in External Affairs than in any other institution of government. Not even the Senate, usually viewed as the traditional source of patronage, has received as many appointments as External Affairs. This should be a cause of concern for all who value the success of Canada in its international relations.

Not since the introduction of the reform of the public service in 1918 has any Government so obviously ignored the principle of a non-partisan Civil Service. Mr. Mulroney would appear to be taking his lead from President Reagan, for no other nation aside from the United States seriously allows the spoils system to interfere so blatantly in its diplomatic appointments. This approach was tried in Canada in the years immediately after Confederation. The inevitable result was a low standard of competence and a poor quality of service to the public. The governments of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden found common cause in replacing patronage with a Civil Service in which the cornerstones were the merit principle, political neutrality and a permanent career service. Do we really want to return to the old days when competence was secondary to politics and standards of ability disregarded altogether? When Canadians run into trouble abroad, lose their passport, have an accident or need a treaty negotiated, would they rather rely on a pal of the party or an individual who has made his career that of service to his country?



We believe Canadians deserve better of their Government. Appointing pals can wreck the concept of a career foreign service. They destroy the high professional standards of Canadian diplomacy by shunting aside professionals in order to make room for persons whose main claim to office is the stripe of their politics.

We are particularly appalled by the behaviour of the Mulroney Government because it flies in the face of previous personal assurances from the Prime Minister. In a letter dated October 2, 1984 Mr. Mulroney promised PAFSO 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 recognizes that it does not have a monopoly on expertise in world affairs. We

have welcomed the Stephen Lewises, the Vincent Masseys, the Don Jamiesons and the Roland Micheners. The real issue is not career versus amateurs; it is quality. Too often now the Foreign Service is used as a dumping ground for pals and cronies and as a means of taking care of political debts or defeated politicians.

A successful diplomat needs a variety of qualities — political and economic expertise, familiarity with languages and foreign cultures — and the Foreign Service is a good, albeit not the only, training ground in this area. This talent, developed over years of training and many postings abroad, is more and more being passed over to reward someone whose only recommendation is loyalty to party and whose knowledge of diplomacy is drawn from harlequins or the cinema.

The consequences of the Mulroney

Government actions are more than an injury to the principle of a Foreign Service based on professionalism and career. It is an injury to the national interest.

COMMUNIQUÉ DE PRESSE
LE 10 JUILLET 1987

Outrage à l'intérêt national

L'Association professionnelle des agents du service extérieur est outrée de la nomination possible de Patrick MacAdam à Londres. Cette nomination perpétue une tradition désormais établie du gouvernement Mulroney — l'abus de nominations diplomatiques. Elle souligne aussi la tendance à déloger un fonctionnaire ayant dédié sa carrière au service du Canada en faveur d'un des compères du Premier Ministre. Ce geste couvre de ridicule le principe du mérite sur lequel

sont fondées toutes nominations au sein de la fonction publique.

Depuis son arrivée au pouvoir, le gouvernement Mulroney a effectué plus de nominations politiques au sein du Service extérieur canadien que tout autre gouvernement depuis la Confédération. Il y a plus de titulaires de nominations diplomatiques au service des Affaires extérieures qu'au sein de toute autre institution gouvernementale. Pas même le sénat, havre traditionnel du patronage, n'a bénéficié d'autant de nominations que le ministère des Affaires extérieures. Ceci devrait préoccuper les Canadiens soucieux du succès de leur pays en matière de relations internationales.

Aucun autre gouvernement depuis l'introduction de la réforme du service civil en 1918 n'a ignoré de façon si évidente le principe de l'établissement d'un fonctionnariat non-partisan. M. Mulroney semble prendre conseil auprès de M. Reagan puisqu'aucune autre nation hormis les États-Unis ne permet une telle interférence du système de rétribution pour services rendus sur les nominations diplomatiques. Ce système avait déjà été mis à l'essai par le Canada dans les années qui ont suivi la Confédération pour ne résulter qu'en un bas niveau de compétence

et un service médiocre au public. Les gouvernements de Sir Wilfrid Laurier et Sir Robert Borden ont tous deux recherché l'établissement d'un service civil fondé sur le principe du mérite, la neutralité politique et une notion de permanence. Désirons-nous vraiment retourner aux jours où la politique prenait le pas sur la compétence et les standards d'habiletés étaient totalement ignorés? Lorsque les Canadiens se retrouvent en difficultés à l'étranger, égarent leur passeport, ont un accident ou réclament la négociation d'un traité, préféreraient-ils se fier à un ami du parti ou à un individu qui a fait sa carrière du service à son pays?

Nous croyons que les Canadiens méritent plus de leur gouvernement. Les nominations politiques à des postes diplomatiques le sont au détriment du service extérieur. Elles détruisent le haut standard de la diplomatie canadienne en reléguant à l'arrière-plan des professionnels de façon à faire place à ceux dont le seul mérite se limite à leur couleur politique.

Nous sommes particulièrement choqués du comportement adopté par le gouvernement Mulroney parce qu'il contredit les assurances personnelles reçues du Premier Ministre dans une lettre qu'il adressait à l'APASE le 2 octobre 1984 et dans laquelle il nous assurait que « les standards du professionnalisme qui caractérisent notre service extérieur seront maintenus par mon gouvernement et se verront reflétés dans les nominations que nous effectuerons. »

L'APASE reconnaît qu'elle ne détient pas le monopole d'expertise dans les affaires internationales. Nous avons accueilli dans notre sein les Stephen Lewis, les Vincent Massey, les Don Jamieson et les Roland Michener. La question n'est pas de comparer les amateurs aux professionnels; il s'agit ici de qualité. Trop souvent le service extérieur a été utilisé comme dépotoir pour les amis et compères et aussi pour rétribuer les services rendus ou pour placer les politiciens défaits.

Un diplomate accompli doit posséder certaines qualités — expertise dans les domaines économiques et politiques, connaissance de langues et cultures étrangères — la formation reçue au sein du service extérieur y contribue grandement si pas exclusivement. Ce réservoir de talents, acquis et développés au fil d'années de formation et d'affectations à l'étranger, est de plus en plus ignoré pour seules fins de récompenser ceux qui ne peuvent que se recommander de leur loyauté au parti et dont les connaissances de la diplomatie relèvent de romans à l'eau de rose ou du cinéma.

Les conséquences des gestes posés par le gouvernement constituent une insulte à l'intégrité d'un service extérieur de carrière. C'est un outrage à l'intérêt national.



The Glorious Tenth: Media Reaction

At 10:00 a.m. on July 10, PAFSO President John Lobsinger went to Room 130S of the Centre Block and gave the Association's first press conference in protest over the proposed appointment (subsequently realized) of Mr. Pat MacAdam to our High Commission in London. The conference and subsequent reaction by the Prime Minister and SSEA Clark generated considerable response by the nation's pundits. We sample some of it:

"Too often now the foreign service is used as a dumping ground for pals and cronies and as a means of taking care of political debts or defeated politicians...if the government continues to appoint former politicians and aides to key diplomatic posts, Lobsinger warned Canada's international reputation abroad will suffer." Stephen Bindman, **The Citizen**

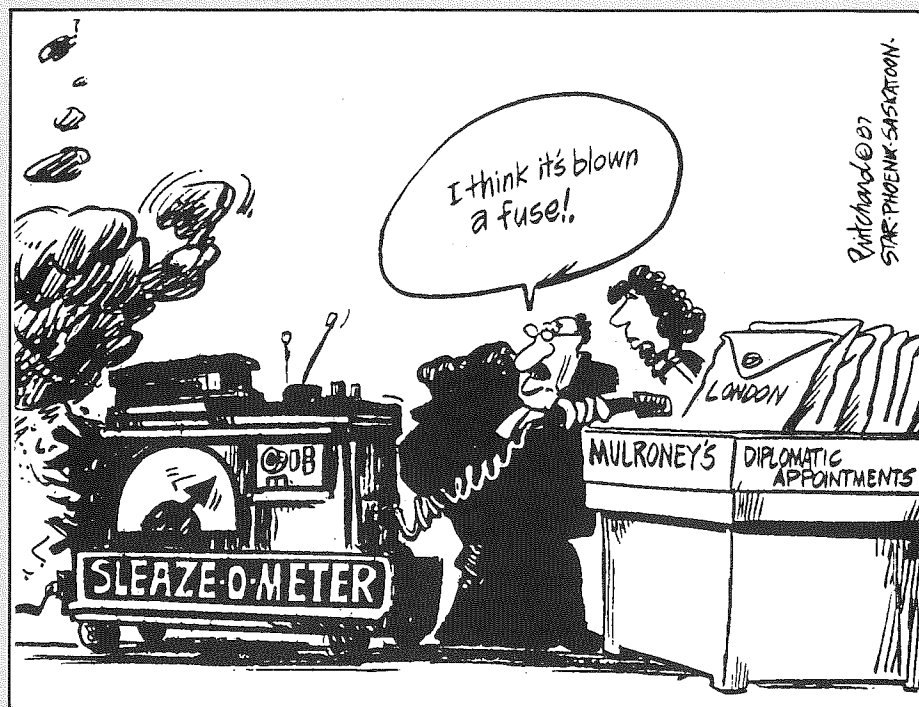
*"Foreign service officers are worried that their profession is becoming 'the Mulroney Senate' and it's hurting Canada's image abroad" from the standard CP story which ran in **Calgary Herald**, **Vancouver Province**, **Winnipeg Free Press**, **Regina Leader Post** and other papers.*

"The Mulroney government is putting Canada's foreign service in jeopardy by its appointing its pals to diplomatic posts says PAFSO. Qualified candidates are being passed over so cronies of the prime minister can be given top postings for which they have little experience or training..." Paul McKeague of the **Windsor Star**

"Two native Bluenosers are giving new meaning to the trendy practise of job sharing" and concludes that a lot of the PM's pals are falling like flies. "MacAdam is the latest to go to his reward". Don MacDonald of the **Halifax Chronicle Herald**

"Le Service extérieur dépotoir des compères et amis de Mulroney — une attaque virulente". Michel Vastel in **Le Devoir**

Jeff Simpson "External affronts" wrote that the SSEA's "nasty shot" reaction to our "quite brave deed" had more to do with protecting his credibility with the PM. "Rather than criticize departmental officials" the **Globe** columnist wrote he "should have praised them". Simpson concluded that he may be naive "but I choose to believe that Mr. Clark believes a lot in which PAFSO is saying".



Pierre Tremblay in **Le Droit** "un objet obéissant" was more circumspect but in that paper's lead editorial he concluded that while the government had the right to make such appointments, "cela ne calmera pas pour autant la méfiance qu'entretiennent les fonctionnaires à l'endroit d'un gouvernement qui les considère comme sa chose, objet obéissant".

The **Saskatoon Star Phoenix** leader "PM's patronage fouls Clark plan" noted that MacAdam was a direct challenge to Clark as SSEA because of his past. "Moreover, he is yet another in a strong of non-diplomats whose slotting into foreign postings has so demoralized career foreign service employees — morale Clark was aiming to revive with Noble's selection".

"Career foreign service officers have good reason to be upset by rumours of the imminent appointment of a friend of PM Mulroney... Mulroney obfuscates... he knows well that the issue is one of the continued politicization of the corps... the only thing fresh about Mulroney's approach to patronage is the vigour with which he has tackled it in practise." **The London Free Press** "Undermining morale of diplomatic corps".

The **Citizen** leader "It's time minister defended External" argued that the "PM has made too many political appointments, too fast. Too many of these were bad appointments... It's time Clark started defending the integrity of the service."

Another **Citizen** editorial "London is for Pat (as in patronage)" wrote: "Mulroney has lumbered the diplomatic corps with more patronage dead wood than any other prime minister in Canadian history. The effect of all these partisan appointments is uniformly destructive. They dilute the professional quality of Canadian representation abroad, and weaken the morale and energy of the foreign service itself.

The **Windsor Star's** leader "Brian's buddy system" said that "we consider that career diplomats are professionals with carefully developed skills and training, then the PM has been playing fast and loose with the rules of the game by often appointing his cronies and hangers-on... The PM is extremely naive if he does not think his patronage record will be thrown into the ring of the next election campaign. After all, Brian Mulroney knows better than anyone what a terrific punching bag the issue makes."

The **Halifax Chronicle Herald** is more circumspect, it shares our concern about "far too many of the government's friends" being appointed to post for political ties but goes on to say that some appointments are not a bad thing.

Bill Fox, the PM's former press secretary, sounded the only discordant note in his Sunday **Toronto Star** column with the claim that the PAFSO 'crusade is really self-serving'.

Don MacGillvray, the national Southam correspondent, wrote that Mulroney is being

underdone by the little things and writes that the appointment of MacAdam is "a reminder of the whole story of patronage under Mulroney, including his pointed finger at John Turner and his subsequent Tory appointments."

John Best, syndicated across the country, wrote in the **Regina Leader Post** and other papers that PAFSO "has good reason to be upset... A person would like to think that the PAFSO blast will bring Mulroney to his senses and induce him to finally call a halt to what has become an increasingly invidious practise."

On CBC Radio's Commentary John Starnes said "Shunting aside foreign service officers to make room for persons who are being rewarded mainly for supporting the party in power, hardly seems the way to maintain the standards of professionalism so characteristic of our foreign service... one would have hoped the government would have acquired a better appreciation of the foreign service. It took years to build, it would take far less time to damage it, perhaps irreparably, for crass political reasons."

Joe Clark's Letter to the *Globe and Mail*, July 16, 1987

In his article of July 14, 1987, Jeffrey Simpson insinuates that I agree with the crude and unprofessional declaration of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers. On the contrary, I consider their action to be a betrayal of the professional standards they pretend to defend. Fortunately the great majority of foreign service officers share better judgment than the current executive of their Association. That is one reason why the vast majority of foreign service appointments will continue to come from professional ranks.

Five points deserve to be made about the PAFSO outburst.

First, their complaint is about an appointment that has not been made and, in any event, would not displace or replace a foreign service "professional". In fact their Association represents only the two most junior levels of the foreign service and none of its members would be senior enough to be considered for any of the positions in question.

Second, they distort history, deliberately ignoring the significant role in Canada's diplomatic history of "non-professionals" like Georges Vanier, George Drew, E.L.M. Burns and countless others including today Ambassadors Bouchard, Lewis, McMurtry, and others I have been proud to recommend.

Third, their flagrant discourtesy is counterproductive. PAFSO knows that I have deliberately placed "professionals" in positions where appointments had previously been made from outside the service. Lisbon is the most recent example. I have discussed that process personally with the former President of PAFSO, and the new executive is aware of this. The new President's response was to issue a partisan attack without ever speaking to me.

Fourth, any government in our system has the right to ensure that its appointments abroad reflect the whole country, and that the skills and qualifications that exceptional Canadians have derived from other walks of life be put to use abroad on behalf of Canada. For example, when the government took office less than three years ago, only two women represented Canada as Head of Post abroad. Today, there are thirteen. It is relevant to note that PAFSO has remained silent over the years in the face of this grave injustice to women.

Finally, the Public Service of Canada is strengthened and enriched by the inclusion of individuals of significant accomplishment in other areas of endeavour. The recent addition to the Public Service of people like Stanley Hartt, Deputy Minister of Finance; Judith Maxwell, Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada; Frank Iacobucci, Deputy Minister of Justice; Wendy Dobson, Associate Deputy Minister of Finance; Bruce Howe, Secretary of the Ministry of State for Science and Technology; and Norman Spector, Secretary to the Cabinet for Federal-Provincial Relations has been beneficial to Canada. While the numbers remain small when viewed against the total Public Service complement their contribution has been enormous.

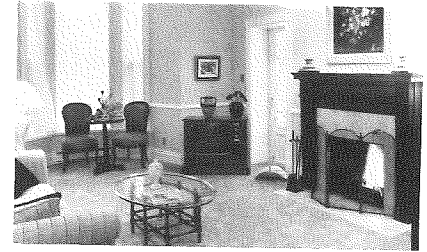
The Prime Minister and I work daily with foreign service officers who are professionals in every sense of the word. They have our full confidence and respect, and they know that. Neither they, nor the excellent reputation of Canada's foreign service should be judged or diminished by the outburst of the newly-elected executive of the Foreign Service Association.

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On September 21, the President of PAFSO, John Lobsinger, addressed the Annual General Meeting. The following are extracts from his statement.

In casting about for an introduction to this Annual Report to you, the members of PAFSO, I reflected upon the three short months which I have been President of the organization, and I recalled what we all think of as an ancient and wise Chinese curse:

May you live in interesting times.

I can assure you that it has been an interesting year for the Association and an even more interesting summer for me.

While there have been several events and issues which have made it so, I am sure that none has attracted as much interest and attention as "the Press Conference." I doubt that there are any of us who are not aware that the Association held a Press Conference this past July 10 which protested the record number of political appointments to the foreign service made by the present Government. This Press Conference attracted unprecedented attention, favourably in the national media and apparently unfavourably in the response of the Minister and the Prime Minister....

Why was a Press Conference necessary? The unprecedented scale of political appointments and their effect on the foreign service are obvious. Previous PAFSO Executives had protested such appointments, quietly within the Department, in person and by letter with the Minister, by letter to the Prime Minister and through Press Releases. The Executive this spring felt that, in view of the lack of response to all of those earlier efforts, some more visible expression of concern was warranted.

Was the Press Release not unduly provocative and unprofessional? This is a harder question. The intent of the release was to attract the Press's attention and to communicate our message. It succeeded on both counts. Our message was taken by the media and communicated to all Canadians.... All of the stories got the essence of our message: that continuing and excessive political appointments were a threat to the professionalism of the foreign service.

Have we not acted counter-productively, by upsetting the Minister with our Release and Press Conference? There is no sure answer to this question, but I personally believe that we have not.... I have had the opportunity to meet with the SSEA, at his initiative, since then and I think I can fairly report that the meeting was cordial, that it was not recriminatory and that there was a clear understanding on both sides that although our positions on this issue were

necessarily different, continued communication was to be encouraged.

Was it worth it? At a very important level, I hope that you the members will give the Executive your views on this.... What is important is that a clear message was sent back, through the articles, the editorials and perhaps even through the polls, that Canadians support a professional foreign service and that our concern about political appointments is matched in the wider public. The Association's objective was to protect and enhance the professionalism of the foreign service, and the message delivered to the Government is a powerful support for that end....

In other business, the Association has continued to support the legitimate grievances of its members, as a means of protecting the individual and as a means of encouraging the employer to administer the contract and the FSD's in a fair and consistent manner. The most spectacular such event, in fact, was the Department's somewhat arbitrary decision to alter the promotion date as a result of an earlier, successful grievance on performance pay. Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed, and the so-called Mader-Burney compromise, which allows for retention of the January promotion date and payment of performance pay on the basis of salary when it was earned, is expected to be incorporated into a new contract. Performance pay was also at issue in a successful grievance affecting a large number of members of the Aid Stream. Finally, the sanctity of the appraisal and promotion system, and the failure of the Public Service Commission appeal system to adequately protect them, lie behind the Executive's decision to support a member's appeal of a competition to the Federal Court....

In other areas, PAFSO is a voluntary organization, and what we are able to accomplish depends very much on the time, effort and intelligence which our members can put into the Association.

Presuming adequate support, there are a number of things which I think we can and should tackle in the coming year:

- A review of professional conditions of foreign service, comparing Canadian practice with that of other foreign services. Efforts to compare our foreign service with other Canadian employers have not been terribly successful. It would be useful for a variety of purposes to broaden our understanding of how other foreign services deal with a variety of situations and problems — the most obvious being that of political appointments.
- Conditions for women in the foreign service. Members who read the Minister's

letter to the *Globe and Mail* following our press conference will have noted his remarks on PAFSO's record in promoting the role of women in the Department. If we accept that there will be a continuing priority attached to placing women in senior positions, at home and abroad, then I believe that we must respond, not negatively, but in terms of encouraging the Department to do what is necessary to ensure that qualified candidates are available. I believe as well that there is a role for PAFSO in encouraging the efforts of the Department to facilitate spousal employment as a women's issue of primary importance to our members. I very much hope that members will come forward to volunteer for the work which will move us ahead in these areas.

- Our insurance programme, a benefit which touches many members, deserves a fundamental review over the coming year, in order to ensure that it is both sound and offering as much as we can obtain for the participants.
- There are also ongoing issues under discussion with the Personnel Branch which will bear follow-up. Health and safety, and particularly how the Department deals with the question of AIDS, is unglamorous, but crucial. Selection standards, fundamental not only for recruitment but also for promotion, are being revised, and our interests must be protected.
- Finally, communications. It has been evident to me in talking to members over the past several months that there is a need to improve communications with members, whether this be to update them on progress in contract negotiations or to inform them of the Executive's actions in the political appointments incident. In part because of time constraints in a voluntary organization and in part because of a natural tendency towards confidentiality, we have tended towards a minimalist approach. I have no solutions at the moment, but I believe the Executive should review the problem as a matter of priority in the coming months.

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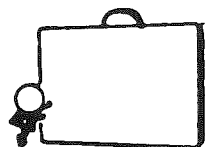
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Our Common Heritage Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, Oxford University Press, 1987, 382 pp., \$13.50 (Canada).

Reviewed by David Kilgour

Gro Harlem Brundtland, chairperson of the Commission, captures the matter well in her forward. She and her 21 fellow commissioners were mandated by the U.N. General Assembly in 1983 to propose environmental strategies to achieve sustainable world development by the year 2000. Peace-development-security, a warming planet, world industry and trade, widespread desertification of agriculture land, poverty and population growth, the debt crisis, stagnating aid to and investment in the Third World, low commodity prices — the report's analyses and recommendations on these and other related topics are unanimous.

The report, Brundtland asserts, is directed mainly at people everywhere because "unless we are able to translate our words into a language that can reach the minds and hearts of people young and old, we shall not be able

to understand the extensive social changes needed to correct the course of development." What will surprise many is the hopeful overall tone of the book, its prospect of a new and different era of economic growth to relieve world poverty based on practices that will sustain our environmental and resource base.

Sustainable Development

The report looks at people in parts of the developing world who are obliged to over-

*730 million people around
the planet today don't
eat enough.*

use resources merely to survive: forests are cut down, livestock overgraze grasslands, rural populations migrate to megacities. The remedy lies in the concept of sustainable development, which includes renewing world economic growth; meeting essential needs for food, jobs, energy, water and sanitation; ensuring a sustainable level of popu-

lation; conserving and enhancing the world's resource base; re-orienting technology; and merging environmental and economic factors in decision-making everywhere.

A chapter on the nature of the present international economy focuses on how deteriorating terms of trade, growing debt service obligations, stagnating flows of aid, and growing protectionism in the industrial democracies have compounded problems in Africa, Latin America and elsewhere. Better ways of linking trade, the environment and development are explored from the Commission's perspective that only if global economic growth is revitalized can large parts of the developing world avert economic, social and environmental collapse.

Among the major problems examined are soaring populations in parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Reduced fertility rates can make a difference of literally billions to the expected global population in the next century with resulting huge consequences upon available resources. Improving the position of women in society, somehow providing a more adequate livelihood for poor households, the establishment and



enforcement of child labour laws, and publicly financed social security are all seen as effective ways to lower fertility rates. The twin scourges of AIDS and narcotic drugs are viewed by the Commission as requiring much greater international co-operation and resources.

Food and Security

An estimated 730 million persons around the planet today don't eat enough to lead fully productive working lives. The U.S. and Western Europe have both created huge food surpluses through subsidies, which lead to soil quality decline, the destruction of countrysides, and the moves of recent years to export mountainous surpluses — often as food aid — rather than store them. In

*Almost half the world will
by the year 2000 live in
urban centres.*

Canada, the report points out, "soil degradation has been costing farmers \$1 billion a year". The mammoth export subsidies also increase unemployment in food-importing countries and make it more difficult to increase world food production by the necessary 3 to 4 per cent yearly. Among the food policies called for are a new ecological orientation rather than short-term considerations; policies that differ from region to region in a country to reflect varying regional needs, including practices that are ecologically sustainable in individual areas; in industrial countries, fewer incentives which foster the degradation of land; and in developing nations, better incentives for farmers through more attractive pricing policies and different government spending policies.

Conservation and species issues fill an entire chapter because of the growing scientific consensus that animal, plant and other species are disappearing at rates never seen before overwhelmingly because of human activities. By anticipating species depletion better and by building in the hearts of children a love and affection for nature, much more can be done to protect the more vulnerable of the few million species alive on earth today. Forest habitats can be better preserved, more national parks can be created, and so on.

Energy

Choosing an energy strategy means to choose an environmental strategy, but an acceptable route to a safe and sustainable energy future for the world has yet to be found. Individuals in industrial market economies, for example, use about 80 times more energy than ones in

sub-Saharan Africa. If the planet can achieve what the Commission defines as a low energy scenario by 2020, we can all avoid the probability of climate change because of the "greenhouse effect" of gases emitted into the atmosphere, excessive urban-industrial air pollution and acidification, and the risk of nuclear reactor accidents and the problems of nuclear waste disposal. Renewable energy is of course seen as offering the best hope for lower energy use in the next century: hydro-power, solar energy, wood, wind power, and geothermal energy.

World industry which can produce much more with less ("the 'dematerialization' of the world economy") is viewed as essential to most human needs. Japan is saluted among the industrial democracies for using only 60 per cent as much raw materials for every unit of production in 1984 as in 1973. In the Third World, this kind of industry is seen as essential to provide employment and necessary consumer products and services. New technologies fortunately offer enormous opportunities for raising productivity and living standards, for improving health, and for conserving the natural resource base. Biotechnology, for example, can yield cleaner and more efficient alternatives to many wasteful processes and polluting products ("The Gene Revolution").

Urban Challenge

Because of urban drift, almost half the world will by the year 2000 live in urban centres ranging from small towns to huge megacities which increasingly provide the world's network of information, energy, capital, import replacements and commerce. Many Third World cities face increasing pressures for shelter and services. In industrial nations, there are also common problems of deteriorating urban infrastructure, environmental degradation, inner-city decay and neighbourhood collapse with the unemployed, the elderly and some minorities often being trapped in a downward spiral as job opportunities leave declining neighbourhoods. On the bright side, the Commission notes that the physical environment in many cities in the industrial world has improved substantially, most notably in air and water standards because of factors such as stricter emission standards for new vehicles. An urban strategy for developing countries is suggested, which includes policies which don't excessively increase the attractions of a few major cities through subsidies on food and energy. Secondary centres should be encouraged through building on the natural economic advantages of regions, especially in resource processing and marketing, and in the decentralized provision of government services. Greater co-operation and development

assistance from the developed countries are also seen as important here.

Common World Endeavours

The final three chapters carry recommendations for better managing the world's oceans, outer space, Antarctica, peace-development-security, the environment and some necessary institutional and legal changes. Advancing the Law of the Sea Convention is seen as a significant tool to better management of fisheries and other ocean resources. The silent Antarctica continent, protected environmentally since 1959 by a treaty, today requires a new international consensus to prevent a tragic plundering of its minerals and to maintain it as a symbol of peaceful international co-operation and environmental protection.

The peace-development-security chapter is one of the most important. Environmental refugees in Africa and elsewhere are a source of major regional and national instability. The grisly prospect of a 'nuclear winter' resulting from a nuclear war, which would cause a widespread and prolonged cooling of land areas, shows the overwhelming need for common security through co-operation, arms agreements and mutual restraint. The

*A book which every thoughtful
Canadian should read!*

\$900 billion (\$2.5 billion daily) spent globally on the military during 1985 was more than the total income of the poorer half of humanity. This poverty itself generates much tension, conflict and violence which could be significantly reduced by a redirection of military spending in favour of development. The current efforts of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to reduce or eliminate nuclear weapons of different kinds are warmly applauded by the Commission. The 'arms culture' should be replaced by a focus on our common future by providing for more sustainable development and removing environmental sources of conflict.

Institutional Change

The report concludes that the doubling of the global population in a few decades and a five-to-tenfold increase in economic activity in less than half a century have created an absolute need for environmental protection and sustainable development to be an integrated part of the mandates of all agencies of all national governments, of international organizations and of major private-sector institutions. Important cabinet and legislative committees, central economic and sectoral agencies of governments should be made

directly responsible and fully accountable for ensuring that their programs, policies and budgets support development that is ecologically as well as economically sustainable. The recent moves by the World Bank and I.M.F. in this new direction augur well for such initiatives to be followed by all governments. In short, a book which every thoughtful Canadian should read!

Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959 by Alvyn J. Austin, University of Toronto Press, 1987, 395 pp.

Reviewed by Arthur Menzies

The 600 Canadian Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries withdrawn from China after the People's Republic was established in 1949 represented the largest Canadian activity overseas to that date, apart from the Canadian expeditionary forces overseas in the first and second world wars. Alvyn Austin has written a good popular history of these Canadian missionary activities set against the evolution of China's troubled history of the past century and he also discusses the impact of the China experience on Canadians at home.

Through treaties signed following the first and second opium wars (1839-60) the Western powers secured the opening of treaty ports and the privilege of extraterritoriality (i.e. nationals to be tried only by their own consuls). Foreigners with proper passports were to be permitted to travel anywhere in the interior. By the so-called "toleration clauses" inserted in the Chinese text of the French convention of 1860 by a French priest translator French missionaries were accorded the privilege of renting and purchasing land in all provinces and erecting buildings thereon. This privilege was not formally granted by treaty to Protestant missionaries until 1903, but in practice it was often conceded to them. Taking advantage of these concessions, missionary societies in the Western countries launched active campaigns to spread the gospel throughout China.

The starting year for Canada chosen by Austin is 1888. In that year the Reverend Hudson Taylor, the most famous missionary since the death of Dr. David Livingstone, travelled back to China from England by way of Canada. Here he enlisted 13 recruits with little formal education but strong faith to join him in the China Inland Mission. These were the first of the large flow of evangelical missionaries from Canada to serve all over China with the C.I.M., which

grew to include 25% of all Protestant missionaries in China by 1940.

In the same year the Presbyterian Church in Canada sent the Reverend Jonathon Goforth to China, where with others he began to open up the North Honan Mission. In 1891 nine missionaries of the Methodist Church opened a mission field in the south-west province of Szechuan. In 1907 the Anglican Church opened a mission in South Honan under Bishop W.C. White.

The first Canadian Roman Catholic missionaries to go to China were two French-speaking Franciscan Sisters of Mary, who were sent in 1902 to replace French sisters martyred during the Boxer uprising in Shantung. They were joined later by two Franciscan priests. By 1940 there were 400 French Canadian missionaries working in China. The largest missions were the Jesuits at Suchow in North Kiangsi and the Missions Etrangères in Manchuria. About 1920 the Scarboro Foreign Mission of Toronto began working in Chekiang.

Foreign missionaries had to face many internal upheavals in China. One of the most disruptive was the Boxer Movement of 1901

Austin has written a good popular history of Canadian missionary activities set against the evolution of China's troubled history.

which the wily Empress Dowager succeeded in directing against Westerners. Austin states that the early missionaries brought some of the anti-foreignism on themselves because they had no background in Chinese studies or in comparative religion and sought single-mindedly to convert the heathen. He fails to balance this with a description of the backwardness and corruption of the late Manchu China. Of the 300 foreigners killed by the Boxers, 243 were missionaries, miraculously none Canadian. After the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 China was torn by civil war, ended by Chiang Kai-shek's capture of Peking in 1927. For a time there was greater tranquility.

Over the years the major Protestant churches evolved a social and institutional approach to their China missions, building and operating schools and hospitals and sharing the staffing of Christian universities. Austin notes that two thirds of the United Church missionaries were women who did much to elevate the status of women in China, and in the process of money raising in Canada encouraged many housewives to get out and speak at meetings and organize to

raise funds. The C.I.M. and other evangelical groups continued to focus most of their attention on conversion.

Beginning in the 1920s, and gathering momentum, Chinese Christian communities united in two large Protestant churches and one Roman Catholic and became increasingly self-governing and independent. Missionaries were expected to await invitations from the Chinese churches to collaborate with them.

The scene changed again with Japanese aggression, first in Manchuria in 1931 and then in North China in 1937. Many of the Christian institutions like the universities fled to West China. When war erupted between Japan and the Western powers in December 1941 those missionaries who had remained in the Japanese occupied areas were interned. After Japan's defeat in 1945 there was a short period of hope, but this was soon shattered by civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists. When the People's Republic was proclaimed in Peking on October 1, 1949 there was a guarantee of freedom of religion. But in fact many Chinese Christians were declared to be collaborators with the Kuomintang or with the Imperialists, or of being capitalists or landlords. Many were liquidated. In due course the Communists began to bring pressure to bear on the missionaries who had remained. When the Korean Conflict broke out in June 1950 Westerners became even more suspect as enemy aliens. Some were expelled; others were put on show trials, imprisoned, and then expelled. The last Canadian missionary left in 1959.

Austin describes the emergence of the independent Chinese churches willing to collaborate with the Communists and cut off from all foreign contact. When Chairman Mao Tse-tung unleashed the Cultural Revolution in 1966 the continuing churches were closed and Christianity proscribed. It went underground. After Mao's death in 1976 and the arrest of the leftist Gang of Four, religious freedom was gradually restored and churches returned to their congregations. Austin recounts how the Chinese churches survived and have taken on new life in recent years as churches independent of foreign influence. Because the Vatican maintains diplomatic relations with Taiwan relations between Peking and the Vatican remain strained and the Chinese Catholic Church does not acknowledge the authority of the Pope.

Austin's survey contains a wealth of references to source material. It is remarkable the amount of information he has been able to pull together and incorporate in a balanced way in this study. Many minor factual errors will be drawn to the author's attention by

this reviewer. But they do not detract from the value and interest of this comprehensive survey. For those wishing to delve deeper the University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre on Modern East Asia has produced over the past three years a series of scholarly monographs on "Canada and East Asia: Missionaries, Public Opinion and Policy."

Beyond Forget by Mark Abley, Douglas & McIntyre Publishers, Vancouver/Toronto, 1986.

Reviewed by Neil Reeder

Forget (pronounced For-jay) is located south-east of Regina, nestled between the Manitoba and U.S. borders. Forget is one of those tiny prairie communities (population 88) that is fading gently into oblivion as if it were slowly being worn down by the harsh environment and vastness of the dominating prairie sky around it. Forget's only claim to fame, before Canadian freelance journalist Mark Abley chose it as the starting point for his odyssey of rediscovery of the Canadian prairies, is as something of a linguistic curiosity, one of the few remaining communities in Saskatchewan where French is still widely understood and spoken.

Forget is rather typical of the literally hundreds of prairie pitstops made by Abley in the summer of 1985 in order to "explore a province, a region, a pattern of culture that I had rejected with such ignorance and ease." Abley tells us he "wanted to rediscover what my home had been a refuge from." Abley is originally from Saskatoon but left in the mid-1970's to study at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. He has since returned to Canada and settled in Montreal, where he works as a contributing editor to *Maclean's*, and frequent contributor to *Saturday Night*, the *Globe & Mail* and the *New Statesman*. I remember Mark from our days together on the University of Saskatchewan student newspaper, *The Sheaf*, back in the mid-1970's. He never seemed to fit into the odd, ragtag collection of student activists, Marxists and National Farmer Union types that ran the *Sheaf* in those days. A cerebral, brooding and intensely private individual, he would come in to the *Sheaf* office only to file his story and promptly leave.

And once he left Saskatoon for Oxford we were certain he would never come back.

In looking again at his Prairie roots, Abley cuts a wide swath across southern Saskatchewan and Manitoba, travels as far north in Manitoba as the grain port of Churchill on Hudson Bay, through Alberta from the cowboy country around Lethbridge

to the foothills of the Rockies, on to Calgary and Edmonton, and finally back to Saskatoon. The book is a succession of vignettes of prairie living in tiny communities, many with the curious names so common to the region, names like Climax ("welcome to the Climax Hotel — good times, good food"), Eyebrow, Elbow and Medicine Hat. While the reader is provided with snapshots of farmers, cowboys, retirees, even surly restaurant waitresses, all with a dash of Prairie history thrown in, one does not come away with a truly distinctive image of prairie life. Abley's tendency to focus on the smallest communities also leaves the reader with the impression of steady decline, when in fact the Prairies have been, over the last decade, one of the most robust economic regions in the country, with cities like Calgary, Edmonton and Saskatoon witnessing rapid growth. But there are some nice portraits — Souris, Manitoba, which Abley describes as the tiny perfect Canadian community; Gimli, Manitoba, a quaint Icelandic community that began as the Republic of New Iceland, set aside as a self-governing entity by the Canadian Government in 1875 for immigrants from the oldest democracy on earth; and Churchill, Manitoba, where hungry polar bears roam freely in the fall, waiting for the ice to freeze, much to the entertainment of hundreds of tourists. Abley meets a native woman and her boyfriend in the Churchill bar — "the roughest bar north of fifty-five", an encounter full of pathos and particularly telling of native life in the West. I also liked Abley's account of his visit to the West Edmonton Mall — "a giant fantasy, an idyll of the credit card" where "you purchase happiness at will."

In *Beyond Forget*, Abley describes another curious phenomenon of the West — the taking on of new identities by European immigrants or discredited travellers from elsewhere, such as the German poet Felix Paul Greve, who fled his country in 1909 to escape heavy debts and who settled in Manitoba, where he began writing prairie-based fiction and non-fiction as Frederick Philip Grove. Grove won the Governor General's award in 1946 for non-fiction for his autobiography "In Search of Myself", in which he managed to fabricate an elaborate tale of his past. It was not until 1973 that his true origins were determined. Archie Belaney was another — an Englishman who emigrated to Canada in 1906, learned the Indian ways and language, told everyone he was a Métis, and eventually settled in a log cabin in northern Saskatchewan. Grey Owl, as he was known to Canadians, became wealthy as a lecturer in North America and Europe and as a conservationist well-known for his work

with the beaver. He died in 1938, shortly before the real truth of his origins became known. He, too, had reconstructed his identity amidst the thousands of newcomers to the prairie West. Abley, to his credit, also addresses one of the most disturbing aspects of Prairie life — the squalid living conditions of Canadian natives on the reserves and the uncertain future many find when they move into cities like Regina, Winnipeg and Edmonton. "The Prairies are Canada's Third World" he is told in Winnipeg, in reference to the quality of life of the native population. Abley tells us that one in three young Indians in Canada tries to commit suicide; one in three of all Canadian Indians will meet a violent death. Sobering statistics.

One comes away from *Beyond Forget* with a better appreciation for the polyglot multicultural nature of the Prairies, its vastness, and the way in which its harsh environment and isolation shape those who inhabit it. But Abley's broadbrush approach to the region might prove somewhat unsatisfying to those who want more detail. The reader is left with fleeting impressions and a yearning for a little more history and more substance, with perhaps a few less stops along the road. Nonetheless, for someone wanting an impressionistic introduction to the prairies, *Beyond Forget* isn't a bad place to start.

The Great War in Africa by Byron Farwell, W.W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 1986, 382 pp.

Reviewed by Bill Dymond

Early in this fine book, Farwell takes his readers to a London courtroom. "A witness spoke of a message [received from] Togoland. The judge comfortably enquired, 'Where is Togoland?' 'It is one of those places we have recently acquired my lord,' 'Cheap?' asked the judge."

Most Canadians would be similarly baffled unless Togoland, now Benin, has suffered war, drought and famine. Yet, more than any other area of the world, it is the sufferings of sub-saharan Africa which capture the hearts of Canadians and mobilize their generosity or, in the case of South Africa, their outrage. Except by inheritance, we have no imperial laurels and no imperial guilt and it would be ignoble to look for motives other than the national wish to do good internationally where there is good to be done.

The Europeans by contrast have much to answer for in Africa, some good and some bad. By 1914, the Europeans had reached

the apogee of imperial acquisition imposing and changing national borders to settle their rivalries and suit their convenience. The Europeans brought modern administration, health, education and modest economic development to their colonies. In 1914, they brought their war. By the end, the Germans were chased out of Africa and their holdings parcelled out among the British, French, Belgians and South Africans.

The Great War in Africa is less a history than a stirring tale of adventurers, heroes, eccentrics, knaves, and fools. Unlike the war in Europe which rapidly descended into the bestiality of immobilized trench warfare, the African campaigns were fought on land and sea, on great lakes and mighty rivers, in vast deserts and steaming swamps and jungles. The distances and the terrain were of astonishing variety, much of it unmapped. Disease, hunger, swarms of bees and charging rhinoceri were as much a danger to the combatants as the deadly business of war.

When the war began, the Germans invoked the 1885 "Treaty of the Conventional Basin of the Congo," providing that in the event of war between the Great Powers, neutrality would be observed in Africa. The British and French promptly declared that this provision was facultative rather than obligatory, a fine if convenient distinction. Having summarily dealt with the German legal position, they proceeded to vanquish the small German forces in short and relatively bloodless campaigns in Togoland, the Cameroons and Southwest Africa.

The campaign in German East Africa, modern day Tanzania and Rwanda-Burundi was different. The undoubted hero of this tale is the German commander, Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, a Prussian officer, the best of the old German army, erect with short cropped graying hair, correct, distant, efficient and adored by his troops, Germans and Africans alike. He came to Africa in 1913 on the same ship as Karen Dinesen of *Out of Africa* fame. When war came, Lettow-Vorbeck quickly organized his small army and defeated the British, invading from Kenya, in a series of bloody engagements before preparing and executing a successful guerilla war. Although he faced forces ten times his size, and was totally isolated from his homeland without hope of reinforcement or resupply, he led the British on a four year chase through the colony, into Mozambique and Northern Rhodesia. Lettow-Vorbeck surrendered only when the European war ended.

On the British side, the hero was the South African, Jan Smuts who had fought with the Boers 14 years before. In 1916, he took command of a tattered, rag-tag, demoralized force of British regulars, Indian Army con-

tingents, West African troops and armed settlers and welded them into the army that chased Lettow-Vorbeck. Smuts left East Africa in 1917 and became a member of the Imperial War Cabinet and a trusted advisor of Lloyd George.

It was the East African campaign that witnessed major sea and lake battles. The German light cruiser, *Konigsberg* sought shelter from the Royal Navy in the swamps and delta of the Rufiji river south of Dar es Salaam. Two monitors, shallow draught gun platforms were towed from Britain and sent up the delta to do battle. Although the *Konigsberg* was wrecked, there were few casualties and the crew and the eleven big guns of the ship joined Lettow-Vorbeck's forces.

There were several battles fought on Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, one of which inspired C.S. Forester to write, and subsequently Bogart and Hepburn to make, *The African Queen*. To confront armed German steamers on Lake Tanganyika, the British brought two modified heavy lifeboats from Capetown by road and rail to the lakehead. By miraculous feats of endurance and improvisation and with healthy infusions of good luck, the boats armed with small cannon survived the journey and sank the German ships. The British commander of this fantastic expedition was Commander Spicer-Simpson, a passed over officer with a well-earned reputation for bungling. Rescued from the obscurity of the Navy Pay office, he redeemed himself in this campaign.

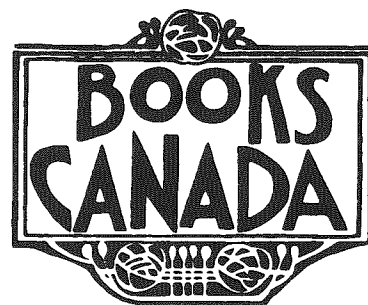
This is a fine book on Africa and the Great War. Farwell is the master of his subject and his style is lucid and entertaining. Two small complaints.

First, like so many other military historians, he has been betrayed by his map-makers. There are too few maps and they are badly placed. There is some compensation in the good selection of photographs. Second, what happened to von Lettow-Vorbeck? He left Africa with his honour intact and his military reputation enhanced. Farwell tells us that he became mixed up with right wing army politics and abortive putsches of the 1920s. Did he then fade into total obscurity and play no role in the great events of the 30's and the Second World War?

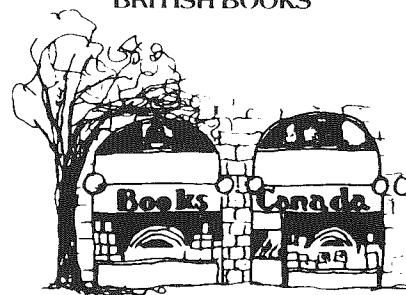
Churchill observed that on the Western Front, there were too many men and not enough land for them to fight on. He could have said the opposite of the African campaigns. The great enemy of both sides was disease. Farwell treats his readers to a stomach-turning chapter on the enormous variety of tropical diseases, their effect on the body and mind and the general absence of efficient remedy. The casualties suffered from disease outnumbered by 30 to 40 to one

those inflicted by guns or cannons. Farwell observes that, "When all the surviving combatants had returned to their homes, the bugs and bacteria remained in possession of the field. Unconquered. The true victors of the East African Campaign."

The African campaigns were a sideshow of the Great War. Only the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa acquired under League of Nations trusteeship is an enduring legacy. In one small respect, however, the African war made its mark on the larger events. In 1916, the Liberal-Conservative coalition of Asquith-Bonar Law was nearly defeated by a Conservative revolt against a bill providing for the sale of confiscated German and Austrian property in the British colonies. This seemingly trivial affair was regarded as a vote of censure on the Coalition's conduct of the war. Asquith, last of the great Edwardian Prime Ministers, literate, romantic, civilized, cultured, the best embodiment of a gilded age, fell from power and in his place raced the scheming, unscrupulous, unprincipled, rabble rousing, demagogue, mercurial Welsh magician, Lloyd George. Such a nice man, Asquith and what a scoundrel, Lloyd George!



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CAPTION CONTEST



Solution to Previous Puzzle

The Ancient Skelton — Answers

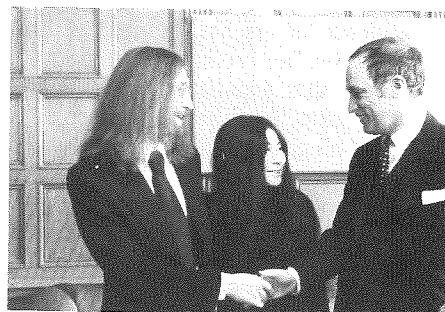
The code phrase is ALEXANDER'S RAG TIMEBAND (sorry about that). The missing words are inserted in the skeleton below. As Leibnitz noted, all are to be found in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, as are most of the classical references — but in the latter case, the following may also be useful to know from other sources: the derivation of Armageddon is the Palestinian town of Megiddo, Queen Calypso was one of Ulysses' lovers, Electra was Agamemnon's daughter and Cassandra was brought home from Troy, Echo loved Narcissus but he loved only himself, Emporium was a Greek trading colony in what is now Spain, Oedipus was King of Thebes, and the Rubicon is in Italy. The exact derivations of Calypso and Emporium are "iffy", but Ludwig did warn you.



bout de papier regrets that one of the dots was misplaced on the original skeleton, through a printer's error — the dotted letter in "APHRODISIACS" should be the fourth (R) rather than the third (H). Our winner, Peter Bakewell, is thus all the more to be congratulated for getting the answer right when the puzzle was wrong!!

CAPTION CONTEST WINNER:

John D. Bonar, International Trade Communications Group, External Affairs



It's a pleasure meeting you Mr. Garfunkel, I have loved the songs of you, and your colleague Simon here, for years.

OUR PUZZLE CONTEST WINNER:

Peter Bakewell,
Canadian Embassy, Prague

A Family Affair

A Puzzle for the Editor by A. Aalto

Now that dauntless editor-in-chief and reformed *roué* Colin Robertson is leaving *bout de papier* for service among the heathen of the China Coast, the time has finally come to tell the whole story of his exploits among the savages of Rockcliffe that torrid autumn of '78. What follows is in fact A. Aalto's favourite puzzle, dedicated to said editor in thanks for friendship and collaboration.

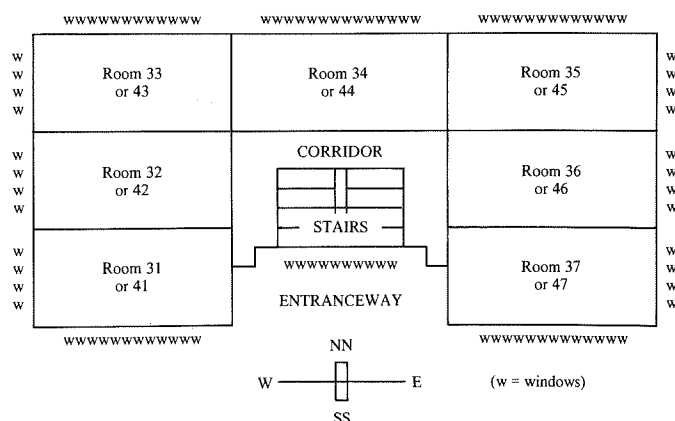
It seems that Colin, acting as inside man for a gang of international jewel thieves interested in a certain wealthy Ottawa family, spent a good deal of that fall casing the family mansion through a discrete grilling of one of the maids (no need to go into details). The main problem turned out to be determining the occupants of the bedrooms on the third and fourth floors, which were laid out in exactly the same pattern (see attached floorplan, good for both floors). This was complicated by the maid's inability to match first and last names for the people in the house. Apparently the family had a mania for privacy, a mania (so Colin discovered) that even extended to erasing entries from the county records office. All he could determine from these records were the following facts:

- In 1927, a man named Smith (born 1908) married a woman named Wessen (born 1907). They had three children: a boy (born 1929) and two girls (born 1931 and 1932).
- In 1928, a man named Street (born 1906) married a woman named Rhodes (born 1909). They also had three children: a girl (born 1930) and two boys, identical twins (born 1933).
- In 1951 the Smith boy married Mrs. Street's younger sister (born 1921). This couple had two girls (born 1953 and 1955).
- In 1953, the Street daughter married the brother (born 1919) of the elder Mrs. Smith (nee Wessen). This couple had a son (born 1954) and a daughter (born 1958).
- Finally, in 1954 the Street twins were married in a double ceremony to the two Smith girls. The elder Smith daughter and her husband had a son (born 1955) and a daughter (born 1956). The younger Smith daughter and her husband had two boys (born 1959 and 1960).

Colin determined that 19 of these 20 people were still (i.e. in 1978) living in the mansion. The maid also told him the following facts about these family members.

1. Five of the six married couples still share a room; each of the other family members has his/her own room. By a curious coincidence, no one has a room directly above, below or beside that of his/her brother, sister, mother, father, son, daughter, grandmother, grandfather, granddaughter or grandson.
2. Grandfather Street has red hair; so do two of his children and two of his grandchildren. Similarly, Grandmother Myrna has green eyes, as do three of her grandchildren and one of her children. No-one else has green eyes or red hair.
3. Brenda is twice as old as Fred, while Andy is 21 years older than George.
4. Sam's corner room is diagonally opposite Ed and Carol's on the same floor.
5. The man in room 43 has red hair.
6. Tom is older than his brother-in-law.
7. Hannah's room is directly in front of you as you come up the stairs.
8. Olive Smith's father is married to her uncle's aunt.
9. David's room number is the same as his age.
10. The green-eyed man in 32 and his red-haired female first cousin in 36, both single, are having an affair.

FLOORPLAN (Room 30's on third floor, 40's on fourth floor)



11. When Ian Street, the youngest in his family, died in an accident in 1969, his mother blamed her husband. They now have separate rooms, one above the other.
12. Quentin and his wife see the sunset from their window all year round; Richard and Nora have a corner room with a southern exposure.
13. Joan is Laura's daughter.
14. The red-haired, green-eyed man in 35 has neither brothers nor sisters.
15. Pauline Smith's room is due west across the hall or entranceway from her younger sister's; Pauline has green eyes like her Aunt Karen's.
16. All of the married women have taken their husbands' surnames.
17. All 19 family members have already had their birthdays for 1978.

Can you duplicate Colin's amazing feat and work out the first and last name(s) of the occupant(s) of each bedroom? It may help to draw a family tree.

Lucky Ludwig insists that you be given the following clarifications.

- First, each family member mentioned in the puzzle is one of the original 20 — don't hypothesize additional relatives (i.e. the phrase "David's grandfather's brother" would imply that David, grandfather and brother are all found among the 20).
- The use of the singular does not preclude the plural (i.e. mention of someone's "brother" doesn't necessarily mean that this someone has only one of them), nor is the use of a comparative limiting (i.e. mention of a "younger" sibling doesn't necessarily mean there aren't two of them.)
- Mention of one person inhabiting a room does not, of itself, necessarily mean that he/she does not share it with a spouse.
- "Uncle" implies mother's or father's brother, or mother's or father's sister's husband; comparably for "aunt". "Brother-in-law" implies wife's brother or sister's husband. "First cousins" means at least one grandparent in common, but different parents.

The mansion, by the way, burned down before the gang could strike, and Colin joined External instead. So it goes.

Our contest winner will be chosen from the first correct entry drawn on *January 15, 1988*.

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