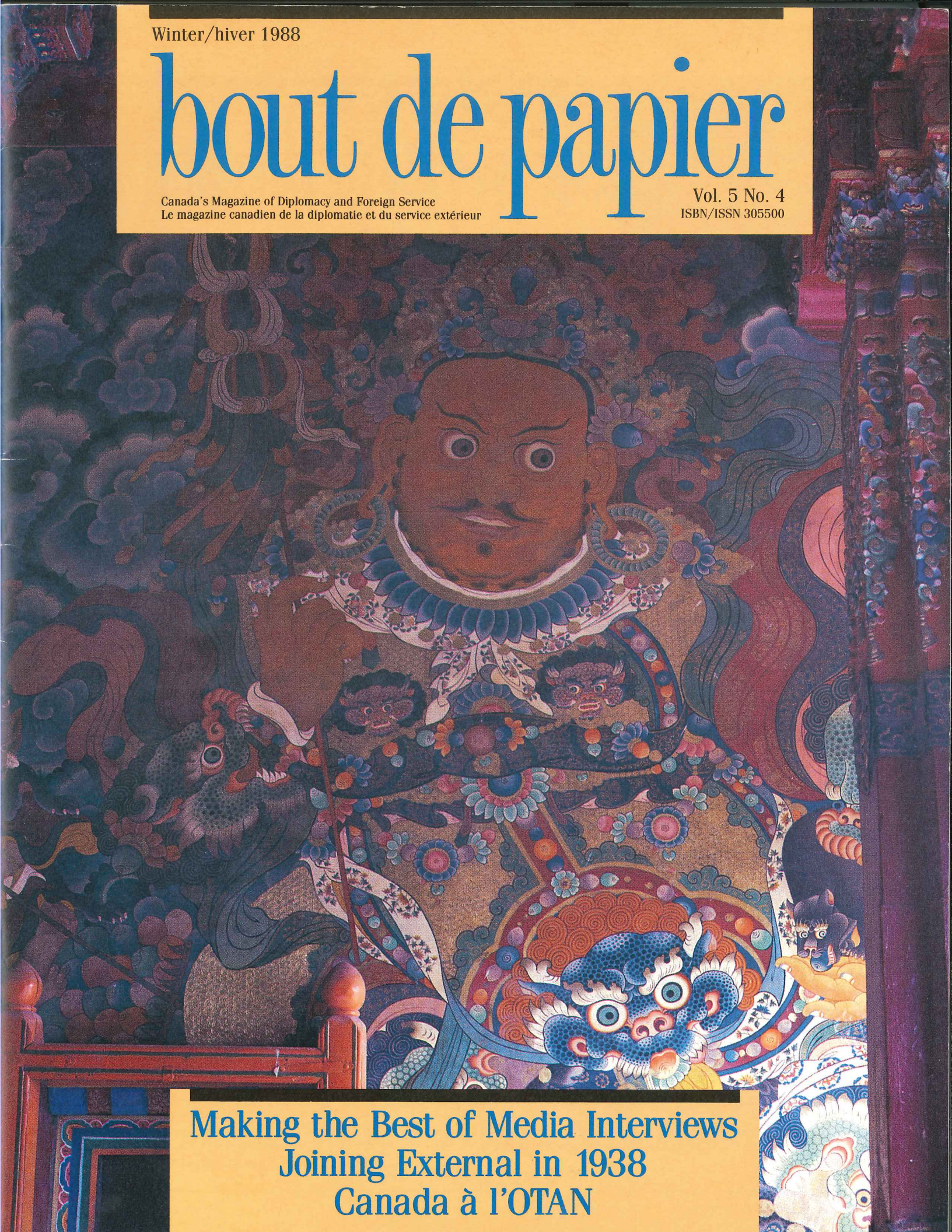


Winter/hiver 1988

bout de papier

Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

Vol. 5 No. 4
ISBN/ISSN 305500



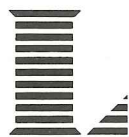
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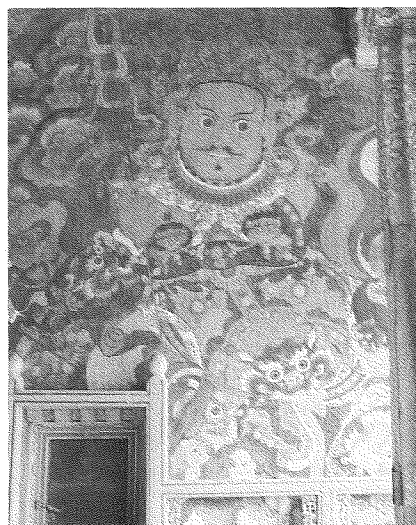
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Editorial Note/Note de la rédaction: Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Given the bilingual background of our membership, PAFSO's policy for **bout de papier** is to publish all articles in their original language. Subscriptions: one year \$12.; two years, \$23. PAFSO itself remains at your service to provide any assistance you require in the language of your preference. Opinions expressed in **bout de papier** are not necessarily those of PAFSO.

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...pressure points in the Canadian foreign service

A letter arrived a few days before this number of *bout* was sent to the print shop. Intended as a contribution to our "letters to the editor" section, it was a passionate denunciation of Departmental management and its treatment of the social affairs stream. For a moment I harboured the normal editorial urge to publish in the interests of controversy. We are, after all, in the business of making news. But less egocentric instincts prevailed, and I called the author to urge caution and restraint.

Was I wrong? In thinking of the career of the author, the decision was probably prudent. Departmental rules have been written to keep this type of debate away from the public eye. But if not in *bout de papier*, if not within the confines of the profession, if not by way of open and rational channels of debate, then where do we pursue the issues? And it struck me as I was reading the letter, for a third time, then a fourth, that the Canadian foreign service needed the cathartic release of a critical debate about the work we are supposed to be doing, however momentarily unsettling the process might be.

In reading that letter and in comparing those views with the views of others, one senses the growth, perhaps only incipient, of a sense of spiralling crisis. But it may not necessarily turn out to be one marked by dramatic change or even significant evolution. We have, after all, gone through worse in the past. I'm reminded of the tempestuous events of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the story of the late Bruce Rankin, who allegedly told Pierre Trudeau, at a meeting between the Prime Minister and senior foreign service officers, "You've f...ed up the morale of the finest diplomatic service in the world." (Gwyn, *The Northern Magus*, p. 300) Rankin's career survived and blossomed. And the Canadian foreign service carried on.

But the pressure points are now visible. They are visible to differing degrees in different streams, and they manifest themselves to a greater or lesser extent depending upon one's job, rank, area of specialization or career aspirations. There are many pressure points, any one of which could loom large in the future evolution of the foreign service.

At the top of the list are the intractable problems of career development, and the challenges these present to a coherent, long-term personnel policy. Wherever you go, whoever you talk to in the Canadian foreign service, 'career' is a subject of the most visceral concern. And for good reasons. Following decades of growth and positive evolution, we now face a bleak prospect of

reduction and stagnation. Officers now entering at the recruitment level confront a statistically reasonable prospect that they will never be promoted past the first foreign service grade.

How do you encourage performance by a person whose prospects of promotion are minimal? Or whose salary range is below comparable ranges enjoyed by persons with equivalent or fewer responsibilities in other fields of government? Or whose work ethic has been systematically undermined by management systems which fail to take account of the imperatives of quality?

These are serious concerns. As a group, foreign service officers are not noted for immodesty. The entrance requirements are strict. We have a sound and deserved reputation for valuing the integrity of our product. Rarely are there complaints about hours of work or the immutability of deadlines. For most of us, job satisfaction resides to a large extent in the pride we take in the quality of our work and the recognition which quality brings. But how can a system survive which, on the one hand, places a decreasing emphasis on job satisfaction and, on the other hand, calls for an increasing sacrifice in terms of time, family and money?

The intractability of these problems is in part the residual heritage of reorganization. Consolidation, we were told, was aimed at saving External Affairs from increasing irrelevance in a world of new issues and tighter integration between domestic and foreign objectives. The cure was radical surgery, which, for all of its managerial wisdom, ignored the human dimension. There are now dissenters from the agreed theology, and new prophets have emerged to contest accepted truths. CIDA decentralization has become a test case. And so the concept of a consolidated foreign service is increasingly being viewed, within and beyond the foreign service community, as a theoretical foundation with as much credibility and reliability as the phlogiston theory of the universe.

If we add the accumulated problems of reorganization to the latent frustrations of daily work, and factor in new and contentious issues, such as lateral transfers, patronage appointments and new technology, what do we get? We get, to say the least, problems of morale. We end up with sensitive junior officers writing about the "drudgery" of the work-place and "the creation of an underclass in the foreign service." We arrive eventually at a decline in output, a decimation of quality and diminishing prospects at reversing the trend-lines.

Part of the frustration which gives rise to

letters and editorials is endemic to the system. Many of us have discovered the sad truth that it is better to file grievances than to rely on powers of reason. It's faster and it works. Confrontation is built into the structure of salary negotiations. We have found to our detriment that nice guys finish a few percentage points behind the crude and the rude. To negotiate the foreign service directives involves dealing with the divide-and-conquer mentality of Treasury Board. In short, the organic links between officers of the foreign service and what is vaguely known as administration and management engender hostility rather than respect.

But it need not be so. A large portion of the cynicism and mistrust that are breeding in the bowels of the Pearson Building are products of poor communication and poor decision-making processes. Both are correctable where the political will exists. There is no inherent reason why key administrative and personnel problems cannot be discussed openly and freely with the persons most directly affected. Nor would there appear to be any long-term gain for anyone in a communications policy seemingly designed to obscure more than it clarifies. Acknowledging the desirability of openness does not imply, as some would fear, that management prerogatives are negotiable.

The challenges for foreign service officers would appear to be two-fold. The first is to recognize the growing pressure points within our profession and the likelihood that, over time, they will grow from festering complaints to open sores. The second is to begin to deal constructively and effectively with possible responses. Clearly, we need an agenda of issues and problems, as well as an open, structured, rational debate.

Letters to the editor are useful tonics. We have some good ones in this issue. In the right place, at the right time, they are the highest form of intellectual debate. But, in our collective circumstances, they are no substitute for a more equitable two-way system of communication, where real issues can be addressed and real progress can be made. Was I right in preferring the intrinsically Canadian route of quiet diplomacy to the less subtle message of open attack? On verra...

by Dan Livermore

A hidden bonus of becoming President of PAFSO is that the Editor kindly provides an opportunity to express one's opinions publicly, with at least a fighting chance that someone amongst the readers may actually read them. What follow are thoughts on several unrelated issues of current concern.

* * *

Particular congratulations are due to M.P. Bob Pennock, to Senators Peter Bosa and Heath Macquarrie and to the Foreign Service Community Association for making a bit of Canadian history while improving life in the foreign service. Private members bills almost never pass in Parliament, but the individuals noted were successful in gaining approval of a private bill which will allow dependents of federal and provincial officials posted overseas to count such official time spent overseas against the residency requirement for Canadian citizenship. This will go a long way towards resolving a problem which many of our spouses have had over the years.

* * *

We have had several good discussions recently amongst the Executive of PAFSO about ways to communicate with the membership, fueled by a sense that the Association has not done as much as it might in the past to keep members informed about what the Association is doing on their behalf and on issues of current concern. The question involves, on the one hand, how much members want to know, and, on the other, the vehicles we have at hand for such communication. One approach, which we have been using much more in recent months, is the Departmental telex facility. It has the advantage of timeliness, but its inherent limitations make it most useful for short and pointed messages, particularly those with some urgency attached to them.

* * *

Important as communications are, a much more important issue for the Association is the need for volunteers to work on both **bout de papier** and on Association business. Dan Livermore and I are both, from the perspective of our individual positions and responsibilities, very sensitive to the fact that PAFSO is a voluntary organization, one which depends almost entirely upon the efforts of its members for the results which it achieves. There are many things which must be done if the Association is to keep up with current responsibilities and even more which could be done if we wish to improve our position. Few of them, however, will get

done without member involvement.

We can normally get a few souls to help with the research and thinking necessary to



PAFSO is a voluntary organization, one which depends almost entirely upon the efforts of its members for the results which it achieves. There are many things which must be done if the Association is to keep up with current responsibilities and even more which could be done if we wish to improve our position. Few of them, however, will get done without member involvement.

get through contract negotiations and FSD reviews. But the range of other potential areas for volunteers is enormous:

- The appraisal system is fundamental to all of our working lives, determining our promotions, assignments and reputations. We have, I suspect, paid too little attention to its proper functioning. A recent successful appeal hinged on the fact that an appraisal made it all the way through the system, including through a promotion board, without anyone being concerned that its subject had not signed it. I do not doubt that there are more and worse cases. At the same time, the selection standards against which we are appraised have not been changed since the 70's, but are

currently under review. The Association should be a part of that review.

- The decentralization of major CIDA responsibilities to posts abroad is reportedly near, with rumours of many additional PY's to be added to the Department and the likelihood of additional transfers of current CIDA employees. PAFSO must be involved to protect the interests of current members, in the Aid and all streams.
- Promotion of the role of women in the Department is touched upon below. It needs a good volunteer group to research problems and encourage Departmental action.
- It may seem wildly premature, but an argument can be made for starting to think about our next round of contract negotiations. They should be starting less than a year from now, and I believe we could use some of our better minds thinking now, about where our pay levels are going in relation to those of other professional groups and about how we might convince the Treasury Board to recognize us as professionals rather than as members of the broader, and lower paid, administrative category in which we are currently placed.
- In one area where a surprisingly high proportion of our membership benefit, we could stand to review our insurance programme to ensure that the product we are offering is the best available, on the market and for the particular needs of our group.
- I think we might be helping our members with some general advice on a variety of personal financial questions, from the practical problems of investing when abroad to the means of protecting and maximizing returns from a personal home in Ottawa. We have some knowledgeable members, and we could probably tap the wider financial advice community in Ottawa if we get organized.
- Saving the best for last, Dan Livermore is organizing a group which will, as a medium term effort, seek to define and investigate a range of issues affecting the professional side of our work in a comparative fashion, looking not only at the problems but at how our colleagues in other foreign services deal with them.

I know from personal experience just how many good reasons there are for not becoming involved in these sorts of activities. I cannot believe that lack of interest will become a problem, for the range of issues is such that most will find something to their taste. Time is a universal problem, and a particular one midst the long hours of External. But even if the new weekday

overtime clause has not yet made your manager's expectations more realistic, the odds are that you can find an hour or two a week. You should certainly not assume that someone else, including the PAFSO Executive or our small full-time staff, will be able to do all that should or might be done. Both are already heavily committed to current tasks, and we are working on what little spare time they might still have.

* * *

Those who followed the Press Conference Affair closely last summer may have shared the concern I felt at the accusation in Minister Clark's July 16 letter to the *Globe and Mail* that PAFSO had, effectively, not been supportive of the role of women in the

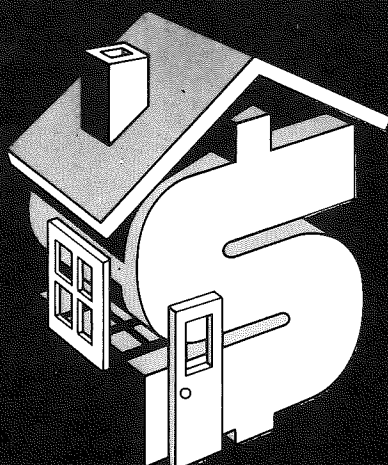
Department. Since I have strong and favourable views on the issue of women in the workforce, I was no more pleased by the unfavourable publicity which PAFSO, *bout de papier* and the foreign service received in a Michele Landsberg column in the *Globe* in October. I have been concerned that PAFSO become more supportive of appropriate affirmative action in the Department, and I was therefore very pleased to hear that a number of women at the senior FS-2 and EX-1 level have been doing some preliminary research as a basis for urging action by Personnel. While there is a spectrum of opinion on the appropriateness of promoting women to senior levels early, I doubt that anyone will argue that women now in the Department are entitled to equal access to the career paths and the challenging postings

which prepare one for more senior responsibilities. The research done by the group suggests that the opposite may be occurring. Support for the role of women on a broad spectrum of issues is an area where the PAFSO Executive would like to see more activity — but we need some of those volunteers to which I referred earlier. Please join us.

by John Lobsinger

John Lobsinger, President of PAFSO since 1987, is currently assigned to the Americas Branch, CIDA.

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On "Looking Back"

Editor,

Bruce Hutchison's "Looking Back Over Sixty Years" speaks of Arthur Meighen's Hamilton speech in 1925 "proposing a referendum before Canada entered any war."

This is a Grit fairy-tale.

I have the text of the speech before me. It contains not one syllable about a referendum.

It says: "It would be best not only that Parliament should be called, but that the decision of the Government, which, of course, would have to be given promptly, should be submitted to the judgment of the people at a general election before troops should leave our shores." Not a referendum, a "general election;" not "before Canada entered any war" but "before troops should leave our shores."

Mr. Hutchison says also that until 1935 "the Conservative Party, except for its unchanging protectionism, was...devoted to the market."

I have the advantage of having been brought up a John A. Macdonald Conservative, in the Conservative Party of Sir Robert Borden, Arthur Meighen, Sir James Whitney, Sir Adam Beck and Sir Rodmond Roblin. Devotion to the market did not build the C.P.R.; or inspire Borden to advocate, in the election of 1908, eventual nationalization of the telegraph and telephone systems; or Whitney and Beck to create the Ontario Hydro, or pass the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Act (which was, for years, the model for the British Labour Party's policy); or Roblin to set up the publicly owned Manitoba telephone system. Devotion to the market did not nationalize the Grand Trunk, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern.

Devotion to the market was never a part of Conservative doctrine in the classic days of Canadian Conservatism. The mystique of "free enterprise" is an American importation, and a relatively recent one at that.

Eugene Forsey

* * *

Ethnics and Foreign Policy

Editor,

In his Guest Column entitled "Ethnics and Foreign Policy" (Vol. 5, No. 1), Peyton Lyon argues that ethnic lobby groups in Canada play a major role in shaping Canadian foreign policy, and that this is a cause for vigilance and concern. He best summarizes the tone and content of the column in his closing admonition that "ethnic groups should be

heard and not heeded...unless their demands are clearly consistent with Canada's national interest."

His basic thesis, while highly contentious, might be viewed as part of the academic foreign policy literature which examines the role of interest groups in the policy-making process. Though not well explored in the Canadian context, this is a general area of research both sophisticated and highly developed. Lyon's argument, however, is neither. His essay is riven with a number of unexamined and problematic assumptions that are presented as statements of fact. At a minimum, these need to be highlighted as assumptions, open to examination and criticism.

By singling out ethnic interest groups from other kinds of interest groups, Lyon seems to be suggesting that lobbying by "ethnics" is somehow more significant (or, by the terms of his argument, more insidious) than the lobbying of, for example, business or human rights organizations. His failure to acknowledge that ethnic lobbyists are far from the only lobbyists in Ottawa, and his failure to discuss the reasons for (and implications of) this exclusive focus on ethnicity, leaves one of the most basic premises of the article open to challenge. This is especially true given the past 15 years during which time economic concerns have tended to play an increasingly central role in the making and conduct of both domestic and foreign policy, stimulating a rapidly growing and active business and financial lobby. Ironically, it was Canadian foreign policy towards various issues in the Middle East which did much to stimulate these commercial, financial, and trade interest groups.

A second such example comes when Lyon states that "[n]ext to survival, human rights are the ultimate value." As a normative assertion, this may be defensible, yet it is far from self-evident to theoreticians and practitioners alike. The current debates over the definition, meaning, and practice of human rights both within Canada and abroad should give one pause. A greater problem arises, however, when he suggests that Canada could advance the cause of human rights in the Middle East through support for the creation of a Palestinian state. This linkage of individual human rights with the collective right of self-determination is one that is increasingly made in the theory of rights. But it represents a particular perspective within the theoretical literature, and at minimum Lyon owes it to his readers to highlight his adoption of that perspective. His failure to do so risks having passed off as a bland statement of fact a highly problematic and controversial argument. This is all the more important since he slips in the connection between peace and

human rights via the Palestinian state issue. Given the political realities of the Arab and Islamic worlds, to equate human rights with peace, and to link that with the creation of a state for which there is more polemical agreement than there is practical support even within the Arab world, is ludicrous at best. While we certainly would not deny that human rights violations are a serious and widespread problem throughout that region, to recommend that Canada should pursue its human rights agenda through the creation of a Palestinian state surely misses the mark.

A third assumption appears when he states that Canada's current pro-Israeli "tilt" "diminishes our ability to promote specifically Canadian objectives, such as trade." Assumed here is that potential trading partners in the Arab world punish Canada for its foreign policy through the withholding of trade. To make such an assertion stick would require an extensive review of the historical patterns of Canadian trade with the region, to demonstrate lost opportunities and foregone potential because of policy orientations. While there is no room in this response to review these trade data, (and one of us already has addressed part of this problem elsewhere; see *International Perspectives*) suffice it to suggest that the massive growth of Canadian trade (in both exports and imports) with nearly every state in the region during the 1970s and early 1980s calls into question the validity of Lyon's assertion. It cannot be passed off as a simple statement of fact. It is worth noting, however, that most studies indicate that the trading world is populated by pragmatists, and that an attractive trading opportunity usually takes precedence over politics. Neither the trading patterns of countries sympathetic to the Palestinian position nor the record of the Arab boycott give support to Lyon's assertions. And surely the Jerusalem embassy experience provides evidence that, in those cases where economic interests are seen to be at jeopardy, the Canadian economic elites can quite successfully take care of themselves.

Another example is Lyon's assertion that "the political strength of the Jewish-Canadian Community and the resolve of the politicians to cater to it," and "not external pressure," is the source of Canada's pro-Israel bias. It is unfortunate that Lyon seems to have ignored research which has addressed this very question. There is no doubt that on a number of Middle East issues the government of the day has considered carefully the views of the organized Canadian Jewish community. It also is true that this community maintains an active lobbying organization staffed by a combination of professionals and constituent volunteers —

a seemingly reasonable thing to do within a democratic pluralist system. It also is true that on some issues this lobby has failed to achieve its goals, either due to counter-lobbies being more effective or due to the judgement of responsible officials that Canada's interests would be served better by a different policy. In other words, sometimes there is a symmetry of perspectives and a complementarity of interests; other times not. In either case, it is the government and its professional advisors who ultimately are responsible for policy. Sometimes that policy is affected by domestic forces while other times the international community — whether the United States, the United Nations, the EEC, the Commonwealth, la Francophonie, etc. — comes into play. Surely Lyon wouldn't suggest that the Government, composed of the elected and the appointed, are pulled and pushed this way and that merely at the whim of a single lobby which has to compete with so many other factors and forces? While there is no denying that a number of key Israel-related issues will trigger the active response of much of the leadership of the Canadian Jewish community, if the government saw good reason to change long-held positions, and the new policy received significant support from important actors whether domestic or external, it would do so.

A final example is found in Lyon's suggestion that "a consensus is growing" among scholars and diplomats "that Canada's pro-Israel tilt is contrary to the national interest, and [that] the tilt is largely attributed to the lobbying of one of our smaller ethnic groups." Lyon has presented evidence of a consensus of one — namely himself. In the absence of further indications of this "consensus," the assertion appears more as an effort to create a bandwagon effect in support of Lyon's views than as a statement of fact. Although it is likely that there are people — even scholars — who might agree with him, we expect that many of these might wish to place some qualifiers on the general assertion, never mind those who evidently do not fit into his "growing consensus" and who would take issue with his all-inclusive statement.

Furthermore, Lyon appears to exaggerate the extent of Canada's "tilt." Canada maintains extensive trade and diplomatic relations with the Arab world. Much to the displeasure of many ardent Canadian supporters of Israel, Canada continues to refuse to acknowledge Israel's claims in the post-1967 territories, and criticizes Israeli activities in those territories. The Canadian embassy remains in Tel Aviv. While Canada does refuse to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate represen-

tative of Palestinian Arabs, it continues to accord the Palestinian Arabs the status of a national community in search of a homeland, and continues to call for a just resolution of the Palestinian issue at the expense of Israel's post-1967 borders. And finally, Canada consistently has called on the parties to that particular Middle East conflict to negotiate the legal and territorial definition of that Palestinian homeland rather than impose an externally derived and possibly divisive resolution. This pro-Israel "tilt" of Canadian policy may not be all that Lyon makes it out to be.

In short, Peyton Lyon's presentation is far more problematic and unsubstantiated than it might first appear. His tendency to try to skate over potential difficulties and challenges by presenting his views as established fact cannot pass unchallenged. Properly substantiated, Lyon might well succeed in contributing to our understanding of the role and impact of interest group lobbying in the foreign policy-making process. "Ethnics and Foreign Policy," however, is far wide of the mark.

David B. Dewitt
Associate Professor of Political Science &
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and

Grant Littke

Ph.D. Student, Department of Political
Science & Research Assistant, Centre for
International and Strategic Studies
York University, Toronto

* * *

Peyton Lyon Responds

Editor,

I was invited to write a column. Messrs. Dewitt and Littke attribute dark motives to my failure to write a book! But does any reader of *this* journal really need to be told that ethnic groups are not the only minorities who lobby in Ottawa? Or that lobbying itself is acceptable in our political culture?

Legitimacy matters far less to me than effectiveness. When any group is successfully pressing for action I deem harmful to the national interest, I want my fellow citizens to be aware of its strength, aims and methods. Lobbies representing tiny minorities tend to lose potency when placed in the spotlight.

In 1975, over 300 senior Ottawa decision-makers ranked "interest groups" fourteenth as an input in our foreign policy. By contrast, in a 1987 study confined to officials who had exercised responsibility for Middle East

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policy, Canada's Jewish community (1.4% of the population) was ranked as the *primary* source of this policy ahead even of the Prime Minister. (Professor Dewitt, as Chairman of the Executive of the "Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East", the academic front for the pro-Israel lobby, should feel flattered!)

A substantial majority of the DEA officials we questioned held that Canada's policy had been tilted towards Israel, a tribute to the strength of the organized Jewish community and the weakness of opposing groups. My two critics state that the lobby does not always win. True, and Canada's posture has gained some balance in recent years. What cannot be measured, however, are the changes *not* made, and the initiatives *not* taken, because officials, aware of the subservience of their political masters to the lobbies, do not even propose them. One of Trudeau's DEA ministers told us that all his officials were "Arabists," but then complained that they had all been "passive." Trudeau had pressed for greater balance, he said, but the lobby, with strong support in caucus and cabinet, had generally prevailed.

I'm challenged to define the national interest — impossible. Trade: it matters little for this discussion how much it was, or is. Rather the question is: how much more it

would be if Canada were not regarded as a camp follower of the United States and Israel? Almost all the DEA officials questioned told us that selling in the Middle East would be easier if our tilt towards Israel were not so apparent.

It may, as suggested, be just a normative bias on my part that I see "survival" as a more important aim of foreign policy than "rights," but at least one must agree that peace and war are inherently on the inter-state agenda, while conditions within states are not. Fortunately conditions in the USSR are now such that we can press for rights without serious risk to détente. In the Middle East, moreover, establishing the rights of the Palestinian people is a precondition for an enduring peace.

I'd have more respect for my logic-chopping critics if they could show half the understanding for the Palestinians that they display for their heavy-handed military occupiers. Naturally the Palestinians long for self-determination, now the right of virtually every other nation. Certainly there is a distinction between "collective" and "individual" rights. The Palestinians are denied both.

Israel could have negotiated a settlement many years ago, one that would assure its security. Why hasn't Canada pressed Israel

harder to do so? Since American subsidies are vital to Israel, why are we not more active in Washington on this issue? As active as we are on Southern Africa, or once were on the Middle East itself? The principal reason, it appears, is that it would be opposed by the pro-Israeli lobby.

North American Jewry has earned an enormous debt of Israeli gratitude. If it would press Israel to negotiate seriously, it would serve Israel as well as their own two countries. Instead the Canada-Israeli Committee applauds most Israeli actions, and criticizes none.

Peyton V. Lyon

* * *

Moose Calls

Editor,

On July 2 we received from a person in Nelson, New Zealand, the following letter:

"Dear Sir,

Our office is faced with a small dilemma. No one is at all familiar with the noise that a moose makes. Could you please forward details to the above address. Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

Our Public Affairs Officer, Mrs. Dulce Johnston, sent the following in reply:

"The Noise that Moose Makes
What an interesting request!

But first let me tell you the story of three tourists who visited Canada. They were all so keen on bringing home photographs of animals in Canada. So the tour guide brought them to the northern part of British Columbia. Soon after they had set up camp, a herd of moose came slowly by. The Singaporean immediately aimed his camera, while the Swiss held his breath in amazement as he reached for his gear. Ah, but the Scottish tourist stood open-mouthed, and after a few moments silence, gasped and then exclaimed "if that is a moose, I do not wish to see a rat!"

Now going back to your request — we have a number on our staff who tried to imitate the sound of a moose. If you are passing through Wellington do come in and we'd be happy to oblige."

A. Douglas Small
Canadian High Commissioner
New Zealand

* * *

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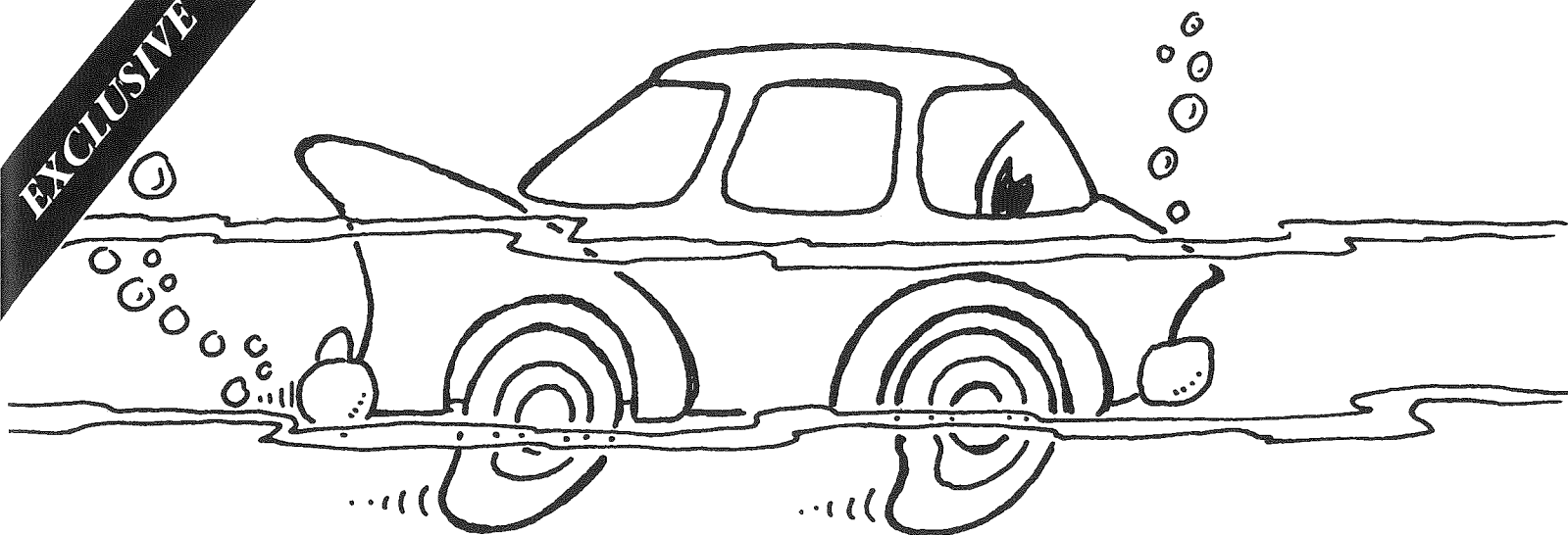
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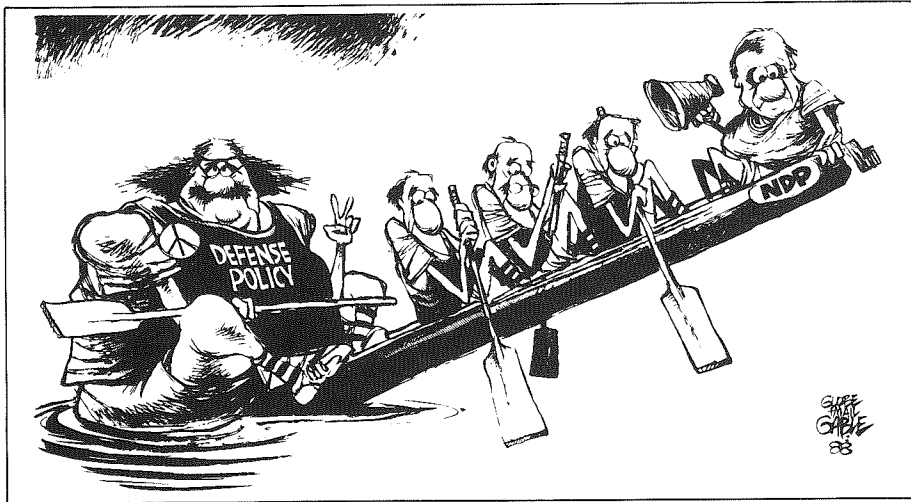
Le Canada et l'Otan

par J.E. Ghislain Hardy

Depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, le Canada s'est délibérément et constamment appliqué à préserver et à promouvoir sa souveraineté, son indépendance, son identité et son influence en mettant l'accent, dans sa conduite internationale, sur l'interdépendance des nations et des peuples et sur le multilatéralisme dans la recherche de solu-

de la protection implicite que lui vaut la diversité de leur stature, de leur population, de leur richesse et de leur puissance.

Il y a lieu de se demander sérieusement si, dans de telles circonstances, le Canada pourrait continuer à poursuivre avec le même bonheur et le même succès que par le passé, une politique multilatéraliste dans les affaires civiles internationales si l'adoption d'une politique unilatéraliste dans les affaires militaires — laquelle verserait inévitable-



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tions aux problèmes auxquels ils font face les uns et les autres. La participation du Canada à l'Alliance atlantique — pacte régional strictement défensif conclu en 1949 aux termes de l'article 51 de la Charte des Nations-Unies — s'inspire des mêmes principes et des mêmes motivations en ce qui a trait à la sécurité collective et individuelle de ses membres. Pour le Canada, le multilatéralisme, qu'il soit appelé à s'exercer au sein du Commonwealth, de la Francophonie, des Nations-Unies, de l'Otan ou de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE), est un prolongement naturel et quasi instinctif de son expérience historique, de la composition multi-ethnique de son peuple et du caractère décentralisé de son fédéralisme.

En quittant inopinément l'Otan pour adopter une politique de défense unilatérale, le Canada mettrait fin à une ligne de conduite qui a, tout au long des quatre dernières décennies, admirablement servi les objectifs de sa sécurité en même temps que ceux de la consolidation de sa souveraineté et de son identité nationales. Il se retrouverait seul, face à face avec les États-Unis sur le continent nord-américain, démuné de la présence politique quotidienne de ses alliés européens autour de la table du Conseil de l'Alliance et

ment dans le nationalisme et l'isolationnisme à plus ou moins brève échéance — devait ébranler la confiance de ses principaux partenaires internationaux quant à sa volonté et sa capacité de coopérer avec eux.

La sécurité du Canada, dans son sens le plus large, est fonction des objectifs et des politiques qu'il poursuit dans le domaine de la dissuasion et de la défense militaires; du contrôle et de la réduction des armements; de ses relations, tant politiques qu'économiques, commerciales, sociales, culturelles avec ses alliés d'aujourd'hui comme avec ses ennemis potentiels, avec les pays neutres et non-alignés, développés ou en voie de développement. L'Otan s'intéresse à tous ces aspects des relations est-ouest et des relations nord-sud dans la mesure où ils affectent la sécurité de ses membres dans les limites du territoire couvert par le Traité de l'Atlantique-Nord.

Les grandes préoccupations, responsabilités et activités de l'Otan, en tant qu'organe exécutif de l'Alliance, sont donc loin d'être étroitement et exclusivement militaires. Une revue, même sommaire, des principaux éléments de son ordre du jour met nettement en relief les avantages substantiels dont le Canada bénéficie grâce à sa coopération active et loyale au sein de l'Alliance :

a) Au plan politique :

- Le Conseil de l'Otan, au niveau des représentants permanents, des ministres des affaires étrangères, à l'occasion des chefs de gouvernement, passe en revue périodiquement l'état et l'évolution des relations est-ouest et en tire les conclusions et les recommandations qui s'imposent.
- Les alliés confrontent régulièrement leurs appréciations respectives des principaux développements internationaux susceptibles d'affecter leur sécurité individuelle et le comportement de l'Alliance.
- La consultation politique, toujours imparfaite et toujours perfectible, s'avère particulièrement critique et profitable au moment des crises internationales, comme celles provoquées par l'invasion de l'Afghanistan par les troupes soviétiques ou par l'effervescence et l'instabilité de la société polonaise au début des années '80.
- En tant que membre de l'Otan, le Canada prend part aux travaux de la CSCE, gardienne attitrée de la détente est-ouest et du respect des droits de l'homme au sein des trente-cinq pays de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord qu'elle regroupe.

b) Au plan militaire :

- Les délibérations du Comité des plans de défense et du Groupe des plans nucléaires, lesquels relèvent des ministres de la défense, et celles du Comité militaire, qui représente les chefs d'état-major, permettent au Canada d'apporter sa contribution au développement de la stratégie et des préparatifs militaires de l'Alliance.
- La connaissance profonde que le Canada en retire de la situation militaire de l'Alliance ainsi que celle de ses ennemis potentiels lui permet d'établir une politique nationale sur le contrôle et la réduction des armements qui soit à la fois réaliste et efficace et d'en poursuivre les objectifs au sein des Nations-Unies, de la CSCE et de l'Otan elle-même.
- La participation bon an mal an des militaires canadiens de toutes armes et à tous les niveaux aux organes décisionnels et exécutifs, aux commandements, manoeuvres et exercices, aux sessions de formation et d'entraînement de l'Otan, constitue pour eux une école incomparable d'éducation, de responsabilité, de coopération et d'émulation internationales.
- Les forces canadiennes jouissent des services techniques et logistiques considérables que l'Otan a mis sur pied au

cours des années. De plus, la base canadienne de Lahr en Allemagne sert de soutien administratif et logistique pour la conduite de certaines opérations canadiennes de maintien de la paix des Nations-Unies, notamment à Chypre et au Moyen-Orient.

c) Au plan économique et scientifique :

- L'Otan procède régulièrement à des études sur l'évolution de la situation économique en Union soviétique et sur les ressources matérielles et financières qu'elle consacre aux armements et à la défense.
- Tous les membres de l'Otan sont habilités à bénéficier des contrats importants qu'elle accorde pour la réalisation des projets communs d'infrastructure de haute technologie. Le Canada profite également des retombées économiques que lui procure l'entraînement sur son sol des troupes alliées.
- Enfin, sous l'égide de l'Otan se réunissent périodiquement un comité scientifique et un comité sur les défis de la société moderne, lesquels examinent les problèmes de leur compétence qui se posent aux nations de l'Alliance.

Aucun allié ne pourrait, par les seuls moyens de sa diplomatie bilatérale, rassembler toutes les données politiques, militaires, économiques, scientifiques et techniques intéressant sa sécurité qui découlent de son appartenance à l'Otan et bénéficier, aux fins de la mise au point de ses propres positions nationales, des analyses et des synthèses qui ressortent des délibérations systématiques et suivies de l'Organisation.

Aux douze pays fondateurs de l'Alliance, dont le Canada, se sont adjoints depuis 1949 la République fédérale d'Allemagne, la Grèce, la Turquie, et tout récemment l'Espagne. Aucun gouvernement socialiste d'un membre de l'Alliance n'a, lorsqu'il a accédé au pouvoir, mis à exécution les velléités doctrinaires de son parti de quitter l'Otan. Même les gouvernements socialistes marxisants de l'Islande, du Portugal et de la Grèce s'en sont accommodés en leur temps. C'est donc qu'à la réflexion, ils ont reconnu tour à tour que la vocation et le maintien de l'Alliance continuent à servir les meilleurs intérêts de la paix.

Pour se libérer de ses obligations envers l'Alliance, le Canada aurait, théoriquement, deux choix fondamentaux. Le premier serait qu'il dénonce le Traité de l'Atlantique-Nord, dont la durée minimale de vingt ans qu'il stipule est largement dépassée, et qu'il en avise le gouvernement des États-Unis qui en est le dépositaire. Après le délai prévu d'un an, le Canada serait ainsi complètement dégage de l'Alliance. Le second serait qu'il se

retire du commandement militaire intégré de l'Otan et qu'il rapatrie les troupes canadiennes encore en service en Europe. Le Canada cesserait par le fait même de faire partie du Comité des plans de défense, du Groupe des plans nucléaires et du Comité militaire et renoncerait aux contraintes comme aux avantages qu'ils comportent. Cette solution aurait pour effet de secouer dans ses fondements politiques et psychologiques le pilier nord-américain de l'Alliance. Même si elle a permis à la France gaullienne des années '60 — pays dont la situation géo-stratégique et géo-politique est capitale pour la défense et l'avenir de l'Europe de l'Ouest — de continuer de participer au Conseil de l'Otan, il est moins certain qu'elle permettrait au Canada des années '80 — pays dont l'apport politico-militaire au monde occidental devient de plus en plus aléatoire — de bénéficier de la même compréhension et de la même tolérance résignée de la part de ses alliés européens et américains. Quoi qu'il en soit, le Canada pourrait-il et voudrait-il, en toute dignité, continuer à récolter les avantages politiques, économiques, technologiques, etc. que lui vaut son appartenance à l'Alliance sans en payer le prix, sous la forme d'une présence militaire symbolique en Europe, garantie de la valeur et de la sincérité de son engagement envers ses alliés?

Il faut reconnaître pourtant que l'Otan traverse actuellement, au vu et au su des observateurs les plus autorisés, une période particulièrement difficile et critique. Les relations entre les grands alliés européens, en récupération politique et militaire et en progrès économique constants depuis l'épreuve accablante de la guerre, et les États-Unis, en déclin relatif depuis la création de l'Alliance, sont parsemées d'incompréhensions, d'ambiguïtés, d'équivoques, voire même de procès d'intentions de plus en plus inextricables et inquiétants.

L'accord que les États-Unis et l'Union soviétique ont récemment signé pour l'élimination des forces nucléaires intermédiaires (INF) se révèle, parmi les penseurs stratégiques européens, une nouvelle source de doutes, de soupçons et d'anxiétés au sujet de l'avenir de la présence militaire des États-Unis en Europe et de la crédibilité du « couplage » de la dissuasion et de la défense nucléaires entre les deux continents. Déjà les principaux pays européens, notamment la France, l'Allemagne et l'Angleterre, cherchent à parer à toutes les éventualités en renforçant leur coopération bilatérale en matière de défense, aussi bien conventionnelle que nucléaire, et le font de plus en plus par référence à l'Union européenne occidentale (UEO) plutôt que sous l'égide de l'Otan. Si le premier accord de désarmement

entre les deux super-puissances devait, comment le laissent présager les sommets de Reykjavik et de Washington, être suivi d'une réduction substantielle de leurs arsenaux stratégiques — issue dont la valeur morale serait par ailleurs hautement souhaitable — les relations stratégiques et politiques et les rapports de force triangulaires entre les États-Unis, l'Union soviétique et la Communauté européenne en seraient profondément affectés. Les Européens seraient sans doute portés, en un premier temps, à accentuer leur processus d'intégration dans le domaine de la sécurité et de la défense et, à plus long terme, à explorer activement les possibilités de la mise en place d'un nouveau système de sécurité pan-européen, « de l'Atlantique à l'Oural ».

La nécessité s'impose donc avec de plus en plus de force et d'urgence d'une explication franche et directe entre les alliés de l'Europe occidentale et de l'Amérique du Nord — les deux piliers de l'Alliance — en vue d'en arriver à une redéfinition et une redistribution entre eux des responsabilités, des fonctions de direction et des tâches, tant politiques que militaires, conventionnelles que nucléaires, internes qu'externes, aptes à réaffirmer la raison d'être de l'Alliance et à lui insuffler une légitimité rajeunie et une vigueur nouvelle à l'aube de son quarantième anniversaire.

Le Canada, qui a joué un rôle de premier plan dans la formation de l'Alliance et qui a contribué avec détermination et conviction à sa consolidation et à son orientation, ne pourrait pas se permettre d'être absent d'un tel exercice de nécessaire revitalisation. C'est dans cet esprit, plutôt que dans celui d'un unilatéralisme qui lui serait étranger, que le Canada, fidèle à son expérience historique et à ses engagements contractuels, se doit de rechercher des réponses appropriées aux priorités et aux problèmes de sa sécurité et de sa défense. Car il risquerait autrement, par le jeu combiné de la passivité, de la lassitude et du hasard politique de déclencher à son insu le processus de la désintégration de la sécurité collective et indivisible de l'Occident.

Bien qu'elle ait projeté une image reconfortante d'unité et de cohésion à la veille du prochain sommet Reagan-Gorbatchev, la récente réunion des chefs d'état et de gouvernement de l'Alliance n'a pas cherché, comme ce n'était d'ailleurs pas son objet, à arrêter des solutions aux problèmes politiques et stratégiques de fond qui se posent à l'Otan.

Parmi ses principales affectations, M. Hardy a été haut-commissaire adjoint à Londres, ambassadeur à Madrid, ambassadeur auprès du Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord (Bruxelles) et, ambassadeur à Rome.

COAL FIRES AND CANDLESTICKS: Joining External Fifty Years Ago

by James A. Gibson

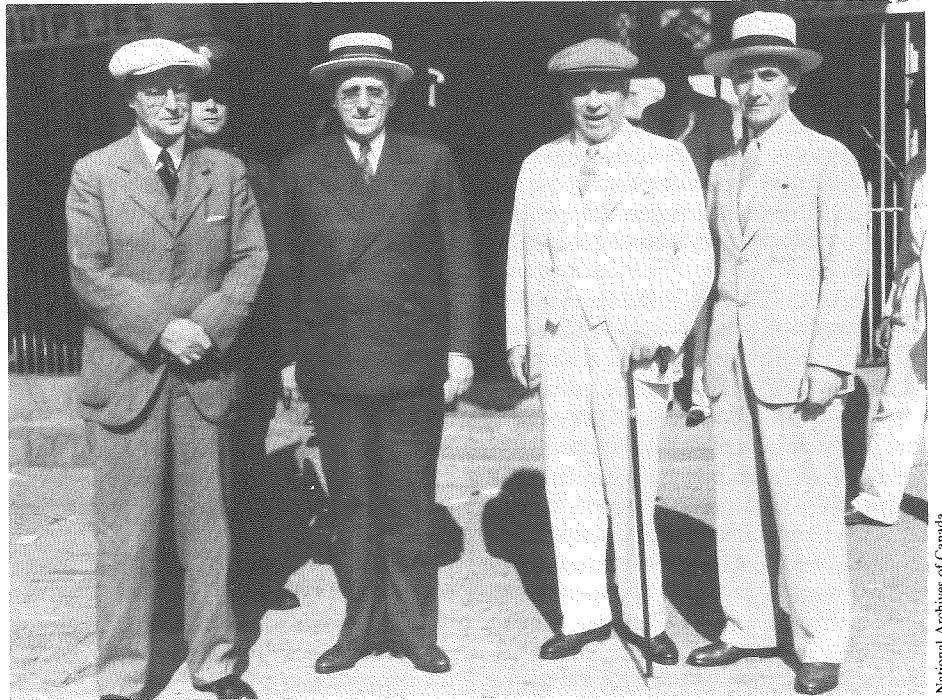
What was it like to join the Department of External Affairs 50 years ago?

For some of us — and it was an *event* for seven Third Secretaries to be appointed within 12 months — the process may have been a lengthy one. I first wrote examinations at Canada House in London (where the invigilator was the then Official Secretary, Colonel Georges Vanier). I was then orally examined in Ottawa nearly 10 months later, and placed on the eligibility list, which, lapsing the efflux of time, meant that I wrote the examinations a second time, in Montreal. Oral examination in Ottawa, Dr. Skelton again presiding, I appearing with rather more confidence, was followed by 15 months before I finally reported smartly for duty at the East Block in mid-July 1938.

Though I had been born in Ottawa, it had been home only to age two; and although I had had visits from 1931 onward, travelling to or returning from England, I still had to get to know the city, which was then to become home for 25 years.

Dr. O.D. Skelton knew the calibre and the expertness of all his men, as we were then (the headquarters establishment numbering perhaps 60 of all ranks).

I was greeted officially by John Read, Legal Adviser and Acting Under-Secretary, who shortly informed me that I was to begin in the Prime Minister's Office (who was of course also Secretary of State for External Affairs). There was precedent for such secondment: Norman Robertson had been briefly in the PMO before being detailed to trade negotiations at Washington; Jack Pickersgill had followed, without much specification as to duties, several months ahead of me. The intention was that I should



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spend six months in the Red Carpet Department, little suspecting that I would spend nine years on secondment — 22 months at the East Block, 7 years and three months at Laurier House, less four weeks on the fourth floor of the new Post Office Building, now called Station B. But on that first July day, having filled in some establishment forms, I was ushered down the corridor with a variant of what J.W. Dafoe had once called “every assurance of distinguished consideration.”

I worked for eight days in a cubby-hole in the attic — not I think originally designed for human habitation — and then moved down to a spacious high-ceilinged room with deep window embrasures, on the second floor opposite Mr. Mackenzie King's outer office. Apart from the candlestick telephone, it could not have changed very much from Victorian times. The desk at which I worked was polished walnut, with fluted legs, a green baize top, and drawer handles shaped as bunches of grapes. (When I moved to the top floor of Laurier House, I asked if the desk might go with me, but was told there was no authority to move it from the East

Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1925 until his death in 1941, stands on the left in this 1938 photograph taken during a visit by Prime Minister King to Cuba.

Block. I then made do with a standard oak desk, in a room perhaps one eighth the size of my earlier domain.) There was a fireplace, in which one could light a coal fire for winter afternoons, after assurances from three public works functionaries, in ascending order, that coal would be provided. Over a period of months I shared this office with a variety of colleagues — some now deceased — of whom the most notable was Jules Léger (later Governor General), in those far-off days my principal mentor in “assured French.”

Though I was by way of being junior generalist, my main preoccupation was with “short notes” for speeches and public occasions. Without embarking on flights of fancy I would put down what I thought might be appropriate, the field extending to messages for commemorative occasions. In

the Spring of 1939 I was "put on" to arrangements for the Royal Visit, in particular those involving the Prime Minister personally. As matters developed, some of my colleagues and I became mediators between the Prime Minister's fixations and the predilections (not always distinguished by common sense) of some members of the Government House staff. Last before Their Majesties landed at Quebec — delayed 48 hours beyond the original timetable — we had to telescope five Ottawa days into three. But over the whole compass of the visit the arrangements worked usefully and well.

There were occasional External Affairs duties that suggested that I "belonged". Dr. O.D. Skelton knew the calibre and the expertness of all his men, as we were then

"what I was going to do next?" Hearing that I had written the foreign service examinations, he said "I'll drop a note to Skelton" (which he did). Some 14 years after Dr. Skelton's death, attending a conference in Oslo as a C.I.I.A. delegate and meeting the then Under-Secretary of State of the Norwegian Foreign Office, his first question was, "were you one of Skelton's men?"

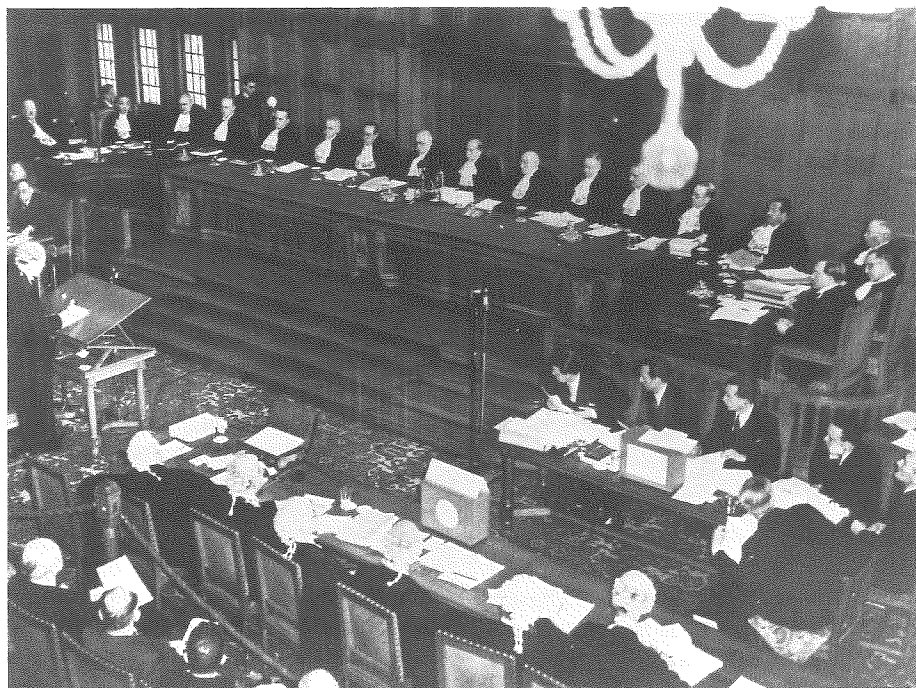
The "trouble" to which Dr. Skelton alluded arose from a consequential but important amendment to the British North America Act to add unemployment insurance to matters of federal competence under s. 91. The text of the amendment was simple and straightforward, but a Parliamentary draftsman at Westminster had attempted to "touch up" the preamble, and the High

which had considered the matter I was able to hand in a memorandum within two hours; Dr. Skelton remarked it might have taken other people two days.

There were some less considered interludes. Each of us did a share of decoding and deciphering, working overtime in August, 1939. (This was before there were encoding and deciphering *machines*.) On one rather bizarre day in 1940 I was detached to an upstairs room at 40 Bank Street, arriving to find it encumbered with nearly \$40,000 in one-dollar bills. For a period the United States required passports of Canadians wishing to travel south of the border. (Dr. Skelton was heard to remark that it was the least-considered act of the U.S. Government since the denunciation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866.) Before the flood of passport applications and accompanying cash abated, the newest Third Secretaries found themselves assigned to temporary duty at border crossings: Windsor, Sault Ste Marie, St. Stephen, N.B. But with the assistance of men borrowed from Post Office and National Revenue, the cash flow was contained, and after a season the passport requirement was revoked.

Royal visit requirements, as I have suggested, involved planning, consultation, persuasion, cajoling and a gradually-developed expertise in saying no.

Royal visit requirements, as I have suggested, involved planning, consultation, persuasion, cajoling and a gradually-developed expertise in saying *no*. I received delegations propounding fanciful schemes (removing all the stumps from the railway right of way between Montreal and Ottawa, offers to supply fresh snow at \$1.60 per bag f.o.b. Haileybury, and Ministerial Association representatives distressed that the formal dedication of the National War Memorial had been fixed for Sunday morning). Earlier errands had brought me in touch with numbers of Deputy Ministers; the newer supplicants were members of Parliament who rang the changes; "Young Man, if the Royal Train doesn't stop in my constituency, I can't possibly be re-elected in the next election." There were minor problems with functionaries who hadn't read (or perhaps hadn't grasped) carefully-printed instructions; a few couples lost or misplaced tickets of admission. But the splendour of the public occasions — in the Senate Chamber, at the Supreme Court, and the extraordinary scenes



United Nations/National Archives of Canada

John Erskine Read, Acting Under-Secretary and Legal Adviser at the time of James A. Gibson's entry into the Department of External Affairs, is seated at the far left of the bench in his later capacity as a member of the International Court of Justice, to which he was elected in 1946. In this photo, Sir Hartley Shawcross of the United Kingdom presents his country's case in the Corfu Channel Dispute, 27 February 1948.

(the headquarters establishment numbering perhaps 60 of all ranks). I took it as a compliment that he one day came into my office with a file and said, mildly "there seems to be some trouble about this — would you mind having a look at it and letting me know what you think?" He knew the subject fields of post-graduate studies of recently-appointed officers and, frequently, the supervisors of their advanced studies. He commanded enormous respect among his opposite numbers in other foreign services. Once, before I was appointed, my neighbour at a dinner in Oxford, who was the Permanent Under-Secretary, Dominions Office, asked

Commissioner in London had objected. I read the papers and drafted a letter to the Deputy Minister of Justice asking his opinion and using a sort of official idiom. It eventually produced a reply saying (as I had fancied it might) that he entertained no doubt that it was proper for the Government of Canada to insist on the language as drafted in Canada.

On another occasion, as a preliminary to a federal-provincial conference, Dr. Skelton asked for a note about the way in which Parliamentary delegations to the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences in 1864 had been chosen. By drawing on my B. Litt. thesis

in Confederation Square — seemed far to outweigh the minor irritations.

I received some injunctions at first hand: pacing out the appropriate number of steps at the War Memorial and at the Supreme Court site, a Prime Ministerial voice said "This has got to be absolutely right: *they* will take pictures and send them all over the world, and *they* will expect us to know how to do it." Mr. Mackenzie King had one last word on the subject; I was on duty when he returned from Halifax having seen the Royal Visitors off on their way to Newfoundland. I ventured a gentle reproach for his having jumped off a moving train at Moose Jaw. "Oh pshaw!" was his comment (as I fancied my grandfather might have said it).

There were occasional duties appropriate to function and perhaps to status. For luncheons at the Country Club, where the guests did not exceed a dozen, Mr. King would entrust the arrangements to me (for more than 12 Protocol took over); and it was a certain mark of confidence to write out forms of invitation (the endorsement did not extend to place-cards for dinner). The only "formal" luncheon at Laurier House to which I was "invited" (i.e. detailed to take mental notes) was when the Chief of Protocol from Washington (later to be Ambassador to Ottawa) came to deal with advance arrangements for the visit to Ottawa of President Truman. It emerged that the

President liked *bourbon* (of which I made a note), but, despite reasonable promptings, we had to send an office messenger late in the day of the Prime Minister's dinner to purchase a bottle of *Canadian* bourbon. (I am not aware that it was ever opened.)

There were other kinds of duties. When Postal Station B was ready for use (at the corner of Confederation Square and the Sparks Street Mall) Mr. Mackenzie King was invited formally to declare the New Post Office open.

"How does one open a new Post Office?" he asked (as one prepared to welcome any reasonable proposal).

Perhaps learning on the job, I remember suggesting that he could write a letter to the oldest surviving Postmaster-General (Sir William Mulock, then nearing 100), buy the first stamp over the counter, and post the first letter at the new facility.

"See to it," he agreed, warming to the idea.

The drill was to consult the Postmaster-General (Hon. C.G. Power) who readily concurred, speak to the Supervisor at Station B, who smiled agreement, draft *the* letter, provide four cents out of petty cash to buy *the* stamp, and see that the Prime Minister got to the Post Office on time.

He did, and the ceremony went well.

Very occasionally I would accompany Mr. King on neighbourhood visits. "You'd better come along" was the ordinary form of

invitation; one such occasion was a visit to the Ottawa representative of the French Committee of National Liberation (whose office was within walking distance of Laurier House). I think Commandant Bonneau was both pleased and impressed; as luck would have it I was wearing *white* shoes (which doesn't sound very diplomatic) but he pretended not to notice.

The subject of honorary degrees occupied my attention from time to time, perhaps because Mr. King set some store (perhaps *only* some) on academic distinctions, and notably those conferred by Oxford University. My concern was partly to draft suitable, or passable, letters declining the offers: during my Secretaryship Mr. King travelled to Princeton, Columbia, and William and Mary; but he declined, among others, Hobart and William Smith College (in Geneva, N.Y. — an invitation I was rather keen he should accept —) and Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida.

One difference between 216 East Block and the top floor of Laurier House was that, in the latter office, I was only a buzzer-sound away from the Prime Minister (it was rather an anemic sound). It was unusual for the Secretary of State for External Affairs to come into my tiny office (which was, so to say, "back stairs"); on one occasion when he did, demanding a document which I had never had, I lost my temper and stamped my foot. (The document, as I knew though I couldn't say so, was in the red despatch box dating from the Imperial Conference of 1923, the key for which he carried on his watch-chain). The occasion for requiring this particular document, which had been bounced from London to Ottawa to San Francisco to Portland, Oregon, into the red despatch box, somehow passed by, and a relative calm was restored.

As it chanced, I haven't been at the East Block for a good many years — not certainly since the "restoration" to an 1880s idiom has been completed. I enquired one day, when the building was not open to the public. I happened to mention to the Commissionaire that I had begun my civil service career in that building 44 years (as it then was) before. "You're still a young man yet, Sir" he said, cheerfully; and so I reflected on the cheerfulness that even an improbably demanding job could never entirely extinguish.

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

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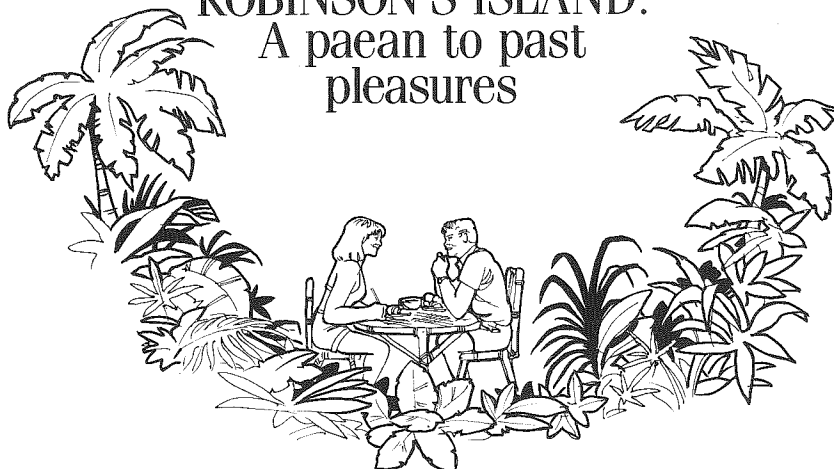
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Property Management

ROBINSON'S ISLAND: A paean to past pleasures



by Laurel Pardy

Kiny'Ole is a slinky sand dune separated from the mangrove swamp by an opportunistic sea channel. To rename it Robinson's Island requires considerable idealistic optimism. To establish a four star restaurant miles over rutted dirt road in the back of beyond of a little third world nation on this same shifting sandpile takes colossal chutzpah. Not only did patrons have to arrive by Landrover, or light plane, and boat, they had to hot foot it over burning sand and sit on wooden stools at rough slab tables under a flapping thatch roof.

Inconspicuous to the point of invisibility, one could have passed within one hundred feet of the entire establishment — restaurant, gardens, parking lot, kitchens, landing strip and all — without seeing it. No road signs pointed the way. No map carried the location. Slumping casually into shifting sand, the wood and thatch structure could easily have been the abandoned retreat of Defoe's hero.

To get the maître d's attention, one parked on the opposite bank, clanged an old ship's bell and waited for the punt to be poled across. But once there, sheltered from the unceasing wind and scouring sand by a wall of woven palm fronds, guests could gorge and feast and stuff until they could scarcely stagger to the string cots provided for their recovery.

Its founder, owner, manager, architect and chief cook was an eccentric remnant of the colonial period named David Hurd. Taking time out of a checkered career as a latter-day Dennis Finch-Hatton, he had engineered Robinson's Island as a unique experiment in total harmony between enterprise and environment.

Tables, stools, cots, roof and walls, all were hand-crafted from local trees and vines; plates and bowls of wood, cups of coconut

shell, decorations of coral and shell were free for the making. No electricity. No plumbing. Nothing imported or purchased except a small selection of luxury liquor and fresh water, a gas fridge to keep the ice intact and a boat to reach the treasures of the coral reef.

Not only the building but the food it served came from the immediate environment. Everything on the menu either grew on the island or lived in the waters around it. The array and abundance of courses depended entirely on the results of the fisherman's morning catch and the state of the melon patch. Augmented with the versatile coconut, these sources never failed to provide a five-course meal of exquisite delicacy and infinite variety.

For nibbles with a pre-dinner Glenlivet or Heineken there were deep-fried coconut or banana chips; for appetizers one feasted on raw or grilled rock oysters with grated coconut and garlic followed by steamed lobster or crab. Mullet, rubbed with spice and grilled over an open fire, might have made the main course. If one were still hungry a yam curry was guaranteed to fill the empty spaces. For dessert there was vine-ripened melon with lime and hot, strong Arabica coffee sweetened with coconut milk. A dark roasted coffee bean held lightly between the teeth during sips of cognac added an exotic pungency to an indulgent end to an indulgent meal.

Impeccably fresh seafood, slow-simmered curry, sun-hot melon served in a setting of wild beauty or an uninhabited tropical beach — no black tie extravaganza nor haute cuisine restaurant will ever surpass the sensual pleasures of dinner at Robinson's Island.

I would go back if I could, but I can't. It's no longer there.

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

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Ham-Fisted at High Altitude

by Sidney A. Freifeld

Whenever, in retirement, I read in the newspapers that a Head of State or Head of Government is going to visit Ottawa, and when I reflect on all the arrangements that have to be made and all the flaps that can occur, my mind goes back to the summer of 1973 when M. Nicolai Ceausescu, President of the State Council of Romania, and Mme. Ceausescu, made a State Visit to Ecuador, accompanied by their 19-year-old son and 21-year-old daughter, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. George Macucescu, the Minister of Foreign Commerce and Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, M. Ion Patan, the Minister of Mines and Petroleum, M. Bujor Almazan, ten senior government officials, several officials of the Romanian Communist Party, a contingent of security guards, a food-taster, a tailor, and a barber-hairdresser — a total entourage of 81.

President Ceausescu had by that time the justifiable reputation of having achieved a greater degree of flexibility in foreign policy than any of his neighbours in the Soviet-dominated Eastern European bloc. If, for that reason, the Ecuadorians had any illusions that the Romanians would be less demanding of their hosts, they were in for a rude shock. I was Canadian Ambassador to Colombia at the time, accredited also to Ecuador, and I had to go down to its capital, Quito, on business just as the Romanians were leaving. Everyone in town seemed to be talking of nothing else.

To begin with, I learned that it was the Romanians who had pressed for the visit, to which the Ecuadorians had finally agreed, in view of their growing discoveries of oil and the possibility of discussing petroleum matters with an important European producer.

The first wrangle began — long before the honoured guests arrived — over their accommodation. The local practice is to house distinguished visitors in the Hotel Intercontinental Quito, probably the most spectacularly-located hotel in all Latin America, with a breathtaking view over tropical valleys and the High Andes, including three perpetually snow-covered extinct volcanoes. And it is a well-appointed, well-run establishment indeed.

However an advance party that had come over from Bucharest insisted that their President should be housed in a private villa.

So the hosts went to some trouble to secure one but, understandably, they could not find anyone with the appropriately-appointed mansion who would be willing to give it up for the required time.

To their surprise, the advance party said they had found one themselves. But it would need some fixing up, to the tune of around \$7,000 — a large sum in the local currency and in pre-inflation 1973. To this, the Ecuadorians dug in their heels; the house for which the Romanians had been pushing, incidentally, happened to be the property of a leading member of the local Communist Party.

At this impasse, the advance party finally agreed that the Ceausescus be housed in the Intercontinental's Presidential Suite. But they insisted on different furniture. The hosts reluctantly agreed, assuming in their bewilderment that this unusual change was requested because of Romanian concern about concealed bugging devices.

But the advance party then insisted that the colour scheme in the Presidential Suite would not suit the Ceausescus — and the astonished Ecuadorians consented to a quite-unneeded paint job. And just before the arrival, the advance party insisted that the curtains be changed — to achieve greater harmony of surroundings.

For visits of this kind, it is the long-established, internationally-accepted practice for the host country to pay for the accommodation and hospitality it offers, and for the guests to pay for the function they offer in reciprocation. Ecuadorian President Rodriguez Lara would offer, *inter alia*, a State Banquet, and the Romanians would offer a buffet dinner at the hotel in reciprocation. But they wanted their hosts to pay for the buffet — at which the Ecuadorians again had to dig in their heels; and they said that if their visitors wished to omit the return hospitality it would be quite all right — and if not they would, as is customary, have to pay for it.

With such contentious prolegomena, it is perhaps remarkable that the visit did actually take place, but it did, and the *contretemps* continued for the duration.

When the Ecuadorian Chief of Protocol dropped in the Ministry's kitchen to see how preparations were going for the luncheon the Foreign Minister would be attending, he was forcibly ejected by some Romanians who insisted that *they* would be preparing the

food. After President Rodriguez Lara's wife, ill in hospital, sent Mme. Ceausescu a beautiful gold bracelet and necklace as a gift, you can imagine her astonishment at receiving — in flower-prolific Ecuador of all places — a bouquet of three carnations in return, the equivalent in Ottawa of a couple of daffodils in April or a couple of tulips in May. Whenever I checked into the Intercontinental Quito, I would find a dozen carnations or orchids in my room, courtesy of the management; the recipient of three carnations in Ecuador, especially in the gift-exchanging context, could not be blamed if she interpreted this as a studied insult, or put-down.

In any event, because of the illness of the President's wife, the wife of the Foreign Minister had a tea for Mme. Ceausescu to meet the wives of Cabinet Ministers. Mme. C. arrived, drank half a cup of tea, said she was tired — which the ladies assumed would be due to Quito's 9,200-foot altitude — but then embarked on a strenuous sightseeing tour.

For another luncheon, being offered by the Ecuadorian Foreign Minister, the Chief of Protocol dropped by the Intercontinental to pick up and escort President Ceausescu. But without any warning, the President said he didn't want to go and would be grateful if the lunch were cancelled. To this the Chief of Protocol responded that the lunch would go on as planned, since his Minister would not wish to embarrass the other guests, and that if the President did not wish to attend, the Ecuadorian Government would consider the visit to be at an end.

Despite these vicissitudes — making one wonder why on earth these things are ever undertaken in the first place — the State Visit went on, although the *contretemps* were by no means concluded.

The two Presidents had fixed a time for a ceremonial signing of a Joint Declaration. Prominent guests had been invited to watch, the press would be on hand, and radio and TV time had been booked with satellite feeds and all the other paraphernalia of modern telecommunications required to draw the attention of the outside world to the great event unfolding in this isolated capital in the High Andes.

As the agreed time drew near, M. Ceausescu wanted to keep the Ecuadorian President and his distinguished guest waiting an hour or so — because he wanted to receive a local Communist Party delegation in his

hotel. The way the Ecuadorians fielded this one was to say that that would be quite all right — but that there would be no Joint Declaration if the President of Romania did not keep his appointment with the President of Ecuador.

Then there was the little matter of M. Ceausescu taking it upon himself to invite two Communist Party leaders from each Ecuadorian province to meet him — not in his hotel suite but in the Presidential Palace; as this was a quite extra-curricular, *ad hoc*, affair, the Ecuadorians handled it by simply refusing the invitees entry to the palace.

Having gone this far I might as well mention one or two difficulties of a different kind.

For President Rodriguez Lara's State Dinner, the Ceausescus insisted that their children be seated above the members of the Ecuadorian Cabinet and the Diplomatic Corps. The beleaguered Chief of Protocol had to point out that such precedence would apply only to princes in direct line of heredity; the Ceausescus' request would violate protocol of Ecuador, which was embodied in Ecuadorian law, and this could not be broken to accommodate the whims of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The locals then thought up a way to solve this little problem: they would invite

President Rodriguez Lara's eldest son and seat him with the Ceausescu offspring. But the Romanian Socialist children weren't having any of this; they simply did not attend the banquet.

The hosts were distressed to find that each meal they tendered was delayed by Romanian agents creating havoc in the kitchens and by insisting on tasting all dishes to be placed before their President. Then at their return meal — the Romanians' buffet dinner at the Intercontinental Quito — they insisted on mixing all the drinks. When the Mexican and Uruguayan Ambassadors sat down during cocktails for a chat, Romanian security guards ordered them to stand up: no one was to sit down except the Presidential party. The Japanese Ambassador, on arriving, went up directly to the bar rather than wait for a drink to be served him, and he was refused by the Romanian security-guard-bartender. The Ecuadorian guests and the diplomatic corps observed that the Romanian entourage, i.e. the hosts, were served different — and better — food than they.

With some reluctance, the Ecuadorians agreed that President Ceausescu pay a visit to the Central University, make a speech and receive an honorary degree. They were taken aback not so much by the communist clichés in his speech as by its insulting and

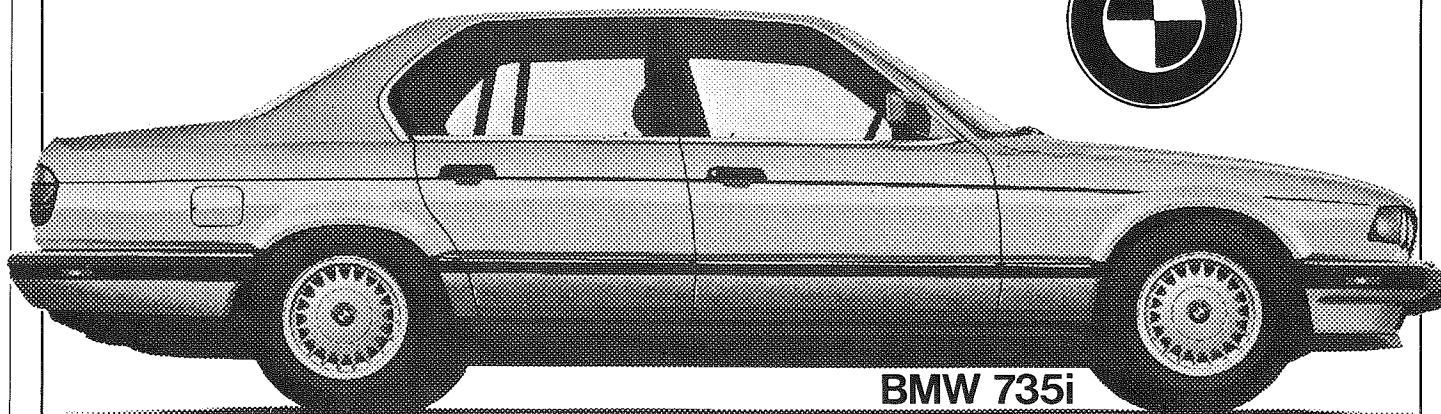
vitriolic tone, by his snide comments on Ecuador's "revolution," and by his scathing reference to Ecuador's attitude to the Allende government in Chile.

One Ecuadorian Cabinet Minister said that he had never negotiated with such an ill-mannered group of foreigners; he found his Romanian opposite number so rude and insulting that he refused to attend the Romanian reception for the Ecuadorian President or the farewell ceremonies at the airport.

On returning to Bogota I learned that similar shenanigans had gone on during the Romanian visit there, and in Caracas too. The Latin Americans viewed these surprising events more in puzzlement than in anger, unable to comprehend how an allegedly enlightened Communist leader, with his reputation for having achieved a more flexible foreign policy than the U.S.S.R. permitted other states in its Eastern European orbit, could indulge in such high-handed, ham-fisted and totally arrogant behaviour — rendering quite counter-productive the State Visit for which he himself had pushed.

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

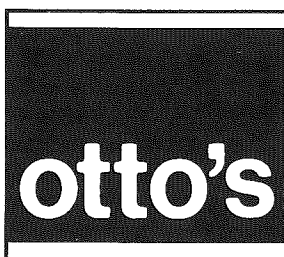
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Making the Best of Media Interviews

by Allan Bonner

Shocking is not too strong a word to describe the fact that the Soviet Union has been in firm control of the international communications agenda for some time. Moscow is now associated in many people's minds with the Peace Conference, several offers to negotiate arms control, Reykjavik, a new openness, and a host of disarmament proposals. They are in the driver's seat and the West appears to be reduced to ad hoc reactions and wobbly-footed counter-proposals that don't seem to possess the same drive, freshness, and initiative.

To someone who values the communication process, this news is as distressing as the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. There's no loss of life, but at stake may be a way of life. While many Western democracies are paralysed by apparent or real scandals (Iran arms, tuna, strikes, credibility issues) the Soviet Union has few such constraints and is free to concentrate on its communications strategy.

Also, while we in the West appear to have lingering doubts about the arts, science and practitioners of communications, the Soviet Union has done its homework and is mounting a superb campaign aimed at getting a very few, clear messages across. Doubts in the West stem from such diverse sources as Goebbels, McLuhan, Key and others. Only Goebbels displayed any evil in his use of communications techniques; McLuhan was intellectually playful, while Key (*Subliminal Seduction* — a sort of "Son of Vance Packard") may have been more erotically playful. But taken together, they all add up to one of two messages, if you advocate a communications strategy to attain your goals, you're either manipulative or esoteric bordering on incoherent. This gives senior administrators an unfortunate reticence in using valuable communications techniques to achieve corporate goals.

It's no coincidence that the Soviet Union's

successful communications campaign has occurred during the tenure of the country's most media-genic leader. Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa are the latter-day Kennedys or Trudeaus of the Soviet Union. The Gorbachev's messages will continue to be virtually uninterrupted by real or imagined scandals; communication advisors will probably not have to be pulled away from their tasks to put out short-term fires.

So, being a successful media performer now appears to be an integral part of a successful communications strategy — even in the Soviet Union, or, especially in the Soviet Union. But for the professional communicator there are unfortunately very few places to turn for expert advice on being a good media performer. Most P.R. books deal with press releases and lists, and many companies specializing in training don't possess the range of skills needed to "arm" a senior executive or administrator. Ex-journalists for example are often good at asking questions, but sometimes lack the skills to teach clients how to answer questions. Other trainers lack a policy or theoretical background.

However, two recent publications will define the skills senior people need when dealing with the media, and help in choosing a consultant to hone media skills. These books may prove to be as valuable on your shelf as they might have to executives at Johnson & Johnson (makers of Tylenol) or Starkist Tuna.

A section of *Business-Government Relations in Canada* by Professor W.T. Stanbury (Methuen, Toronto 1986) offers advice for would-be media performers. The book is not so much written as compiled. There's no real narrative, but dozens of lists and bullet points. The many summaries of social science data and studies make this book the last word on the topic, but at 678 pages and a dry style, you have to be really interested in the words.

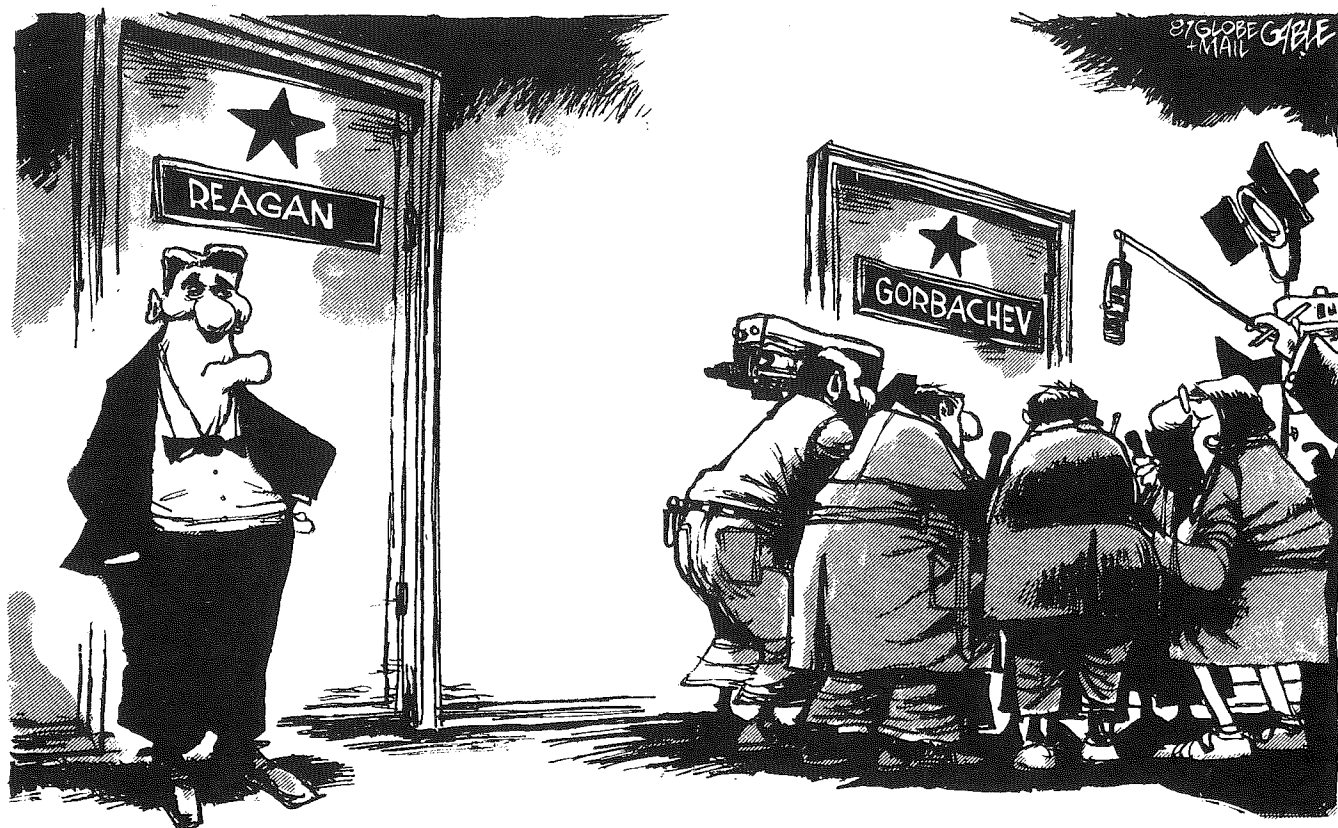
Stanbury has listed the basic reasons why business people (or public administrators) don't get along with the media:

- Business people are used to being the boss, but in public life, the media is the boss.

- Reporters may be personally but not professionally intimidated by "officials".
- Reporters are often not a high priority for administrators.
- Reporters need immediate high level access, which many senior people are not used to giving.
- The media does distort by its nature... albeit a benign distortion of simplification, amplification and the use of examples.
- Reporters judge a story on its interest, not on whether it is good for the administrator or organization being written about.

He also offers a list of the 8 classic interview pitfalls, (applying mainly to television, but useful for radio and print as well) or dirty questions often asked by interviewers, and the appropriate response:

1. The set up (a long preamble that's a loaded question)
RESPONSE: Challenge the premise, don't nod your head during the question and state your positive version of the facts.
2. The "either... or" question where both alternatives are unacceptable.
RESPONSE: Don't attack the questioner, but say "neither" and state the true situation.
3. The irrelevancy... a question unrelated to your field or topic.
RESPONSE: Acknowledge the question but quickly bridge to your communications objective.
4. The Empty Chair (a quote from someone not present)
RESPONSE: Don't argue with someone who isn't there to defend his or her position. Say you haven't seen or heard the remarks and bridge to your own message.
5. The Broadside ("You're a polluter aren't you?")
RESPONSE: Don't get fazed. Say "No" in a nice but forceful way and bridge to your message.
6. The What If question...
RESPONSE: Don't speculate or try to predict the future but say "That raises the real issue of..." and state your case.
7. The Inconsistency.
RESPONSE: If your company has been



...STAR WARS

inconsistent admit it but show the consistency within that inconsistency.

8. No comment... don't use it. This remark cuts off the conversation and is just plain rude.

Stanbury's advice is a good primer on media relations even if it's buried in hundreds of pages of good, dry advice on government relations. You can't go too far wrong by following his prescription for better relations with reporters. He advises readers to: get out in front of the issues and be leaders in their fields, to stop talking jargon, keep the lines of communication open to journalists and others (i.e. find out what people in other fields are thinking), educate journalists... slowly, make the reporter's job as easy as possible (at AT&T they emphasize cooperativeness, quotability and confidence), don't play favourites, never take advantage of or lie to the media and deal with bad news quickly.

One of the only books completely dedicated to improving the reader's chances of surviving ambush or hostile interviews is *Talking Back to the Media*. (It's N.Y. publisher, Facts on File, has some other interesting titles dealing with the media, i.e. *Would You Put That in Writing & Media*

Controversies.) Author Peter Hannaford takes a rather confrontational approach to media relations in *Talking Back*, but considering his background (former director of Public Affairs for Ronald Reagan) and some recent revelations about the techniques of journalists, his approach is worth knowing about.

The revelations cited are:

1. Former *Ramparts* editor, Warren Hinckle is quoted as saying "What journalism is all about is to attack everybody. First you decide what's wrong, then you go out to find the facts to support that view, and then you generate enough controversy to attract attention".
2. Journalist Janet Cooke published a story about an 8-year-old heroin addict in the *Washington Post*. The story was up for a Pulitzer prize when Ms. Cooke finally confessed to fabricating the story.
3. New York *Daily News* columnist Michael Daly admits to inventing a British soldier who shot a Northern Ireland teenager in cold blood. Daly admitted to altering facts in other columns as well.
4. A *New York Times Sunday Magazine* story by free-lance writer Christopher Jones, purporting to be an eyewitness

account of conditions in Cambodia, had actually been concocted in the comfort of his home in Spain. Parts of the story had been lifted from a 1930 novel by André Malraux.

5. "60 Minutes" accused Los Angeles physician Carl Galloway of involvement in a scheme to defraud health insurance companies. Galloway sued. On the witness stand CBS' Dan Rather said he'd put in several calls to the doctor which were not returned. Rather stated that in his experience, failure to return calls tended to confirm his suspicions about the subject of his investigation.
6. New York writer Alastair Reid admitted to having used fiction in ostensibly factual articles on a number of occasions dating back to 1961.

Meanwhile Fred Friendly, former president of CBS news and emeritus professor at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, and Edward R. Murrow's ex-producer, simply denounces any inaccuracies by saying: "A composite is a euphemism for a lie. It's disorderly, it's dishonest and it's not journalism."

The book offers a more comprehensive approach than the analysis that journalists



are people too and make mistakes. It offers a prescription for avoiding being a victim of those human mistakes. For example, Hannaford adds 4 new items to the list of what to do and remember when you're being interviewed:

1. Don't repeat the accuser's allegations (i.e. say "I'm honest", not "I am not a crook").
2. Ask questions yourself.
3. Remember you're not having a casual conversation with an old friend — be cautious and avoid flippancy.
4. Have a SOCO — that's a single overriding communications objective that you return to regardless of the question asked (my company is doing a much better job and will be doing even more in the future to avoid pollution).

An extremely useful lesson is to remember to offer your premise first and then answer the question. Barry Goldwater didn't know this so his reflex "nuke 'em" answers were what got reported, not the milder discussion that followed. Ronald Reagan has learned the lesson though. Reagan used to say "no" to the question "Do you favour the Equal Rights Amendment?" This sounded anti-feminist, abrupt and negative. Reagan then learned to set up the answer like this:

"I support equal rights for women. The ERA is one approach. I think there is a better one. In recent years there have been some important changes in federal and state laws to ensure equal pay for equal work and other rights for women. We need to look at our statutes to find out where discrimination against women still exists and change those that do. The ERA, on the other hand, would result in years of tangled court cases. We can solve the remaining equal rights questions much more quickly by changing any laws that stand in the way of equality."

In part for the humour content, Hannaford offers the four defences to trick questions:

1. "I didn't do it."
2. "I did it, but there was a good reason."
3. "I did it. I'm sorry. I was wrong and I've learned from my mistake."
4. "Whoever says I did such a thing is a low-down, good-for-nothing bum" (or similar epithet). Follow this with a counter attack on your accuser — if you have the facts to back it up.

Talking Back to the Media offers several excellent case studies as well. One is the Coors case. When the beer company with a bad reputation got a call from Mike Wallace, the V.P. for Corporate Public Affairs didn't get sick or stonewall; he spent \$60,000 preparing for the encounter. Media training was a big part of the strategy and the company scored a landmark P.R. triumph that helped turn Coors' image around, lessen the effects of a growing boycott by union supporters and apparently increased sales. In fact, the Coors people lobbied "60 Minutes" to rerun the item on Coors the summer after it was first broadcast.

The second deals with Richard V. Allen, President Reagan's national security advisor who resigned after being cleared of charges that he had improperly accepted money and gifts from Japanese journalists and businessmen. His home was staked out by the media and news stories continued to make reference to his resignation and the allegations as if they were related. The stories usually didn't mention the fact that Allen had been cleared.

Mr. Allen had his lawyers write to about 100 columnists, commentators and news organizations in the U.S. stating the facts of the case and enclosing several printed retractions or apologies from news organizations that had wrongly reported the events of Allen's career in the White House and subsequent resignation.

The lawyer's letter stated that since Mr. Allen is an expert in a number of fields, he is often the subject of news reports or

quotes. In these stories the media sometimes describe the events surrounding his resignation. Allen's lawyer ends the letter by putting the media on notice that any misleading references to Mr. Allen or the failure to mention his exoneration will be actionable at law. The letter had the desired result, but naturally can only be used in water-tight and extreme cases.

The final case study worth a spot in Public Affairs professional's files concerns crisis management. It involves a copycat scare following the Tylenol case. This one was in Detroit where several people put foreign objects including half a razor blade in sealed packages of hot dogs. The company reacted too quickly with partial information, but made a spectacular recovery by being honest and open with the media and its customers. Sales increased as a result whereas the company could have suffered huge losses or even bankruptcy.

The lists in both books are especially good. They start the reader thinking about the communication process and what to watch out for. I'd just add a few other points:

1. Look at every contact with the media as an opportunity to get your message out.
2. Study media formats and reporters and read everything from light memoirs to heavy anthropological studies to find out more about the media.
3. Never forget you're talking to a journalist.
4. Don't be afraid of silence — don't fill the gap with a gaff — just smile and wait for the next question.
5. Don't argue ethics or efficacy with a journalist. Reform the media on your own time — you're just doing your organization harm by attacking the media.
6. Remember the setting you're in — the background may get on TV or be described on radio or in print.
7. Give reporters the best briefing materials your company can produce — it'll show up in the story.
8. Take the bad press in stride — it's sure to come eventually.

Both these books underline the importance of television to companies, governments and lobby groups. It's not too simplistic or even superficial to say it's not what you say but how you say it and how you convey who you are that counts in the electronic age. There are a dozen or more sociological ways of saying it, and lots of die-hards who wish it weren't so, but those are the facts.

Allan Bonner is a Toronto-based Communications Consultant who has worked with four levels of governments, and private sector clients, in energy, chemicals, services, defence, health care and other sectors.

Professional Committee Seminar:

Getting our Message Across

On May 21, 1987, the Professional Committee held an evening seminar on the relationship between the media and the foreign service. Chaired by David Adam, then Chairman of the Professional Committee and now Minister-Counsellor (Commercial) at the Canadian Embassy in Caracas, Venezuela, the meeting featured a guest panel consisting of four distinguished Canadian journalists: Jeffrey Simpson, national Political Columnist, Toronto Globe and Mail; Pamela Wallin, Ottawa Bureau Chief, CTV News; Michel Vastel, Parliamentary Correspondent, Le Devoir, and David Halton, Chief Correspondent, National TV, CBC English news. Although audio difficulties made the preparation of a complete transcript of the seminar impossible, we offer the following highlights.

Jeffrey Simpson: I believe on the basis of my experience overseas and my experience here...that in the world of relativity this Department, in terms of communications... stacks up rather well. You may be surprised to hear that. I can only go by what my own experience has been in many European countries and a few countries scattered in other parts of the world and with the Department here. And that experience has by-and-large been with a few exceptions very positive. But the reason it has been positive is because I think insofar as you are capable — and you are under certain constraints from the chap or the chaps or the women who run the offices up on the top floor — you recognize that in order to get your message out, and in order for the policy of the government to be understood, it is necessary by definition to deal with the journalistic communities, since we are for better or for worse the principal —

to use one of your favourite words — interface between the bureaucracy and the public.

If I can speak in more general terms, it is on something that I am always perplexed about. That is to say the attitude that governments have — and here I speak about the political arm of the government — which does not recognize that the public service in all of its different manifestations is potentially any government's best ally, sometimes its only ally. I say that because politicians when they speak, rightly or wrongly, are viewed by us with skepticism. They have certain

the day — and you like all of us have views about the government of the day and the people who were involved — consciously set out to tell me something that would obviously make the government of the day look irretrievably bad....

Question from the Floor: To move to another issue, our Association is often observed as having a bit of a PR problem. When people think of Foreign Service Officers, they think of being nudged off the terrace at the Aberdeen Club; they think of

You have a kind of prima facie credibility which will be sustained and maintained as long as you do not try to dissemble or mislead or give clearly incorrect information.

political axes to grind, and the ministers or the MP's may or may not know what they are talking about.

In the case of the public service, the benefit of the doubt is in more cases than not given. That is to say the assumption is made rightly or wrongly that you are without particular political axes to grind and that therefore you have a kind of *prima facie* credibility which will be sustained and maintained as long as you do not try to dissemble or mislead or give clearly incorrect information. And Governments, were they wise, would understand that this dynamic is one that indirectly plays and can play in their favour. I know that from time to time public servants will say silly things. They will on very rare occasions have something in for the government, and they will try to make the government look bad. But it is my general impression, without stroking your egos too much, that most public servants I know do not want the government to look bad...In my dealings with this department I can honestly say I have never run across anybody who, whatever his or her personal views about the government of

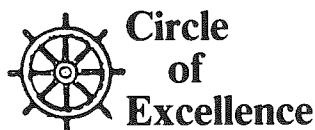
rushing to make it to the next cocktail party and so on, and it seems that we don't really have much of a public constituency. As a result, when as an Association we come forth with a statement, our message is not as sympathetically received as it might be. To turn to the theme of this evening's event, how do we get our message across more effectively? I wonder if you can give us any tips on developing a public constituency, on the one hand, so we might get a slightly more balanced view of what it is like to be a civil servant working abroad and, secondly, in terms of communicating the message to the broader public...Do you have any remarks about how foreign service officers might do something to enhance their own image in the community?

Jeffrey Simpson: I think you are underestimating the degree to which people read and reported and used the material you submitted on the question of patronage appointments. The very fact that the Minister was so mad at you was the function of fact that there had been so much coverage of it.

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David Halton: I don't think that there is a deeply held or engrained perception out there that foreign service officers are high rollers abroad. The Aberdeen Club story I guess had a certain amount of print, but I certainly haven't encountered any sense when you get out of Ottawa and visit the regions that there is a perception of foreign service officers as high rollers. How do you get your message across more effectively? I think you have to use the national media. Fortunately, your own newsletters, which we get and do read, are the most effective way, and if something is important and meaningful enough, that isn't purely seen as advancing career concerns of foreign service officers, it will get played.

*Your Association has
some role to play
because it's your
professionalism which
is at stake.*

Michel Vastel: ...You may know that there is an executive of the Press Gallery, and I think that it wouldn't hurt for your Executive to have a good discussion with the executive of the Press Gallery. The other way is to develop your network. Relations with national correspondents are awfully frustrating for everybody. Today you are going to catch the attention of the journalist. Tomorrow, for a much more important topic, you won't catch him just because he is busy somewhere else. It is a very long, painful and difficult process of creating a network. Just for an example, this morning I had breakfast with a group of Philippine women visiting Canada for a couple of weeks. I won't report on that, but that was a very educating breakfast and very interesting. And I think I improved myself at least as a human being and most probably as a journalist. I went there just because I knew the person who invited me, and this morning I had something to do at 8:00 but I finally rushed to go because I felt some obligation. That came from a personal relationship with the person who invited me. So I think developing a network between yourself and journalists is very important. Some of my colleagues complain that the Press Gallery executive just takes care of the parking lots. I think that could be part of the role of the mandate of the Executive of the Press Gallery.

Pamela Wallin: It does require you to take a little bit of the initiative. Jeff touched on it. If

you have something to say about an issue that is relevant to the events of the day or the events of the week, we are going to listen. When a story is going on and if you have something to say about that, it doesn't matter if you put out your press release four days later. Having thought about event X or event Y and issued a thoughtful statement, we don't care then. We care that afternoon and we care at 11:00 that night. So that is a problem. We are not averse to having people phone us up out of the blue. As long as you state that your intentions are honourable and leave us a phone number so we can check that you are not some wild, mad maniac. Or to say, would you like to have lunch? Or can I drop in for ten minutes in your office some Tuesday morning and just tell you that we are thinking about doing this, and it actually ties in or coincides with some other international event? Anybody has got ten minutes. You might not have two hours and you might not read the press release that comes at four in the afternoon with a stack of sixteen others. But that kind of a call is worth a whole lot.

David Halton: There does still seem to be some perception that no media coverage is the best coverage you can get. It means that in a number of areas, arms control I guess is a classic example. Just about every day John Lamb's outfit calls us up about a briefing by an American specialist and so on. They get their point of view out very effectively. It is arguably a one-dimensional point of view on some issues, but we are not really hearing from the government what we are doing in this area. Why not make Doug Roche available more often? Why not make your arms control experts more available to us to get across the government point of view on the whole range of arms control issues?

Michel Vastel: I am a firm believer in corrective action. Your Association has some role to play because it's your professionalism which is at stake. And individually you may not be able to do it, but I think every time your Association feels it has got to get out a message about political appointments or whatever issue, they have to be out in the public and react collectively. I think it's very important for your own credibility that you have an Association which stands on that... You have a good reputation. I think you are letting it be spoiled and you have got to react.

The Honours List:

Sylvia Ostry and Genji Okubo

Members of the Canadian foreign service have, over the years, received many honours national and international. In the following articles, we look at two persons recently honoured in two different ways. Mark Schacter prepared a piece on Sylvia Ostry on the occasion of her receipt of the highest award available within the Canadian public service. And Arthur Menzies reviews a recent publication of memorial essays in honour of the late Genji Okubo, a scholar/translator/analyst in the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo for thirty-five years.

Sylvia Ostry

by Mark Schacter

On December 9, the Governor General presented Mrs. Sylvia Ostry, Ambassador for the Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the Prime Minister's Personal Representative for the Economic Summit, with the Government of Canada's "Outstanding Achievement Award", the highest honour given within the Canadian public service. The award recognized the achievements of a career spanning twenty-two years in the public service, from her appointment in 1965 as Assistant Director of the Labour Division at what is now Statistics Canada to her current post as a Deputy Minister in External Affairs.

As a senior Canadian and international bureaucrat, she has made outstanding and lasting contributions in the fields of statistical analysis, economic policy and international trade relations. Equally, Mrs. Ostry's achievement is marked by the personal impact she has had on her colleagues, who

are quick to recount her freshness, energy, commitment and intellect. Between 1972 and 1975 she was Chief Statistician at Statistics Canada, where, according to Ivan Fellegi, who eventually succeeded her, she influenced the agency's statisticians to overcome "a tendency to regard themselves as

In 1980 Mrs. Ostry moved to Paris to become head of the Department of Economics and Statistics for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Responsible for producing the OECD's widely-regarded economic forecast, she concentrated on making it more



External Affairs

uninvolved technicians. She urged them to be aware of social issues, and to respond with data and analysis." In 1975 she became Deputy Minister of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and oversaw intensive work on intellectual property law and competition policy. During 1978/79, she was Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada.

relevant to the needs of policy-makers at a time of increasing economic volatility. She also focussed attention on the need for economic policy coordination among the major Western countries. "Sylvia's contribution to international cooperation cannot be measured in traditional terms," said Jean-Claude Paye, the Secretary-General of the Organization. "All of us in the OECD —

Secretariat and member countries alike — are in considerable debt to Sylvia Ostry.”

Mrs. Ostry joined the Department of External Affairs in 1984 as Deputy Minister of International Trade, and moved the following year to her present post. As Ambassador for the Multilateral Trade Negotiations, she is steering Canada through the Uruguay Round; as the Prime Minister’s “Sherpa”, she is currently preparing the groundwork for the Toronto Economic Summit in June of this year. “As a fellow ‘Sherpa’, I can vouch for Sylvia as a friend and companion when it comes to scaling summits,” said Sir Robert Armstrong, Secretary to the British Cabinet. Clayton

Mrs. Ostry’s achievement is marked by the personal impact she has had on her colleagues, who are quick to recount her freshness, energy, commitment and intellect.

Yeutter, the United States Trade Representative, described Mrs. Ostry as “Canada’s living national treasure in the field of economic policy.”

In September, 1987, Mrs. Ostry delivered the prestigious Per Jacobsson Lecture on the occasion of the International Monetary Fund/World Bank Annual Meetings in Washington. The first speaker in the 23-year history of the lecture to be invited to talk about the multilateral trading system, she argued that the Uruguay Round comes at a period of unique transformation in the world economy. The outcome will affect growth, exchange rates and debt. She urged governments to seize the opportunity to strengthen the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its role in multilateral decision-making alongside the IMF and the World Bank.

Mrs. Ostry is an Officer of the Order of Canada. She holds honorary doctorates from seventeen universities and has published more than eighty papers and reports on economics and related subjects. She is married and has two children.

Mark Schacter works in the Trade Communications (Canada) Division at External Affairs.

Genji Okubo: Japanese Scholar

by Arthur Menzies

Local employees of posts abroad are the unnamed stage hands supporting Canadian diplomatic actors whose names appear in the programme notes. It was gratifying, then, to receive a small volume entitled *Remembrances of Okubo Genji*, a book of forty commemorative essays by Japanese, Canadians and Americans attesting to the scholarship and human qualities of one who served the Canadian Embassy in Japan for thirty-five years. Genji Okubo died in 1986 in a car accident.

When I went to Japan during the Occupation in 1950 to succeed Herbert



Genji Okubo seated beside a picture of Herbert Norman, 1958.

Norman as Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission, Okubo had already been on the local staff for a year as a translator/analyst. He was a shy, bespectacled, chain-smoking researcher, just the sort of anonymous local employee who might be used and forgotten. But behind his self-effacing manner I found a man of shrewd intelligence, well connected with Japanese scholars and politicians and able to present orally or in writing insightful comments on Japanese politics.

Okubo had specialized in English at university and in 1938 became a translator in the Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, a federation of national councils (C.I.I.A. in Canada) formed in 1925 to examine common problems of the Pacific Rim. The Japan Council was dissolved by the military in 1943, revived in 1945 and came under attack in 1951-52 by the McCarthy Committee in the United States. It was Okubo’s plan to write in retirement a history of the Japan I.P.R.

It was the I.P.R. connection that brought Okubo into contact with Herbert Norman, whose ground-breaking study of “Japan’s Emergence as a Modern State” had been published by the I.P.R. in 1940. Okubo began translating this study into Japanese after the war, and it was published in 1947. When Norman went to Japan late in 1945, first to work with the Occupation authorities, and then in 1946 as Head of the Canadian

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Liaison Mission, he found Okubo an erudite collaborator in his research into modern Japanese history. Okubo became the favoured translator of Norman’s books. Finally, in 1977, Iwanami published Okubo’s four-volume “Collected Works of E.H. Norman.” Okubo did this translation work on his own time.

Over the years, Okubo was “a willing professor to young (or old) Canadian diplomats willing to concede that they did not know it all,” according to John Saywell. Dick Gorham says that Okubo’s political commentary on individuals “was of great significance to me and constituted fascinating lectures on the Japanese scene.”

Okubo also played a significant role in the establishment of the Japanese Association for Canadian Studies through his contacts in Japanese universities and by ensuring that Canadian visiting lecturers got well launched. J.L. Granatstein describes him as “one of the few who were at the heart and soul of the Association.”

Canadian posts abroad have benefited from the services of many able and devoted local employees. It is gratifying that the scholarship and friendliness of one like Genji Okubo in Tokyo should be attested in a book of memorial essays.

*Arthur Menzies, a member of the Senior Editorial Board of *bout de papier*, was Ambassador to China, Ambassador to NATO and Ambassador for Disarmament.*

Sport in Diplomacy

by Anne Hillmer

On October 28, 1987, pursuant to a decision by Cabinet, the Secretary of State for External Affairs formally announced the department's intention to use sport actively as an instrument of cultural diplomacy. Joe Clark said that sport unites us more regularly than politics. Our athletes can help the modern Canada to better know itself. More than that, it can encourage others to discover Canada.

That desire to promote Canada abroad lies at the heart of the new international sports

Sport has become an important aspect of Canadian foreign policy, but its full potential has yet to be realized.

relations programme. The moment could hardly be more propitious. Canada is coming into its own as a sporting nation. Calgary is host to the 1988 Winter Olympics, and Victoria and Toronto are vigorously bidding, respectively, for the 1994 Commonwealth Games and the 1996 Summer Olympics.

Canada recently won the Canada Cup and other major hockey awards, including the world junior championship. Ben Johnson, as the expression goes, is the fastest man alive, while Brian Orser holds the world figure-skating title. Our skiing and curling teams excel. Ian Millar is the very best show-jumper, Carolyn Waldo the top synchronized swimmer, and Gaetan Boucher the defending Olympic speed-skating champion. Rick Hansen captured the imagination of millions the world over. The list of Canadian world-class athletes goes on: Jean-Marc Chouinard, Victor Davis, Lori Fung, Gail Greenough, Wayne Gretzky, Pierre Harvey, Angella Issajenko, Joe Ng, André Viger to name a few. They, like hundreds of their colleagues travel the globe every year, and the ISR programme is looking to take full advantage of this fact.



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Why mix sport and diplomacy? Just because everyone else does it is not reason enough. There must be — and is — a rationale that is positive and relevant. Sport exchanges can serve as a significant expression of our broader political and economic relationships and interests. Canada's firm stance on sporting contacts with South Africa, for example, has forcefully demonstrated our opposition to apartheid. Arrangements such as those made in the past with important multilateral organizations like the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa can give substance to Canada's commitment to the Third World.

Heightened visibility abroad and a multifaceted image of this country's promise and possibilities are fostered by extensive sport contacts. Sport can also be successfully linked to tourism promotion. In Japan, public relations activities associated with visits by Canadian ski teams form an important part of our embassy's work; Canada in

turn has become a major location for Japanese ski tours.

Sport can play an important support role to Canadian marketing efforts in the newly-industrialized countries of the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific as well as those of well-established trading partners, contributing to more effective commercial relations. Narrowly conceived, sports linkages can promote trade in related industries such as sporting goods and equipment and technology. Used imaginatively, sport can set Canada and its products apart and make them known. In the early 1980's External Affairs capitalized on the popularity of the "Crazy Canucks" in Western Europe by distributing posters and media kits which linked the success of our ski team to the Canadian tourism and manufacturing industries. More recently, a reception hosted by our Embassy in Caracas for the visiting 1987 Canadian Davis Cup tennis team provided a starting point for a joint Canadian-

Venezuelan trade venture and helped to raise the overall Canadian profile in Venezuela, particularly with the business and commercial community.

Sport is not simply a vehicle for Canada's commercial interests. It is also a useful medium for international cooperation and mutual understanding. It reaches into every country, every society, overcoming religious and cultural barriers. When bilateral relations stiffen or falter, sport can help to

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sustain Canada's presence in a concrete and highly visible form. Today our co-operation in sport with countries in Eastern Europe can serve as an avenue to general confidence-building and to increased contacts between East and West. Rendez-Vous '87 and the Canada Cup tournament, each with more than 200 million television viewers, are powerful examples of the drawing power of sport as a means of strengthening linkages with the Soviet Union.

The origins of sports diplomacy at External Affairs lie in the extraordinary impact of the first Canada-USSR hockey series in 1972. As Eric Morse, the department's Head of International Sports Relations until 1986, explains a recent issue of *Champion*: "External noticed. With 3,000 avid fans headed for Moscow, and all normal business in both countries suspended for the duration, they couldn't help but notice. A task force was set up in Ottawa to handle the government's interest in the event. Ministers and the Prime Minister became involved. The departmental archives of the event read like a scenario for the Yalta Conference." Thus the creation in 1972 of the International Sports Relations Desk. Staffed at first by part-timers, it became a departmental fixture, equipped with a permanent officer, by 1974. That same year, Canada signed a sports exchange agreement — its first — with the Soviet Union.

Undoubtedly, as Morse points out, the rise of the sports function in External was assisted by the development of Fitness and Amateur Sport (FAS) and a structure and outlook for

the development of Canadian sport at both the national and international level. Hockey Canada had provided the catalyst, and External saw the importance of working with athletics on a more regular basis.

By the 1980s it became increasingly necessary to have someone to take up the challenge on behalf of sport in the foreign policy process, to ensure that policy-making was sensitive to the needs of sport and athletes. As sport grew in prominence and profile, so too did the range of activity: liaising with FAS; assisting national sport bodies with their international programmes; helping individuals travel abroad to compete; negotiating further international athletic accords, such as that with East Germany in 1984; working with posts to ensure that Canadians are well cared for in other countries; facilitating the visits of foreign sportspersons; and backing cities in their bids to bring international games to Canada.

In 1986 there was the hint of something more, a new level of activity in international sports relations, when the Nielsen task force on programme review suggested that here was an area where more not less was required. The Secretary of State for External Affairs was asked, in consultation with the Minister of State for FAS, to carry out a thorough evaluation of the role of sport in foreign policy.

External began by consulting 57 of its posts abroad. Of the forty-nine which responded they were almost all uniformly positive. The posts clearly put a great deal of thought and energy into their reports. Sports technical assistance projects can contribute, we were told, to the public affairs programmes of African, Middle Eastern and ASEAN posts, but would be completely unsuited to those of Western European or US missions. Posts in Western Europe, the United States and the Caribbean are on a Canadian "sport circuit" in which visits involve all levels of competition and are frequent. Missions further afield are involved in far fewer exchanges but on the other hand the athletes are usually national or Olympic calibre. The value of sports promotional materials also varies considerably. Thus press kits and photographs, for example, would be very useful in Western Europe where they are given broad dissemination by the media, but of marginal utility in Eastern Europe.

The missions agreed that sport has become an important aspect of Canadian foreign policy, but that its full potential has yet to be realized. Until now, it was felt, our foreign policy has not benefitted fully from the hundreds of Canadian sports tours and visits that take place each year. Our missions also emphasized that they need adequate advance information as well as suitable promotional

materials.

Following upon this endorsement, the Secretary of State and subsequently Cabinet approved a strategy that contains the following elements:

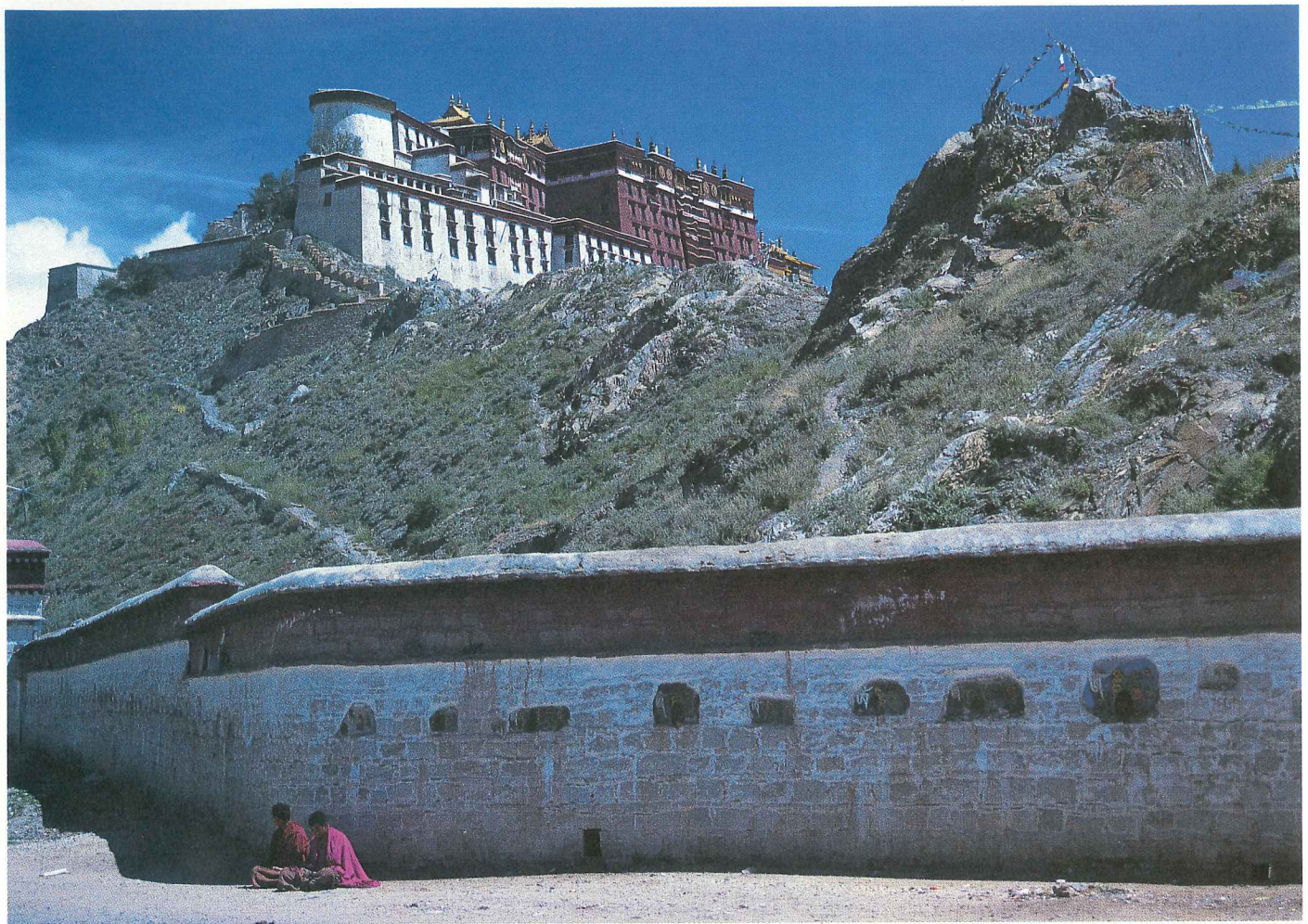
- a) Information: The highest priority is to provide posts with advance information on athlete and team travel abroad. Missions cannot maximize the opportunities associated with a sport visit if they are not given adequate notice.
- b) Promotion: Posts must be given adequate promotional materials, particularly in relation to selected world class competitions.
- c) "Backing a Winner": Outstanding Canadian athletes, whether amateur, professional or "retired," will be engaged as goodwill ambassadors to appear at special events like trade shows or exhibits.

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stiffen or falter, sport
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- d) Touring: Tours abroad by Canadian teams and athletes will be encouraged in order to reach difficult geographic areas or extended to include target countries.
- e) Blockbuster events: Promotion campaigns mounted around events such as the Calgary Olympics and the Seoul Summer Games to showcase Canadian talent, whether in sport or in the arts, and to project a positive image of the country and its possibilities.
- f) Sport Development Assistance Projects: These projects are suited to those areas where it is difficult to mount other cultural activities, but where it is nonetheless essential to establish a Canadian presence.

As Mr. Clark has said, sportspersons are and have always been among the country's best ambassadors. Although the programme is very new and resources remain limited, the recent Cabinet decision recognizes the potential of sport diplomacy, and suggests that sport should now be seen as a legitimate and valuable part of Canada's international cultural relations. 

Anne Hillmer is the Head, International Sports Relations and Olympic Co-ordination Section, Cultural Affairs Division, at External Affairs.



LEAVING TIBET

Photos and story by David M. Edwards

It was dark in the early hours of the morning in Tingri, Tibet.

Tingri lies at an altitude 14,200 feet, just to the north of the main Himalayan range, commanding a clear view of the major peaks, including Everest, Menlungtse and the dominating peak of Cho Oyu. The Tibetan peasants of the village were just getting up in the crisp morning air and preparing to go out into the fields. Six of us travelling together from Lhasa have spent the night in one of the peasant's spare sheds. It is below freezing, but two of us get up before dawn. We walk through the muddy fields towards a set of ruins on a grassy knoll a few kilometres south of the village in the direction of the major peaks. In a few days I will be sitting in my office at CIDA in Hull, working my way through a plethora of turgid bureaucratic documents. But, at this moment, life in the

insidious confines of a bureaucracy seems like another world.

We stood for a long time at the ruins, now not more than a few pieces of rubble, looking at the peaks as the early morning sun first hit the top of Everest, then Cho Oyu, then Menlungste, then the lesser peaks of the central Himalayan range. Between Cho Oyu and Menlungtse is the Nangpa La, a 19,000-foot pass leading to the Khumbu (Sherpa) region of Nepal through a great gap in the Himalayan range. The powerful array of gradually changing colours on the snows played out their full course for almost three hours.

It had been a few days since our small group left Lhasa. We had assembled together at one of the cheap lodges and negotiated for a vehicle to take us from Lhasa to the town of Zhangmu, close to the Nepalese border. Our route had taken us over several mountain passes, through the towns of Gyantse, Shigatse and the village of Sakya.

Monks in front of walled entrance to Potala.

Although the towns had given us fascinating glimpses of the Tibetan way of life, nothing had prepared us for the natural grandeur which greeted us when we emerged onto the Tingri plain. This was our last day before leaving the plateau, and we lingered as long as we could before walking back to the village to take our vehicle the rest of the way to the border.

Leaving Tibet by way of Nepal was proving to be a far more impressive route than the arrival in Tibet through Qinghai. The route from the north took over 36 hours by bus from the industrial city of Golmud, crossing southern Qinghai and northern Tibet. The topography was bleak and desolate in the extreme. The mountain peaks of the Kunlun and Tanggula ranges (the two mountain ranges which are crossed on the journey to Tibet from Qinghai) are notable for their eroded, rounded shapes and glacia-



Old Tibetan woman in Shigatse.

tion. But otherwise, they are not inspiring, and much of the plateau is given over to scrub. The villages and towns along the way tend to be grubby truck stops. The towns and villages we had passed along the Lhasa to Kathmandu route were, by contrast, much more interesting, retaining at least some semblance of the old way of life. But it was the village of Tingri, right in the shadow

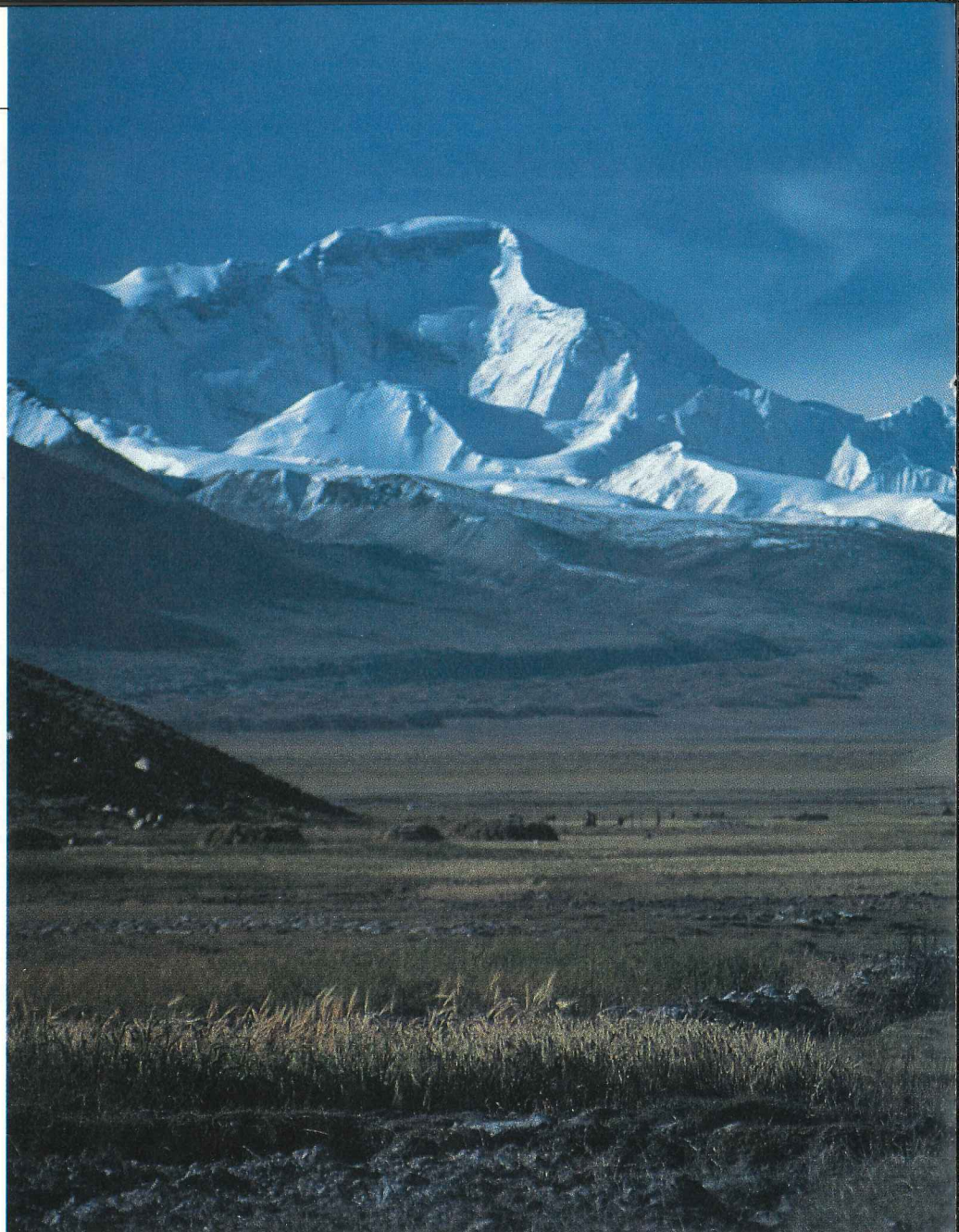
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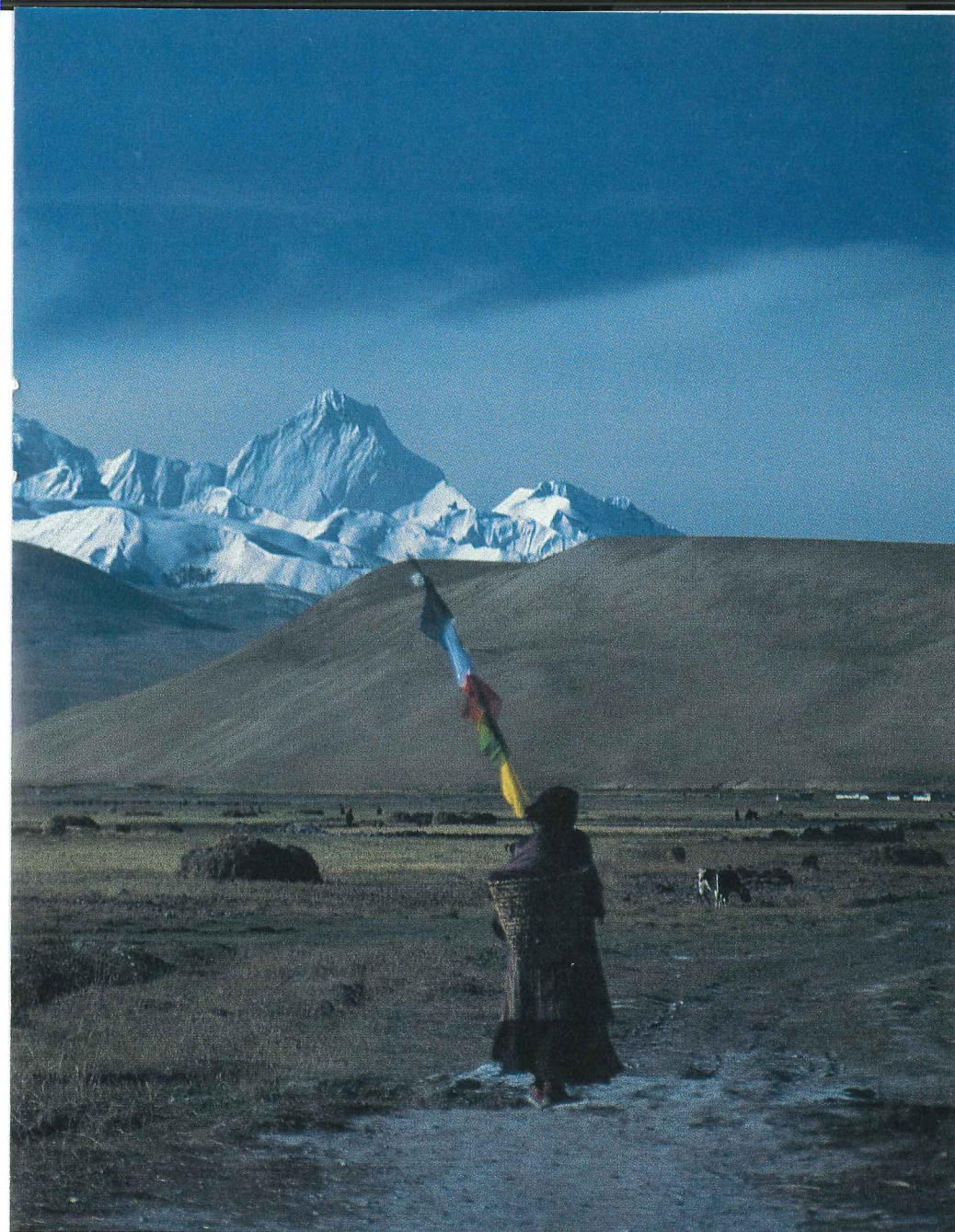
of the high mountains, that fulfilled my romantic and idealized vision of Tibet.

The marketing of Tibet's spectacular landscapes and culture has now begun in earnest. Recent Chinese plans for tourism in Tibet are nothing if not grandiose. The talk is of as many as 250,000 tourists a year in Tibet in the late 1990's. And, indeed, the current trends suggest that the potential is almost limitless. The number of visitors to Lhasa since the restrictions on entry were lifted exploded from under 1500 in 1984 to more than 30,000 in 1986. Much of the appeal to visitors has been Tibet's hitherto off-limits status and aura of mystery.

It has, until very recently, not been easy to visit Tibet. The formidable natural barriers

View of Jokhang Temple and Tibetan quarter of Lhasa from Potala Palace.





Pilgrims entering grounds of Potala Palace by Western entrance.

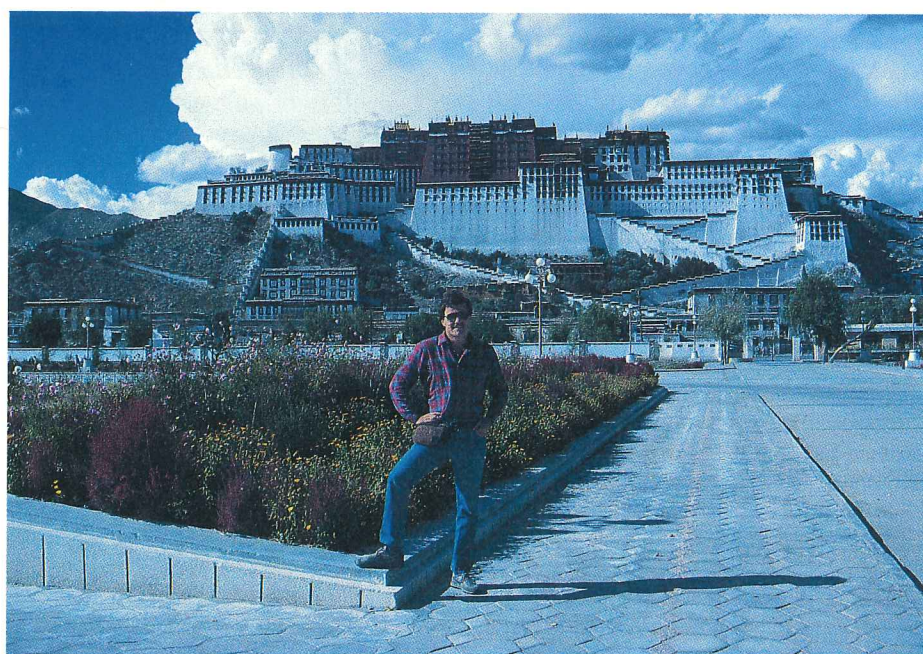
Left:

Tibetan peasant with prayer flag going to fields in Tingri. Mountain in background is Cho Oyu.

which had kept large areas of Tibet as blank spots on European maps were also supplemented in the 19th century by a conscious policy to keep out the intrusive element of foreigners. In time, Tibet became synonymous with the exotically inaccessible. A parade of European adventurers and explorers would make heroic and often futile attempts, frequently ending in death, to reach the holy grail of Lhasa. By the time the first tour groups entered Lhasa a few years ago, it was estimated that fewer than 1,200 Europeans had ever been to the city, including the 600-man British invasion force led by Francis Younghusband in 1904. The small trickle of adventurous foreigners who were able to make it to Lhasa in the first half of the 20th century, such as Heinrich Harrer, Peter Aufschneder, Lowell Thomas, Alexandra David Neel and others, dwindled down to nothing following the Chinese takeover in the early 1950's. For almost three decades Tibet's isolation from Western visitors was total.

In the mid to late 1970's, with China's gradual opening to the West, the first cracks opened narrowly, and a few carefully chosen dignitaries were allowed to enter for a brief visit, often after extraordinary efforts to wring concessions from a conservative

Author in front of Potala, Lhasa.



bureaucracy. Then virtually overnight in later 1979, price became the only barrier. The first high-priced tour groups started to come in 1980. Until 1984 the numbers were carefully kept in the range of 1,000 to 1,500 per year and then only on very pricy tours (although a few intrepid adventurers managed to sneak their way to Lhasa unofficially in 1982 and early 1983). In September 1984, Lhasa became open to individual travellers, and the lid was blown off. The travel regulations could be capricious from time to time, but basically the door to Lhasa was opened. Since then the only real problems have been logistical.

In March 1985 the land border with Nepal was opened to foreign visitors. In early 1986 all permit requirements (by then a mere formality) for Lhasa and towns along the route to Kathmandu were dropped, and the land route through Golmud was officially sanctioned. Flights from Kathmandu to Lhasa began in September, 1987. Even more

*The marketing of Tibet's
spectacular landscapes and
culture has now begun
in earnest.*

unconventional routes, though not strictly legal, via Yunnan and Kashgar, are now being utilized by adventurous travellers. Thousands of visitors now descend upon the once forbidden city, particularly in the months of July and August. The Holiday Inn chain is running a large hotel in Lhasa, and tours to Tibet now appear in the travel sections of many Canadian newspapers and magazines.

But modern-day Tibet is not the Tibet which existed prior to the 1950's. Indeed, much of Tibet has a feeling of survival after a holocaust. A way of life which had existed for centuries underwent traumatic change. With only a few exceptions, the monasteries were destroyed, and the monks were killed, defrocked or forced to flee the country. There have been substantial changes in the administration over Tibet in the last seven or eight years, including a more relaxed attitude to religious worship. A feverish campaign of rebuilding and repairs is going on throughout Tibet. Monasteries which were abandoned and in ruins in the early 1980's, such as the Rongbuk monastery, below the north face of Mount Everest, are now functioning again.

The rapidity of change strikes all visitors who have been to Tibet. Restaurants, hotels and lodges in Lhasa and elsewhere are proliferating. Each of the Tibetan villages along the Lhasa to Kathmandu trail is slated

to have a wide variety of accommodation and restaurants.

But, as of September, 1986, in Tingri there was no restaurant, no store, and only a peasant who gave us a wooden bed and blankets for simple lodging. It had been getting colder with each night. And in the night it was well below freezing. We had no real food since leaving Shigatse two days earlier, although we were able to get some biscuits, which we shared amongst each other. Some of the group were starting to get hungry, and were keen on getting to the border. But others felt the experience to be so interesting that it was worth staying on despite our growing hunger.

In the comparatively short time that the Lhasa-Nepal border route has been used by travellers, fights and arguments between some of the Chinese drivers and passengers along the route have become legendary. Our journey was to be no exception. This last day the relationship with the driver, which had been strained but relatively civil through the earlier days, hit its nadir. No gentle blandishments had worked...not free meals and tea, not offers of more money if he could vary the route slightly. He wanted to get from place to place as quickly as possible, with few if any stops for hiking or photography. And he was insistent on getting to the border on the final day as early as possible (he was going to take passengers in the other direction clandestinely and pocket the money himself). These objectives ran directly counter to our own.

Every stop for photographs or to hike around evoked howls of outrage. Beyond Tingri there is a spot along the road where a large portion of Mt. Everest can be seen from the road. I asked to stop for a photograph. He objected...I insisted. When I returned to the car, another argument ensued. A couple of the other passengers calmed me down as I threatened to throw the driver out of the Landcruiser and drive the rest of the way to the border ourselves. Somewhat later, after I had cooled down, I had to restrain another of the passengers from striking a blow at the driver for yet another incident.

The drop from the last pass to the border and beyond into Nepal is by far the most dramatic of the entire journey. Beyond Tingri an intervening range of hills blocks the view of the mountains as the more typical Tibetan scenery of dry barren hills took over. The Lhasa-Kathmandu road, which had been running in an east-west direction, turned south around a high mass of rocks, and began the climb to the first of two passes. The last stretch before dropping off the edge of the plateau is actually a double pass — the Lalung Leh. The first is 17,000 feet, almost in the shadow of Xixiangbanga (sometimes



Tibetan mother and child in Gyantse.

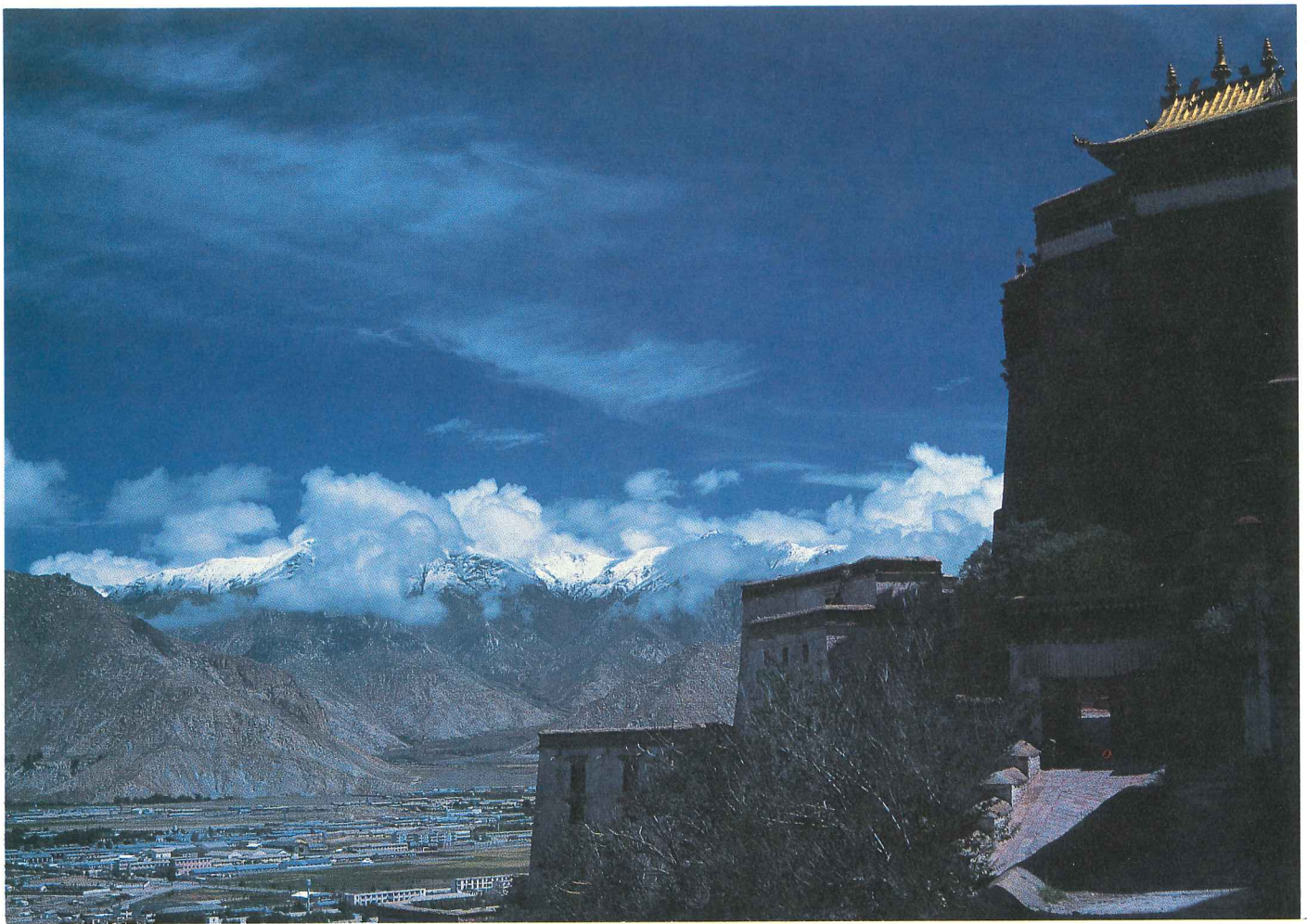
referred to as Gosainthan), one of the fifteen highest peaks in the world. The second, at 16,500 feet, is a few kilometres beyond. Between the two passes the plateau rises slightly in all directions, creating an astonishing "iceberg" effect with the Himalayan peaks appearing as snow-encrusted icebergs emerging clean from the barren plateau.

We reached the second pass, located directly in front of a solid wall of mountains, and began a long continuous and dramatic descent down through a crack in the seemingly impenetrable mass of mountains. First were the towering peaks directly overhead

*Much of Tibet has a
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and in front of us. Then, as the road "switch-backed" in a rapid descent, our attention was drawn down to the sudden appearance of greenery and vegetation. Just a few shrubs and pine trees at first. Then just beyond the village of Nyalam the vegetation became more and more dense, as the road descended along the course of a river. In only a few kilometres there were cascading waterfalls and lush forests.

The sights, sounds and smells of nature in the rich, moist and increasingly warmer air were intoxicating after spending time on the



Eyes of the Buddha, Swayambvath Temple, Kathmandu Valley, Nepal.

Top:

Mountain range north of Lhasa from Potala.

austere plateau. We were dropped off at the last town in Tibet — Zhangmu (sometimes referred to as Khasa), which in its forested locale looked much more Nepali than Tibetan. The road beyond was broken, but the Friendship Bridge across the river, marking the official border between Tibet and Nepal, could be seen from the town. And there was even some food.

The following day, after a steep downhill hike of a few kilometres to the border, customs and immigrations formalities and a



crowded, sweaty six-hour ride in the back of a landrover, we would be revelling in the comparative luxury of Kathmandu — hot showers, cold beer, restaurants with menus that go on for pages. But after the plateau and especially the sunrise in Tingri, all the rest was an anticlimax.

Norbulinka — Summer home of Dalai Lama.

David Edwards is Vice-President of PAFSO and has served in New Delhi. He is currently working on the China Desk, Asia Branch at CIDA.

Lance et compte, version chinoise



par Guy Saint-Jacques

L'hiver à Pékin, même s'il est moins rigoureux qu'à Ottawa, peut quand même paraître long et ennuyeux. En fait, puisqu'il ne neige pratiquement jamais, c'est plutôt du sable que les vents du nord amènent du désert de Gobi, dont il faut se protéger. Les distractions étant plutôt rares, il faut s'organiser pour tirer le meilleur parti des circonstances. L'une des plus satisfaisantes, autant pour les participants que pour les spectateurs, est sans doute de jouer au hockey contre l'équipe de l'ambassade soviétique.

Nous sommes au début de janvier 1985 et nous allons entreprendre la deuxième saison, après la longue interruption causée par l'invasion de l'Afghanistan. Les préparatifs sont d'autant plus fébriles que nous manquons de tout : d'abord, de joueurs puisqu'il n'y a que sept ou huit Canadiens qui ont une certaine expérience du hockey (pour faire partie de l'équipe, il suffit de pouvoir se tenir debout, avec ou sans bâton); nous n'avons pas d'équipement et il est impossible de faire aiguiser nos patins. Nous lançons donc un appel à l'aide aux ambassades «amies» et quelques Suédois, Finlandais et qui l'eût cru?, deux Mexicains viennent grossir nos

Les équipes canadienne (en foncé) et soviétique après le match nul de 11 à 11 disputé le 11 janvier 1987 sur la patinoire de l'ambassade soviétique.

rangs. L'un de ceux-ci est l'ambassadeur qui, tout fier, s'amène lors de l'unique pratique avec un uniforme neuf des Bruins de Boston et ... une douzaine de bâtons de hockey. Il est accueilli en héros et se mérite un poste permanent.

Après de multiples négociations avec des représentants de l'ambassade soviétique, arrive enfin ce froid dimanche de janvier où nous allons disputer notre premier match. Nous nous regroupons à notre ambassade tôt le matin pour discuter stratégie et enfiler les quelques pièces d'équipement qui ont pu être dénichées dans les hangars de l'ambassade. Interrogé par Allan Abel, correspondant du *Globe and Mail*, l'un de nos joueurs qui joue sans suspensoir et coquille, déclare simplement qu'étant déjà père de trois enfants, il peut prendre ce risque.... C'est donc animés de cette foi de croisés partant combattre les forces du mal que notre équipe et nos nombreux partisans se dirigent vers l'ambassade soviétique.

Notre «contact» nous attend à la grille de l'immense complexe où est logée l'ambassade (situé au nord-est de Pékin, ce lieu a été

continuellement occupé par les Russes depuis l'époque des tsars). Une fois les grilles franchies, les jeunes gardes postés à tous les vingt pas nous indiquent la direction : impossible de se perdre pour aller fureter dans quelque recoin! La patinoire se trouve sur un étang gelé; l'équipe soviétique est déjà sur la glace et, à notre grande surprise, tous les joueurs portent le numéro 12! C'est sans doute pour simplifier les statistiques.... Les partisans soviétiques sont nombreux, massés le long des bandes. Plusieurs sont des amateurs de photographie qui s'emploieront par la suite à prendre de nombreux gros plans de nos joueurs....

Notre «contact» nous avise que nous devons jouer à 4 contre 4, étant donné l'exiguïté de la patinoire. Il faut alors réorganiser nos lignes d'attaque en catastrophe. Deuxième surprise : il n'y a pas d'arbitre et un joueur de chaque équipe doit ainsi officier à tour de rôle. Le match s'engage sur une bonne note puisqu'un lancer bas et



L'auteur de ces lignes recevant le prix du joueur le plus utile à son équipe après le match nul de 11 à 11 disputé le 11 janvier 1987 à l'ambassade soviétique.

précis nous donne l'avantage dès les premières minutes de jeu. Cependant, le vent tourne vite et il est de plus en plus difficile de suivre nos adversaires, pour la plupart de jeunes gardes bien en forme. La troisième période est particulièrement pénible et malgré les prouesses héroïques de notre gardien, Leo Henneberry, nous nous inclinons 11 à 2.

Après le match, on nous invite à retourner sur la patinoire pour la remise des prix aux joueurs les plus méritants. C'est ainsi que sont récompensés le joueur le plus utile, le meilleur avant, le meilleur défenseur, le meilleur gardien, le meilleur ambassadeur mexicain et même la meilleure spectatrice! Puis, les verres de vodka s'entrechoquent pour célébrer l'amitié entre les peuples et les joies du sport, le tout accompagné d'excellent caviar.

Nous convenons rapidement de nous rencontrer à nouveau. Nous tenons en effet à venger ce cuisant échec. Le même scénario se répète donc, le dimanche suivant. Cette fois cependant, notre équipe s'est enrichie de deux hommes d'affaires de Régina venus négocier un contrat et qui, fervents amateurs de hockey, ont eu la bonne idée d'amener leurs patins avec eux. Le match est beaucoup plus palpitant et serré et après une troisième période essoufflante, les Russes l'emportent par le compte de 9 à 6. Nouvelle remise de prix (cette fois, nous avons aussi apporter les nôtres), vodka, caviar et autre match fixé à la semaine suivante.

Plus en forme et animés d'un fort désir de vaincre, nous nous lançons à corps éperdu dans la rencontre. Perdant 9 à 7 avec à peine une minute à faire dans le match, les dés semblent jetés quand deux buts rapides électrisent la foule et déclenchent les cris de nos partisans. La partie se termine par un compte égal de 9 à 9! Sans avoir gagné, nous avons quand même réussi à enrayer la machine russe. Le match suivant est donc attendu avec beaucoup d'impatience. Malheureusement, le dégel survient dans les jours suivants ce qui met fin à nos activités et à nos espoirs.

Les mois suivants sont consacrés à organiser l'équipe sur une base plus solide. Mis au fait de nos exploits, des hommes d'affaires de Calgary proposent même d'acheter tout l'équipement nécessaire. C'est cependant Ottawa qui, dans un court message et un grand élan de générosité, nous avise que l'équipement pour toute l'équipe est en route. De plus, histoire de prolonger la saison, notre ambassadeur a pris contact avec le ministre chinois des sports pour lancer l'idée d'une joute amicale. C'est ainsi que nous pouvons enfin mettre les pieds (patins?) dans l'unique aréna de Pékin. Nous pouvons commencer à penser à un match contre les Soviétiques sur une vraie patinoire.... Entre-temps, le maire d'Edmonton nous amène de précieuses reliques bénies par Wayne Gretzky lui-même. Nous sommes prêts à affronter l'ouragan.

Il est convenu que le premier match de la saison aura lieu le 16 février 1986. Les Chinois se montrent d'abord réticents à laisser des étrangers s'affronter sur leur patinoire intérieure mais se laissent finalement convaincre. De notre côté, notre équipe s'est considérablement renforcée avec l'arrivée de nouveaux Canadiens. Les spectateurs sont nombreux lorsque le match s'amorce. La première période est désastreuse : 3 à 0 pour les Soviétiques. C'est le délire chez leurs partisans qui croient l'affaire dans le sac. Loin de nous avouer vaincus, nous vivons alors l'un de ces revirements comme seul le hockey semble pouvoir en fournir. Les buts se succèdent si bien que nous remportons le match 7 à 5. C'est la première victoire d'une équipe canadienne sur celle de l'ambassade soviétique en plus de dix ans! Le match suivant se termine par un pointage égal de 5 à 5. Subitement, pour des raisons mystérieuses, les Russes indiquent que la saison est terminée.

L'année suivante, les discussions reprennent et aboutissent à un premier match le 11 janvier 1987. Entre-temps, notre équipe n'a cessé de se renforcer et nous risquons même d'être trop nombreux. L'équipe vit aussi ses moments de crise quand il faut décider si des femmes peuvent en faire partie. L'opposition est balayée lorsqu'il est promis que personne ne perdrait son poste même si une femme s'avérait plus talentueuse.... C'est ainsi que Denise Chong évolue pendant quelques parties à l'aile gauche contre des équipes chinoises. Quant à nos parties contre les Soviétiques, le premier match se termine par le compte de 11 à 11, nos deux derniers buts étant marqués à la toute fin de la rencontre. Les Russes gagnent la deuxième partie 8 à 5 puis malgré l'absence de quelques-uns de nos meilleurs joueurs, nous l'emportons de façon significative 7 à 2 lors du troisième match. C'est notre dernier match car les Russes nous avisent qu'ils ne veulent plus jouer, sachant sans doute qu'ils vont encore perdre.

La saison se termine par un match amical entre les membres de notre équipe. Les années de travail de l'ambassadeur mexicain sont enfin récompensées : grâce à un tir surprenant, il marque son premier but en carrière et en retire une joie profonde. Comme il se doit, la rondelle lui est remise et elle est sans doute maintenant bien en montre dans un salon de Mexico.

À bien y penser, les hivers à Pékin ne sont pas si longs et tristes que cela!

Guy Saint-Jacques était premier secrétaire et consul à Pékin de 1984 à 1987. Il est maintenant affecté à Ottawa.

Good and Faithful Servants

Edward Tennent Galpin

par Marc Baudouin

Quand j'arrivai à Ottawa en 1953, un de mes bons amis, Jean Gabriel Maranda, faisait ses débuts au ministère. À cette époque, les novices étaient deux par bureau. Maranda était un Montréalais passé par Paris; c'était la fantaisie faite homme, plus latin que le plus latin des Latins; un personnage de légende quoi! Est-ce par humour ou par hasard mais autant Gaby, comme ses amis l'appelaient, était on ne peut plus canadien-français (on ne disait pas encore « québécois » à l'époque) autant son compagnon de bureau Ted Galpin, sérieux et austère, semblait une parfaite caricature du plus pur descendant des loyalistes ontariens, authentique produit de la culture anglo-protestante. Maranda parlait peu l'anglais. Galpin, pas le français. Les deux devinrent bons amis; c'est par Gaby que je fis la connaissance de Ted Galpin.

Maranda a quitté le ministère il y a déjà longtemps. J'ai appris qu'il était décédé il y a quelques années. Ted Galpin est mort à Prétoria en Afrique du Sud, le 14 août 1987. On m'a dit, ce qui ne m'a pas étonné, que Ted travaillait trop alors qu'il aurait dû y aller avec plus de modération. Il n'était plus tout jeune et sa santé n'était pas des meilleures; mais il était ainsi fait que le devoir passait avant tout. Il y laissa sa vie.

J'ai peu connu Ted en 53, 54 et, pendant de nombreuses années, nos sentiers ne se sont pas croisés. Ce n'est que 25 ans plus tard, à Ankara, que nous nous sommes retrouvés. De prime abord nous avons peu en commun, si ce n'est pas d'appartenir à la même maison et de faire de notre mieux pour servir notre pays. Nos goûts, nos intérêts, nos lectures ne nous rapprochaient pas particulièrement. C'est sans doute la Turquie et ce que nous avons essayé d'y faire ensemble qui ont créé ces liens qui, à leur tour, ont tissé une solide amitié.

Étrange et attachant personnage que ce Ted Galpin; sous des apparences bourruées il cachait un cœur tendre; homme de devoir et de dévouement, il savait toutefois accepter la faiblesse humaine; homme de courage et de sang-froid aussi, comme il le démontra à



Edward Tennent Galpin

l'aéroport d'Ankara lorsqu'il survécut, avec sa femme et sa fille, Mai, à une attaque terroriste qui fit autour d'eux des dizaines de victimes. Lorsque je lui demandai ses impressions, il ne me parla pas de ce que dût être son angoisse quand lui, sa femme et sa fille restèrent aplatis sous une table pendant plus d'une heure alors que le sang coulait et que les mitraillettes pétardaient. Il me dit, avec ce sourire un peu triste qui était le sien, que le plus dur pour lui, grand fumeur devant l'Éternel, avait été de rester tout ce temps sans fumer tandis que le terroriste, debout sur la table même qui l'abritait, fumeur enragé lui aussi, jetait mégots sur mégots à la moitié consumés à deux pas de lui qui ne pouvait même pas, et pour cause, allumer sa propre cigarette.

Ted Galpin est né à London, Ontario, en 1923. Il y passa sa jeunesse et y fit ses études primaires et secondaires. C'est dans la même ville, à l'Université Western, au Huron College, qu'il fit ses études universitaires, et obtint un « Honours » B.A. en histoire. Il y mérita la médaille d'or.

Trois ans plus tard, en 1949, il obtenait son M.A. de la Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, aux É.-U., puis, grâce à une bourse de l'Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) (!) il s'embarquait pour Cambridge (le College

Pembroke) d'où il revint avec un Master of Literature en poche.

Entré au ministère en 1953, il passa le plus clair de sa carrière à l'étranger. À Colombo d'abord, au Sri Lanka, qui s'appelait encore Ceylan à l'époque; c'est là qu'il rencontra Jan, une adorable jeune fille venue des Pays-Bas, qu'il épousa en 1956 à Kandy; elle lui donna quatre enfants — deux garçons, puis deux filles. L'aîné, Albert, est d'ailleurs un collègue à nous et suit les traces de son père.

Après Colombo, ce fut, entrecoupé de passages à Ottawa, d'abord Téhéran, de 1959 à 1961, bien différente alors de ce qu'elle est maintenant, véritable ville des mille et une nuits, nous disait-il; puis Dublin, de 1961 à 1964; Islamabad pendant un an en 1971; puis Accra, l'Afrique, en 72 et 73, d'où il rapporta force statuettes et un splendide jeu d'échecs plus beau que pratique, d'ailleurs, et dont il ne se servait pas, préférant le bridge. Puis ce fut Copenhague, au Danemark, de 1977 à 1980, que Jan et lui adorèrent et, enfin, Ankara de 80 à 83, où ils furent heureux.

Ted comptait prendre sa retraite après Prétoria. La Providence en voulut autrement. Sa dépouille fut ramenée à Ottawa où un service fort émouvant eut lieu à la cathédrale de l'Annunciation (High Church of England). Ted adorait la musique, il avait d'ailleurs une forte jolie voix; à l'église on joua des arias qu'il avait aimées et qui témoignaient de son goût sûr. Il fut enterré à Clondeboyne, près de London, où il était né 64 ans plus tôt, dans ce coin du pays qui l'avait si profondément marqué et auquel il était resté attaché. Homme de lecture et de musique, homme de devoir et de famille, profondément religieux mais sachant aussi apprécier les bonnes choses de la vie, Ted, individualiste généreux, appartenait à cette civilisation en voie de disparition, celle des humanistes. Ted n'est plus mais son souvenir reste vivant parmi nous, ainsi que son témoignage, celui d'un homme cultivé, dévoué et honnête. ✍

Marc Baudouin était ambassadeur à Ankara quand Ted Galpin y était.

...extracts of three articles on a common theme: women in the foreign service.

On October 10, 1987, Michele Landsberg's column in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* focussed on women, **bout de papier**, External and other things....

"So why, after years of uproar, hard lobbying, good intentions and solemn undertakings, is women's equality still a chimera?"

Take a prime example of a workplace where, theoretically, women should be enjoying sublime even-handedness. Its boss is actively committed to equality. It is run by the Canadian Government, which has had official affirmative action plans for years and can enforce them. It's under direct orders from the Treasury Board to increase the number of women in top jobs. It has a pool of talented, ambitious women with experience. And women hold the grand total of 4.5 per cent of management positions.

I'm talking about the Department of External Affairs, which I single out here only because it's handy. No doubt other departments have an even more disgusting record.

A clue to the source of unfairness and bias against women in that department fell onto my desk recently. Actually, it's more than a clue ... more like a dead giveaway.

*It's a glossy magazine, **bout de papier**, published by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO), the foreign service's union. The thing reeks of sexist bias, beginning to end, without a blush of awareness, let alone apology."*

The *Toronto Star*, on December 17, 1987, devoted one of its periodical series on the success of women in various fields to an article entitled "Old Boy Network Falls to the New Diplomat."...

"Although their numbers are still very small, women are just beginning to thrive in the foreign service. Very slowly, the ranks of the diplomatic corps — once the ultimate image of the traditional old-boy, school-tie network — are filling in with some of the best and the brightest women, who are lured by the mission to represent Canada as well as a sense of high adventure.

Today women make up 14 per cent of foreign service officers and managers, compared to less than 7 per cent 10 years ago.

And while balancing job and children is difficult enough in the most immobile of lives, growing numbers of these female diplomats are attempting the Herculean feat of combining a globe-trotting career and family life. To make it work, some have resorted to commuter marriages and carefully timed pregnancies.

Most women are still in the lower ranks of

the officer corps, but in the slow foreign service promotion process, some are gradually climbing to the top.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has encouraged the appointment of women foreign service officers as heads of mission. Currently 12 women — some political appointees but others career foreign service officers — serve as Canada's ambassadors, high commissioners and consul generals around the globe."

Le magazine *Châtelaine* publie dans son numéro de décembre 1987 un profil de Julie Loranger, ambassadeur du Canada à Madrid, qui met en lumière la lente ascension des femmes au rang de chef de mission...

«Au Canada, peu de femmes accèdent aux premières charges consulaires. Sur les 104 chefs de mission actuellement à l'étranger, on compte 11 femmes. Il faut commencer par le commencement, plaide Peggy Mason, adjointe spéciale au cabinet du ministre Joe Clark qui est très sensible à cette question de la représentativité des femmes. À son arrivée aux Affaires extérieures, il y a trois ans, il y avait deux femmes chefs de mission. Faites le calcul vous-même...

La première canadienne à occuper un poste d'ambassadrice à l'étranger s'appelait Margaret Meagher. D'origine néo-écossaise, c'était une diplomate de carrière qui comptait plus de 15 ans de service au moment de sa nomination par le gouvernement Diefenbaker à la tête de la mission canadienne en Israël, en 1958. Le fait qu'à l'époque une autre femme, Golda Meir, était ministre des Affaires extérieures d'Israël, n'aurait pas été étranger à la décision du gouvernement canadien de briser le monopole masculin dans les ambassades. Madame Meagher, quant à elle, en profita pour poursuivre une carrière intéressante. Après son séjour en Israël, elle fut tour à tour ambassadrice en Autriche, au Kenya, en Suède, en plus de faire partie du Comité sur le contrôle des armes nucléaires à l'ONU.

La diplomatie canadienne est ouverte aux femmes depuis 1947. En principe. Car dans certains milieux, les vieilles habitudes ont la vie dure. À une époque pas si lointaine, selon madame Loranger, il existait encore une note, dans les dossiers des candidats (masculins, cela va sans dire), sur l'épouse, ses qualités d'hôtesse, son apparence physique même. L'ambassadrice canadienne en Espagne n'a pas connu ce temps-là, mais elle est consciente de faire partie des premières, ce petit contingent de femmes qui brisent le mur du jamais vu : Je suis de la génération qui a commencé à être visible. À McGill, en 1959, elle faisait partie des quatre filles sur la centaine d'étudiants inscrits en droit.»

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Defined Benefit or Defined Contribution? Is Your Pension Plan Adequate?

by Bruce W. Etherington

Registered Retirement Savings Plans today account for millions upon millions of dollars of savings which represent the future hopes and dreams of many of our nation's future pensioners. The question is, will the allowable contributions which a Canadian may make to a Registered Retirement Savings Program or, in fact, any of the other retirement vehicles, provide an adequate pension?

What is an adequate pension? — this in itself has been the subject of debate for some time and is currently a major topic among Financial Planners, Estate and Retirement Counsellors, Stock Brokers and Mutual Fund Salespeople and just about anyone who is involved with the subject of Retirement Planning, not the least of which are people in my profession of life and business underwriting — Chartered Life Underwriters.

In our firm, we have for some time used a "75% formula" as a target towards which our client can focus his or her retirement goals. In essence, the Stanford Research Institute has said for a number of years, as reported by the Wall Street Journal, that at the retirement of an individual, if less than 75% of that person's income is replaced, then both they and their family are going to have, in the majority of cases, an extremely difficult time maintaining the lifestyle to which they have grown accustomed. (In some circumstances, this amount may range as low as 50% or as high as 100% subject to the spending habits and lifestyle of the individual).

It is interesting to note that while debate has raged for some time in Canada about the allowable level of contributions into a Pension Plan (be it a Defined Contribution or Money Purchase Plan or a Deferred Profit Sharing or Registered Retirement Savings Plan), the majority of Company Pension Plans focus upon the ultimate pension paid and not the amount of contribution which is deposited into the pension fund. These plans are known as Defined Benefit Plans since they define the ultimate benefit the retiree will receive and not the contribution that is placed into the fund. While Defined Benefit Plans have the focus on the benefit, many employees wish to focus upon the contribution and the accumulating capital, thus, the great interest in RRSPs, which are really individual Defined Contribution Plans.

Chart A
COMPOUNDING RATE OF \$1 @ \$7500/YEAR

Years	Not Sheltered		Sheltered in RRSP
	@ 8%/Yr	Gross Net 4%*	@ 7%/Yr Net
5	\$ 47,519	\$ 42,247	\$ 46,149
10	117,341	93,647	110,877
15	219,932	156,184	201,660
20	370,671	232,269	328,989
30	917,594	437,463	758,048

* Assume 50% tax bracket

Chart B

Age	Pension at 65 from Defined Benefit*	% Final Earnings	Pension at 65 from RRSP @ 8%**	% Final Earnings
35	\$60,000	18%	\$92,000	27%
45	\$60,000	26%	\$37,000	16%
55	\$26,000	26%	\$12,000	12%

* A result of 2%/year × # years service subject to maximum \$60,000.

** A result of \$7500/year @ 8% net compound to age 65 plus current annuity.

Chart C
NEW RPP & RRSP CONTRIBUTION LEVELS

Year	RPP	RRSP
'87	\$ 7,000	\$ 7,500
'88	7,000	7,500
'89	10,500	8,500
'90	11,500	10,500
'91	12,500	11,500
'92	13,500	12,500
'93	14,500	13,500
'94	15,500	14,500
'95	indexation	15,500

If an employee is participating in a Defined Benefit Pension Plan, then there is a specific limit to what he or she may in fact withdraw in the form of a pension (based upon a pension formula that is a multiple of the years of service and earned income of the employee). Let's suppose that for every year of service an employee retired with 2% of his final average income. Thus, if he served for

35 years at 2%, he would retire with a pension equal to 70% of salary.

However, what many people are not aware of is that the 70% of final average earnings is subject to a *limit* in the Defined Benefit Plan of \$60,000 per year of allowable pension which a company may pay to an individual from the Defined Benefit Pension Plan.

This comes as a shock to most people, not early in life when they are not interested in pensions, but later in life when they are.

It is critical though, if a person wishes to build a retirement nest egg with a Defined Contribution Plan such as an RRSP, that not only are "available years" important but also the three key factors of *shelter*, *time* and *compound interest* are required for the Plan to become effective and amount to a meaningful sum at retirement.

Namely, it requires that the money have time to compound for the benefit of the future retiree on a tax sheltered basis, for as you can see from Chart A, interest at very conservative rates, when *not taxed* on a compounding basis, will obviously provide a substantially greater sum of funds than interest that is taxed.

The participant in a Defined Benefit Pension Plan, however, does not have to worry about compound interest rates but rather requires a significant amount of time because his pension will be based upon years of service, i.e. time with an organization which is just as important to a Defined Benefit Plan as is compound interest to the Defined Contribution Plan.

Now let's look at the results for three different people in both Defined Benefit and Defined Contribution pensions and see who is better off in which vehicles, assuming their incomes increase at 5% per year from now to age 65.

As you can see from Chart B, the 35 year old is better off in an RRSP (Defined Contribution Plan) even allowing for conservative rates of interest earned in the Plan even with level contributions of \$7500/year, while the others with less *time* within which to allow money to compound are better off to capitalize on the years of service with their company and participate in the Defined Benefit Plan, the maximum of \$60,000 notwithstanding. The 45-year-old, because of his earnings level and years of service, will receive a \$60,000 pension which could only be exceeded by an RRSP with maximum contributions as per Chart C for 20 years, assuming at least 8% per annum net compound interest. This could produce, at 65, a pension of \$70,000 per year.

While the 55-year-old is limited in both plans by lack of time, less years of service help to provide a bigger pension at 65 in the Defined Benefit Plan.

Since the current contribution limits are now set as per Chart C, the resultant pension figures as per Chart B are both a product of time and/or service plus, in the case of RRSPs, compound interest and annuity rates.

The key point is that with a Defined Benefit Plan which may or may not include indexation, the ultimate pension, although

limited by law to a maximum of \$60,000/year, is in fact, *guaranteed*, whereas a Defined Contribution Plan (i.e. RRSPs) is *not* either guaranteed or limited to a maximum.

Bruce Etherington is the president of The Etherington Group, 522 University Avenue, Toronto M5G 1W7. Specialists in Personal and Corporate Financial and Estate Planning.

Mortgage Brokers and You

by Gwynneth M. Turner

As a real estate lawyer, I am frequently asked questions by my clients about Mortgage Brokers.

I have asked Elaine Simpson of Coulter Financial Corporation to address some of the more commonly asked questions, and I hope her answers will help better inform those readers who may be considering using the services of a Mortgage Broker.

Elaine, what exactly is the function of a mortgage broker?

A mortgage broker really has two clients, the person who is seeking to borrow money that can be secured by a mortgage, and the institution that is seeking to lend mortgage backed money. It is the mortgage broker's function to ensure both parties to the transaction are fully aware of what the other party is looking for and fully satisfied with the 'deal.' In other words, each party must be assured that all terms and conditions of the transaction meet their needs and meet with their approval. Both the lending institution and the borrower will have requirements to be met and it is the broker's job to put the right borrower with the right lender.

What does a mortgage broker do for the borrower?

We like to think we're in the business of saving people money. For example, as a broker with Coulter Financial Corporation, I deal with more than forty different lending institutions, including all Chartered Banks, Trust Companies, Life Insurance Companies and private lenders. There is a vast network of lenders out there that many people are not aware of. By being on top of the market, I can advise a borrower where the best possible deal for his or her situation is at the moment.

What is best for each borrower will vary, depending on his or her financial situation and the property being purchased or refinanced. Perhaps one person might be interested in finding a lender with a twenty (20%) percent prepayment privilege per year instead of a ten (10%) percent privilege. Another borrower might be considering putting an offer in on a house or investment

property and be looking for instant approval or pre-qualification for a mortgage. The borrower would then be free to put in what is called an unconditional offer, which is usually more attractive to a vendor than a conditional offer, with the result that the borrower could save money. That is, a vendor might be willing to let a property go at a slightly reduced price if the offer is not conditional on the purchaser taking ten days to see if he can arrange financing. Yet another borrower might be interested in a transaction that does not qualify as what could be called a 'bankable' deal; the type of transaction some financial institutions would have no interest in approving. Whatever the case, a good mortgage broker will look for the best fit between borrower and lender, keeping the interests of both parties in mind.

Are there any advantages to using a mortgage broker?

Besides the advantages described above, a mortgage broker's experience and expertise in the industry is the biggest advantage a borrower will get from using a broker. Most brokers have worked for several years in large financial institutions, giving them a good background in lending principles. By broadening their scope as brokers, they become expert at placing mortgages with numerous lenders. Another advantage is the mortgage broker's accessibility. We make ourselves available to people when they are most likely to need us, in the evenings and on weekends. For the most part, approval with a mortgage broker is only a telephone call away. Remember, we are our own 'Head Office,' and have the authority to approve an application instantly.

What types of mortgages can a mortgage broker arrange?

There is basically no mortgage that a mortgage broker cannot arrange. In addition to placing mortgages on residential properties, we can place mortgages on vacant land, investment property, commercial/industrial property, agricultural property and mobile homes. We also arrange construction or building mortgages for the person who is building or renovating. And remember, we

not only mortgage what you buy, we also mortgage what you want to sell to make it attractive to a prospective purchaser.

Are there any other financial arrangements a mortgage broker will look after?

Yes. If a client is unfamiliar with the city we can recommend financial institutions close to his home or work place. In some circumstances a broker will arrange for a consolidation loan at the same time as a mortgage, for a person who would not otherwise qualify for a mortgage. We can also arrange for lines of credit for the investor or commercial client. The commercial client may also ask us to help in setting up independent business loans. Any combination of these arrangements could be included in our 'tailor-made' packages. The broker will always make every attempt to accommodate the needs of a borrower.

What sort of fees does a mortgage broker charge a borrower?

As members of the Mortgage Broker's Association, our fees will normally reflect the complexity of the transaction, subject to the broker's discretion. The consultation is given free of charge, however, and I recommend anyone looking for a mortgage see his or her broker first. During this interview an application is completed and the information provided gives the broker an opportunity to assess the needs of the borrower and the degree of complexity of the arrangements he or she requires. At this time, the broker will advise as to what options are available, the amount of fees to be charged, and the method of payment of the fees.

But bear in mind, that at Coulter's, our recommended policy is to charge no broker's fee in cases where a borrower has been approved for identical financing at his or her own bank.

In cases where an applicant cannot confirm his income or he has declared bankruptcy or the property he wants to buy is commercial, the fee will, generally speaking, be based on a percentage of the total financing arranged, starting at 1%.

Any last comments?

Only to say that mortgage brokers like to save borrowers not only money, but the time and energy necessary to put the right package together to meet their needs. Our job is to make sure you get what you want without any last minute surprises.

I would like to thank Elaine Simpson of Coulter Financial Corporation for her contribution to this column.

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

Au moment de partir en poste

Quelques considérations concernant vos oeuvres d'art

par Delano Boily

Dans la multitude des préoccupations présentes au moment de vos préparatifs, apporter des oeuvres à l'étranger devient une question délicate.

Dès l'abord, considérez le temps passé à l'étranger d'une affectation à l'autre. Il serait dommage de vous priver de vos oeuvres précieuses, à moins d'oeuvres de grande valeur (plus de 10 000 \$ pièce) ou de celles qui ont valeur de patrimoine.

Mon expérience dans le service diplomatique m'a amené à certaines constatations : dans l'environnement fourni par le ministère, vos gravures, peintures ou sculptures, contribueront à personnaliser votre demeure, pour votre plaisir et l'édification de vos invités et de vos collègues du service diplomatique. Loin de votre environnement, elles vous restitueront vos racines et vos attaches familiales. La présence d'oeuvres, peu importe leur nombre et leur valeur, reflétera votre culture, et ce faisant, vous remplirez d'autant mieux votre rôle de représentant à l'étranger.

Mais l'expédition des oeuvres peut leur faire encourir quelques dommages. Les firmes de déménagement que le ministère recommande jouissent d'une excellente réputation. Néanmoins, certaines précautions — comme celle de superviser vous-même l'emballage de vos oeuvres — minimiseront les risques.

Assurez-vous d'abord que rien ne frôle vos toiles, sinon une surface très douce, comme du polythène. L'oeuvre, peinture, sculpture, masque ou autre, doit être très bien arrimée, à la fois à l'intérieur de sa boîte, et à l'intérieur du cadre de déménagement. Une oeuvre de grande valeur mérite un emballage adéquat. Ainsi, une caisse de bois individuelle, protégée, en cas d'accident, une oeuvre de valeur.

Expédiez, dans la mesure du possible, vos oeuvres les plus précieuses par voie aérienne. Le nombre réduit de manutentions, et les délais plus brefs de transit, diminuent les risques de bris. Dans la plupart des cas, vos objets usuels vous coûteront moins chers, rachetés sur les lieux de votre nouvelle affectation.

Une fois installées, vos oeuvres d'art seront sujettes aux mêmes soins qui doivent leur être accordés au Canada : ne pas les exposer directement aux rayons du soleil, ni aux changements de température et d'humidité

trop brusques. Les sculptures sur bois nécessitent un degré d'humidité relativement stable, et toute transition, de température ou d'humidité, doit être douce et progressive. Un contenant rempli d'eau, gardé près d'une oeuvre fragile, peut résoudre en partie les problèmes causés par un air trop sec. Une oeuvre de bois peut être entourée, pour faciliter la transition, de linges humides, disposés à quelque distance de l'oeuvre. Cette opération, étendue sur deux ou trois semaines, permettra à l'oeuvre de s'ajuster aux conditions de son nouvel environnement. La même opération, mais cette fois-ci avec des linges secs, peut vous aider à faire cette transition dans un climat très humide.

Notez que ce sont les changements brusques de température ou d'humidité — et non la chaleur en soi — qui endommagent les oeuvres fragiles et les font craqueler. Ce problème surgira d'ailleurs à votre retour au Canada, surtout l'hiver, dans des maisons surchauffées. Ces quelques remarques concernent également vos meubles de bois.

Enfin, le vol constitue un souci pour plus d'un propriétaire d'oeuvres d'art. Cependant, ce facteur constitue, à l'étranger, un risque moindre qu'au Canada : le marché de l'art — pour l'art canadien certainement! — y est en général plus restreint. Par ailleurs, le voleur moyen s'en prendra plus volontiers à vos bijoux, vos stéréos, vos disques, votre alcool, qu'à vos tableaux ou vos sculptures. Seuls les réseaux spécialisés, plus présents dans certains pays, pourraient présenter une menace pour vos oeuvres de grande valeur. À cet égard, rappelons que plus de la moitié des vols d'oeuvres d'art rapportés à Interpol, ont été perpétrés en France et en Italie.

À votre retour, supervisez de très près l'emballage de vos oeuvres. Pour les sculptures, rappelez-vous, si vous revenez d'un pays en développement, que le bran de scie constitue un excellent matériau d'emballage.

Pour des conseils supplémentaires, n'hésitez pas à nous appeler au 776-4030. Nous sommes aussi en mesure d'évaluer pour fins d'assurance vos oeuvres d'art, ou de vous guider dans l'achat d'oeuvres supplémentaires.

Delano Boily est président directeur général de la Société Interart Inc. (c.f. annonce publicitaire page 5).

par Christine Manseau

Cette chronique vise à informer les membres de l'APASE des décisions et événements d'importance pour le service extérieur. Elle sert aussi à propager les résultats obtenus par l'APASE dans ses représentations des intérêts de ses membres et à démontrer qu'il est possible d'obtenir gain de cause en y mettant de la persistance et de la détermination.

JOINT OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH COMMITTEES

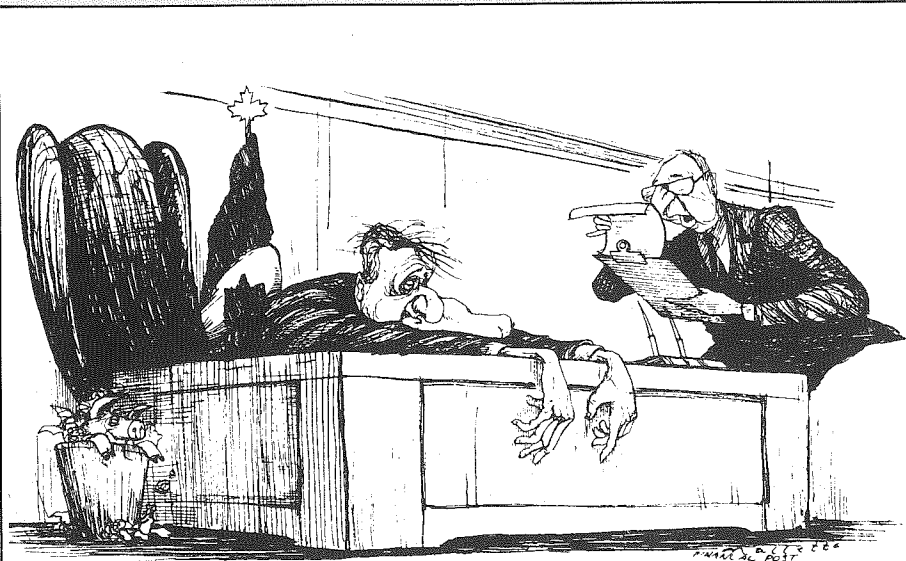
The Canada Labour Code Part IV, governing the safety and health of employees at work, now applies to all Federal undertakings, including the Department of External Affairs and all of its missions abroad. A joint Safety and Occupational Health Committee has been in existence for some time now in the Department of External Affairs under the chairmanship of D. Woods. PAFSO's representative on this Committee is Paul Bennett.

This Committee, however, does not have jurisdiction as to matters related to occupational safety and health at missions abroad. These have to be discussed in joint committees established in every mission. The establishment of such committees is a legal requirement, and they have mushroomed all over the world in the last few months. PAFSO receives copies of the minutes of all meetings held by these committees. It notes, however, that it is not represented on all. A safe and healthy work environment constitutes the essence of the quality of the work produced.

LE GRIEF DE LA FILIÈRE DE L'AIDE AU DÉVELOPPEMENT

En novembre 1985, Marc Gagnon, agent du service extérieur en détachement auprès de l'ACDI, réclamait du ministère des Affaires extérieures copie de sa fiche de paye pour fins de vérification de routine. Il constata alors qu'il était fort probable qu'il n'ait pas reçu l'augmentation au rendement à laquelle il était en droit au 1^{er} avril 1983 en vertu de l'article 8.04 de la convention collective.

M. Gagnon s'empresse donc d'une part d'informer l'APASE de cette constatation et,



'Good news, boss! We found out what happened to the 20% lead you held in public support way back in '84. Brace yourself, chief — you gave them all public postings abroad.'

d'autre part, d'obtenir confirmation ou infirmation de ce fait auprès de sa gestion de filière. En mars 1986, M. Gagnon reçut confirmation écrite que, de l'avis du ministère, il n'était pas éligible à la prime au rendement en avril 1983 et en avait été informé par le ministère à cette époque. Après vérification auprès de collègues de l'ACDI ayant été impliqués dans l'exercice ayant présidé au transfert des fonctions de la filière de l'aide au développement de l'ACDI aux Affaires extérieures, M. Gagnon put établir que cette question n'avait fait l'objet d'aucune discussion à l'époque. Il rapporta alors à l'APASE l'essence de ces révélations.

L'APASE étant d'avis en raison de la jurisprudence établie par le cas Robertson (bout de papier, n° 3 Vol 4) qu'en autant que le rendement d'un employé a été jugé au cours de l'année précédente, celui-ci est en droit de recevoir la prime au rendement au niveau (pourcentage) approprié, le secrétariat de l'association s'empresse d'aviser tous ses membres concernés de leur droit de poser un grief réclamant que la prime à laquelle ils avaient droit au 1^{er} avril 1983 leur soit versée. Vingt-sept de ceux qui avaient été nommés à des postes d'agent du service extérieur de janvier à mai 1983 posèrent alors un grief.

Le ministère ayant déclaré au président de l'APASE d'alors qu'à son avis aucun des employés concernés ne s'était vu privé des augmentations salariales auxquelles ils étaient en droit, le directeur exécutif rencontra en mai 1986 le directeur adjoint aux

relations de travail ainsi que le responsable du recrutement et des promotions accompagnée de R. Chaffers, l'un des employés ayant posé un grief. Il fut alors possible d'établir que chaque employé pour lequel cette nomination constituait une promotion s'était vu attribué une augmentation reliée à sa promotion en vertu de l'article 8.06 de la convention collective à compter de la date de sa nomination. Chacun de ces employés s'était aussi vu octroyé en date du 1^{er} avril 1983 une augmentation salariale de 6 % en vertu de l'article 8.03 de la convention collective. Le ministère n'était toutefois pas en mesure d'expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles la prime au rendement n'avait pu être octroyée conformément à l'article 8.04 autrement qu'en invoquant sa position initiale à savoir que les employés en question n'y étaient pas éligibles, n'étant pas détenteurs d'une appréciation de rendement d'agent du service extérieur.

Cette explication ne put être jugée satisfaisante, la majorité des employés concernés ayant effectué des fonctions identiques ou similaires durant les périodes précédant et suivant leur nomination à un poste d'agent du service extérieur. L'APASE demanda à ce que les griefs fussent entendus au dernier palier de la procédure des griefs. Les griefs furent rejetés sans audition par le ministère, son représentant étant d'avis que ceux-ci n'avaient pas été soumis dans les délais prescrits. La réponse au grief ajoutait de plus que compte tenu du fait que les nominations des employés concernés aux postes d'agent

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du service extérieur avaient été rétroactives, ceux-ci avaient bénéficié d'augmentations salariales plus substantielles et de la possibilité d'être promus plus rapidement, les quatre rapports d'appréciation requis au préalable pouvant être versés au dossier en date de juillet 86 plutôt que juillet 87.

Le Comité exécutif de l'APASE, saisi de ce dossier, demanda à ce que le rejet du grief sur des questions de délais soit référé devant une tierce partie. L'affaire fut entendue le 2 décembre 1986 et il fut démontré lors de l'audition qu'il n'aurait pas été possible aux employés concernés d'établir s'ils avaient ou non reçu la prime au rendement en avril 1983 avant que ce fait ne soit porté à leur attention par leur collègue Marc Gagnon par l'entremise de l'APASE en mars 1986. L'arbitre déclara dans sa décision datée du 12 janvier 1987, que les employés avaient droit de formuler un grief à ce sujet et le cas échéant, d'opter pour un renvoi à l'arbitrage, tout grief devant être posé avant le 30 janvier 1987.

L'APASE s'empressa alors de communiquer par dépêche avec chacun des employés concernés pour les aviser de leur droit de poser un grief relativement au fait qu'ils n'avaient pas reçu la prime au rendement en avril 1983. Vingt-cinq des employés concernés répondirent à l'appel. Après avoir insisté pour que chacun de ces griefs soient entendus au premier palier de la procédure de grief, le ministère finit par accéder à la requête de l'APASE et entendit tous les griefs dans une audition commune au dernier palier de la procédure des griefs le 10 avril 1987. Les faits du grief furent représentés par M. Gagnon, J. Lobsinger et C. Manseau. La réponse aux griefs au dernier palier datée du 25 mai 1987 rejetait ceux-ci pour les mêmes raisons que celles invoquées dans la réponse au grief initial.

Saisi de cette décision, le Comité exécutif de l'APASE demanda à ce que le grief soit renvoyé en arbitrage devant la Commission des relations de travail dans la fonction publique. L'affaire fut entendue les 18 et 19 juin 1987. Il y fut démontré que les employés concernés détenaient tous une appréciation de rendement pour la période en question et qu'une fois leur rendement évalué, ceux-ci étaient en droit de recevoir la prime au rendement au niveau approprié. L'arbitre déclara dans sa décision datée du 11 août 1987 que l'employé était en droit à une prime au rendement en date du 1^{er} avril 1983 et maintint le grief.

Il nous faut préciser ici que bien que la décision ne traitât que d'un seul grief, le ministère accéda de bonne grâce à la requête de l'APASE et accepta de verser à tous les employés concernés — qu'ils aient ou non posé un grief — la prime au rendement en date du 1^{er} avril 1983 et tous les autres

ajustements salariaux y afférant sous les directives. Les paiements relatifs à cette décision devaient être effectués par le ministère d'ici février 1988.

PERFORMANCE PAY GRIEVANCE

On March 31, 1987 Len Mader, the then PAFSO President, wrote J.S. Roy, the then Assistant Deputy Minister, Personnel, at External Affairs stating that "the PAFSO collective agreement (clause 8.04) calls for increases in an employee's rate of pay, based on assessed performance, to be paid effective April 1st of each year. This wording was proposed by our Association to ensure that performance pay, which is earned for past performance, is paid on April 1, 1987 regardless of the status of the collective agreement." Mr. Mader then met with the ADM Personnel to discuss the application of the collective agreement in this matter pending the outcome of the current contract negotiations.

On May 29, 1987 Mr. Roy stated the Department's position as follows: "Article 8.04 of the Collective Agreement stipulates that performance pay is to be awarded 'subsequent to application of clause 8.03.' This latter clause does not cover the rate of pay increase to become effective April 1, 1987, and therefore cannot be implemented before the new Collective Agreement is signed. Our request had therefore been denied in a way we believed contrary to the collective agreement.

On June 17, the PAFSO Executive Committee filed the following grievance on behalf of all of the PAFSO membership: "We the undersigned are aggrieved by the fact our Employer had not awarded us and our deserving FS colleagues the performance pay owed us pursuant to Article 8.04 of our collective agreement as of April 1, 1987." The collective action requested was that performance pay be paid as of April 1, 1987.

The grievance was heard at the final level of the grievance procedure on June 25, 1987. L. Mader and C. Manseau, the Executive Director, made representations on behalf of the Association. In its final response, the Departmental representative reiterated the argument put forward by Mr. Roy in his letter dated May 29. The grievance was referred to adjudication before the Public Service Staff Relations board on July 9, 1987. The hearing was held on October 6, 1987. The concluding paragraphs of the adjudicator's decision read as follows:

"Career progress does not go into limbo upon the expiration of a collective agreement.

In those cases where specific salary steps are set out within each rank, employees continue to progress from step to step. Any adjustments resulting from the coming into effect of a new collective agreement are usually made retroactively when that new agreement comes into effect. In the present case, the salary steps within each rank are not fixed and the rate at which an employee progresses is determined by his performance, but the principle is the same.

Finally there is the evolution of Article 8.04. The opening words read: 'Effective April 1st of each year, commencing April 1st 1985....' If the parties had intended that performance increases would be granted only for those years covered by the collective agreement they would have specified, as was done when their previous agreement was extended, that such increases were to be granted on 1 April 1985 and 1 April 1986. The present wording leads me to believe that the parties intended to adopt the regime of performance increases as a permanent and ongoing part of the employment relationship and I so find.

In view of the above, I find that section 51 of the PSSRA obliges the employer to grant performance increases with effect from 1 April 1987. It is irrelevant that the parties have not yet agreed upon a rate of economic increase. The increase is to be calculated in the manner set out in Article 8.04 on the basis of the salary actually paid on 1 April 1987; that is, on the assumption of an economic increase of zero. The adjustments resulting from the conclusion of a collective agreement between the parties are to be applied retroactively if so provided in the collective agreement.

The grievance is, accordingly, sustained and the corrective action requested by the grievor in respect of himself is granted."

The Department had agreed such a decision would apply to all foreign service officers. On October 30, 1987 PAFSO's Executive Director wrote the Department pointing out that, had performance pay increases been paid to officers at posts abroad on April 1, 1987, allowances they were receiving pursuant to the Foreign Service Directives would have been adjusted accordingly. She therefore requested that such adjustments be calculated and that allowances be increased retroactively for all Foreign Service Officers at posts abroad from April 1, 1987 and thereafter.

The Department has consented to her request and payments shall be effected sometime in February of 1988.

Christine Manseau est le directeur exécutif de l'APASE.

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Commuting in Ottawa

by Terry Jones

Have you noticed that all passengers look in the same direction at the bus stop?

*Waiting
they stare fixedly
necks craning over those in front
over heads swathed in scarves, toques, hoods
here and there the occasional fur hat
whisper of affluence
among bureaucrats.*

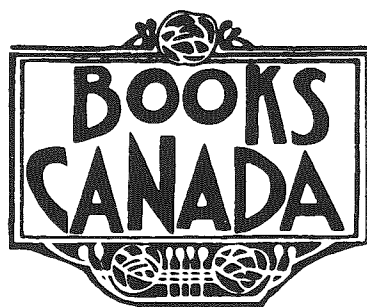


*Has a number 12 gone by? you mouth blasts of white breath
which settle in pin points of ice on those frozen about you.
Heads shake numbly
eyes never leaving the bus' arrival path.*

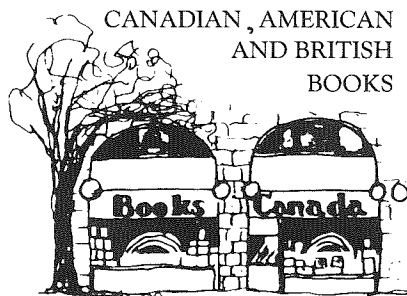
*Huddling under the lee of a large lady
you join the quiver of hopefuls
waiting in growing blueish vein
for the expected express
warm and brightly lit
to carry you far from this icy band
now rimmed with a thin veil of snow
borne by shivers of arctic air
stinging noses that shine forth from scarved faces,
biting ears that flap from toqued heads.*

*"My it's cold" you mutter
seeking to warm those about you in convivial misery.
No reply.
But the blast-blocking large lady turns slightly towards you
in mutant assent
allowing eddies of raw, white wind
to freeze your nostrils, blocking your breathing.*

*As you sneeze and gasp in self pity
one more deserving of sympathy arrives;
eyes watering with cold, nose red from blowing
a foreigner obviously by his once rakish derby*



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*(now pulled low about chapped ears)
elegant blue serge coat
well chosen for a January in Windsor
but shatteringly inadequate
before the blast of an Ottawa winter.*

*Wheeze of anticipation stirs frost-bitten ranks
as warmth of bus lights dance through veils of blowing snow,
only to die of frost bite as first one, then two 62's pass in quick succession*

*lowly milk-run routes!
"I do believe they do it deliberately," says a peevish man's voice
issuing out of a vermillion toque
separated from a "Maple Leafs" scarf only by a
vermillion nose.*

*"F... 'em all," rumbles a dark duffle coat
which heart-felt observation shocks the freezing
into a silence as icy as the night's air.
Now not even persistent sniffles of noses crying in the cold
break the frigid atmosphere;
not even whine of tires
spinning uselessly in snow
brings accustomed camaraderie.
Quietly goose bumps jostle each other for warmth.
Bleak despaire descends
as bone biting as polar air.*

*Suddenly shifting snow is lighted
white and airy, as wreaths of ice shine in approaching lights.
Express? No.
Another 62.
Who cares.*

*Blowing and stamping desperate passengers shiver their way aboard
led by vermillion toque and large lady.
Unprotected from Siberian blasts
you have no choice but to succumb
even to a 62!
All board
all that is
save dark duffle coat that rumbles ominously as we leave.*

*"I can't understand him," comments the fur hat,
"I know it's not an express..."
"And it won't take us where we want to go,"
interrupts the man from Windsor
ruefully looking at his misshapened derby —
misshapen ever since he pulled it over his ears —
"But at least we're warm..." the fur continues gamely,
"I'm even beginning to thaw out."
A momentary discomfort crosses her face, as warming toes register their presence.*

*Silence descends
as pangs of thawing continue
a thoughtful silence
while passengers contemplate walking
when the bus drops them
far from home.
No one says a word.
But the Windsorite eloquently pulls his Derby
around his ears.
Ah. The joys of commuting in an Ottawa winter!*

Terry Jones has served in Sydney, Port of Spain and Accra and Copenhagen. He is currently Deputy Director, South America Relations Division.



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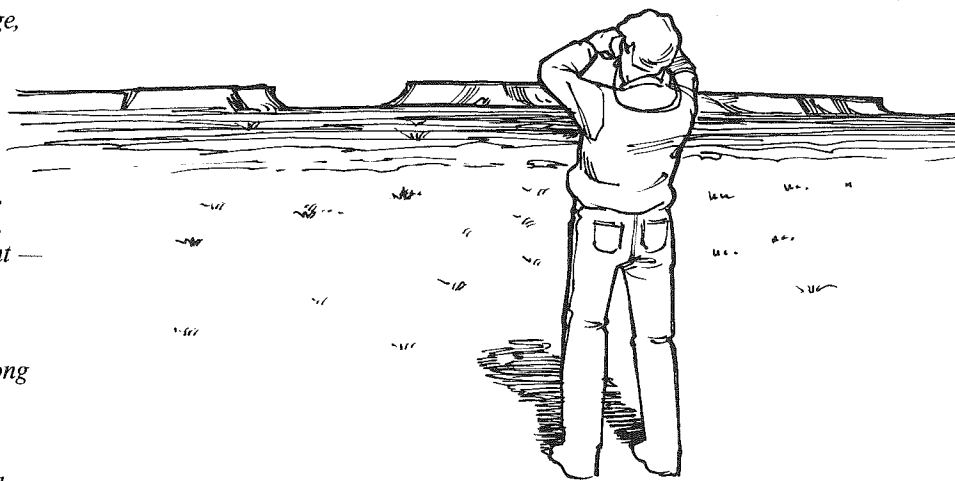
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Mesa: To "Genarians"

by Jim Nutt

*I bethought me on account of all of us:
Three score and some may be late middle age,
But "over the hill" it definitely is not!
Even the hill that is legally prescribed,
At an arbitrary age of three score and five,
Is only a hill like a mesa is —
A vantage expanse of tableland —
Where far and away a new world is at hand,
To be taken in stride at one's very own pace,
Where adventure beckons from many a point —
Ahead that is, but not behind —
Where vision is needed and wisdom too,
Where life is revealed in a singular way,
Where experience flowers and one does belong
To a resourceful company of eldersmen,
The value of which, by some flawed irony,
In our western and youth oriented society,
Is not fully appraised for the potential it holds
For the wealth and the worth of our nation.
So being sexa- or septua-, indeed octo-genarian,
Is a positively worthy and challenging estate!*



*Jim Nutt, is a member of **bout de papier's** Senior Editorial Board. He served in Rio de Janeiro, Geneva, Washington, as Consul General in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles and as Commissioner to Bermuda.*

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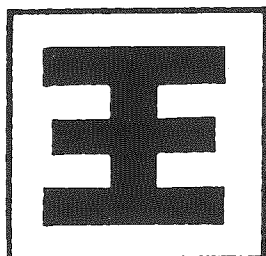
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A Life in Peace and War by Brian Urquhart, Harper & Row, New York, 1987, 379 pp., \$U.S. 25.00.

Reviewed by William H. Barton

For those Canadians who have been involved in the affairs and activities of the United Nations at any time, from its beginnings in 1945 until 1986, the name of Brian Urquhart has been known and respected as a model of what an international public servant should be. His great ability, his dedication to the organization he served for so many years, his integrity and his courage, have won him the respect and admiration of all who know him, regardless of nationality or political stripe. Fortunately, he also has a talent for writing, as those who have read his book on Hammarskjöld can testify. In this book he has given us as a legacy an account of what went on at the UN during those event-filled forty years. It is not only invaluable as an historical document, but also makes for stimulating reading.

It is particularly appropriate that Urquhart's autobiography should be published at this moment in the history of the United Nations. The story he tells is eloquent in its detailed but engrossing account of the great many accomplishments over the past forty-odd years to which the Organization can lay claim. It is equally eloquent in pointing out the obstacles and failures resulting from the limitations of governments and individuals, and the legacy of racial, political and religious prejudices which continue to complicate the search for peace.

The book also illustrates with clarity and perception the fact that, when governments are prepared to allow it to do so, the United Nations can make an invaluable contribution towards solving — or at least bettering — some of the terrible problems that beset mankind and are beyond the capacity of Governments acting individually and unilaterally to cope with on their own. Almost incidentally, it testifies to the pivotal role that the author played, particularly in the last ten years, in holding the secretariat together at a time of indifferent leadership.

The book opens with an account of the author's early life, which, although essentially a preamble to the story of his service with the UN, makes interesting reading on its own account. His father was a scion of a distinguished Scottish family, completely self-centered, with unfulfilled ambition to be a great painter. He left them when Brian was still young, and his mother, who came from Dorset, took the family to her native heath.

In the straitened circumstances of his family he was fortunate to win an entrance scholarship as a King's Scholar at



Westminster School. From Westminster, Urquhart went to Oxford in 1937 on a scholarship, but left university to enlist in the army in September, 1939. He was commissioned in the Dorset Regiment, and after two years of life in the infantry was assigned as intelligence officer to the Airborne Division. It was in that assignment that his strength of character, which was to show itself repeatedly in future years, was first put to the test.

In August of 1944, planning began on the disastrous airborne operation aimed at capturing the bridges across the Rhine at Arnhem and Nijmegen. As the time for launching the operation grew closer, Urquhart's unease grew stronger. The tension created by his efforts to convince his superiors that his concerns were justified, together with the heavy pressure of getting ready for the operation, undermined his health, and two days before the battle was to begin he was ordered to go on sick leave. A few days later, when the extent of the disaster had become obvious, he was recalled to duty and sent to the Airborne Corps headquarters in Nijmegen. But by then all that was left to do was to extricate themselves from an untenable situation.

In the circumstances Urquhart found that his position had become an embarrassment. "There is nothing like proving to be right for making a person unpopular." By mutual agreement with his Corps Commander he was transferred to a strategic and technical intelligence unit which had the task of securing and investigating "targets" as they were liberated by the advancing Allied forces.

At war's end, when it looked as if he might be stuck in the occupation army for an indefinite period, Professor Arnold Toynbee, who headed the Foreign Office Research Department at the time, intervened to ask for his services. Urquhart was demobilized forthwith. After a few weeks with the Foreign

Office, he was recruited as private secretary to Gladwin Jebb, who had been appointed as Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. His career with the United Nations had begun.

In the next two hundred pages Urquhart walks us through forty years of front-page events as seen by one who was actively involved in most of them. His education in the amoral manoeuvrings of the Great Powers began at the first session of the General Assembly, when the Americans changed signals unbeknownst to many of their friends and switched support from Trygve Lie to Paul-Henri Spaak for election as the first President. Almost by default Lie was then selected to be the first Secretary-General.

Urquhart was transferred to Lie's staff as one of his personal assistants. He didn't find it an easy assignment:

"I felt sorry for Lie. He had had an honorable career in Norway as a labor leader...and had gone into exile in England as foreign minister...He was credited with having ordered ships of the Norwegian Merchant Marine at sea in 1940 to report to British ports. But as Secretary-General of the new world organization he was out of his depth... He was a naturally suspicious man with a hair-trigger temper...jealous of his position and at the same time nervous of it."

Although Urquhart was acutely conscious of the political dimensions of the UN, in particular the Security Council and General Assembly, his primary concern was with the efforts of the secretariat to fulfil its responsibilities. The role of the Secretary-General in determining what this should be is decisive, and, not surprisingly, the account which follows tends to divide itself into the terms of office of the four leaders under whom he served.

Reproduced by permission Toronto Globe and Mail

The opening chapters of the UN story cover the Lie years, from 1945 to 1952. They include the decision to set up the Headquarters in New York; the creation of Israel, the assassination of Bernadotte and the Arab-Israeli war; the Korean war and the problems it created for Lie in dealing with the Russians; McCarthyism and the secretariat; the unexpected decision of Lie to resign in 1952, and the election of Hammarskjöld as his replacement.

The Security Council thought that in nominating Hammarskjöld they were selecting a cautious, safe and non-political technocrat who would avoid controversial political actions.

"In this belief the distinguished permanent members of the Security Council were delightfully mistaken, for Hammarskjöld was an exceptional man with a strong and independent sense of mission... [His] election gave the United Nations eight years of dynamic, and often visionary leadership."

The chapters dealing with the Hammarskjöld period are particularly interesting because they cover Suez and the opening phase of the U.N.'s involvement in the Congo, in which Urquhart was personally involved, at great risk to himself, as resident representative in Katanga.

Hammarskjöld was killed in 1961. But if he had lived he would have had great difficulty in coping with the virulent opposition of the USSR and the dissatisfaction of the French. In 1960 Khrushchev had advocated that the Secretary-General be replaced by a troika, and when U Thant was chosen as the new Secretary-General, his initial appointment was on an acting basis for one year. During his term in office he faced the problems of bringing the war in the Congo to a conclusion and of the 1967 war in the Middle East, which resulted in the end of the first United Nations Emergency Force.

Canadians will find the account of the circumstances which led to the decision to withdraw UNEF particularly interesting. The Canadian Government was highly critical of U Thant's decision to acquiesce in the demand of Nasser that the Force be removed from Egypt without consulting the Security Council or the General Assembly. But as Urquhart (and presumably also U Thant and Bunche) saw it, to attempt to resort to the General Assembly would be a futile gesture, since a large number of governments supported the Egyptian position. As for resort to the Security Council, this would have been impractical because UNEF was a creature of the General Assembly, and agreement in the Council on what should be done would be impossible to obtain.

"There was one way U Thant could

have escaped [the responsibility for the decision to evacuate the force.] This was for the Secretary-General to summon the Security Council under Article 99 of the Charter to consider the situation as a threat to international peace and security. U Thant knew that if he did this, the Council's proceedings would decline into an undignified brawl along East-West lines, as indeed it did later when the Council met at the request of Denmark and Canada. He declined to take this way out. In retrospect I for one greatly regret U Thant's refusal to pass the buck, and I wish we had pressed him harder to do so."

In the circumstances Bunche and Urquhart decided that the best course of action was to take the maximum time possible to make withdrawal arrangements, to give time to try and talk Nasser around. However, their strategy was undermined by what in their view was the unrealistic positions being taken by Western governments.

"The Egyptian government was deeply provoked by an announcement from

The story he tells is eloquent in its detailed but engrossing account of the great many accomplishments over the past forty-odd years to which the Organization can lay claim.

Ottawa that two Canadian warships were being moved to the Mediterranean and by bellicose Canadian statements insisting on UNEF's right to stay in Egypt as if it was an occupation force. When Egypt riposted by declaring that, because of these statements, it could no longer assure the safety of Canadian soldiers in UNEF and demanded their withdrawal, the Canadian contingent was withdrawn in forty-eight hours, leaving UNEF with no logistic units or aircraft."

It is interesting to compare Urquhart's view of events with the recollections of Paul Martin in his memoirs. As a convinced supporter of the concept of the United Nations, he believed strongly that the General Assembly, or failing that, the Security Council, should have been convened and faced with the responsibility for dealing with the matter. So far as the Canadians were concerned the warships were to facilitate the evacuation of the Canadian troops if that should prove necessary, and Canadian diplomacy was being exerted to curb the initiatives of some of our more bellicose

friends. It just goes to prove the truth of the old adage that the game looks different depending on where you sit in the grandstand.

Urquhart's assessment is that these events, and the war that followed, dealt the UN a crushing blow, and caused irreparable psychological damage to U Thant and Bunche.

"The United Nations had been shown to be divided and ineffective...The fact that the real cause of the war was the unresolved and bitter conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors could be safely ignored in favor of an identifiable scapegoat. In the interminable meetings of the Security Council during and after the war, the futility and frequent pettiness of a divided membership made a mockery of the Charter's primary aim of maintaining international peace."

Could the war have been prevented? Urquhart believes that Nasser was convinced that he could defeat Israel and was determined to fight. If U Thant had convened the Security Council at the outset, the result would have been the same, "but the scapegoat would have escaped."

In December of 1971, U Thant was succeeded by Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General.

"Waldheim, it has now become clear, lied for nearly forty years about his war record, presumably believing that the truth would stand in the way of his relentless pursuit of public positions and office...The Waldheim episode is above all an indictment of the way in which governments, and especially the great powers, select the world's leading international civil servant. Although good men have been elected, looking for the person with the qualities best suited to this infinitely demanding and important job seems to hold a very low priority for governments. Rather, political differences dictate a search for a candidate who will not exert any troubling degree of leadership, commitment, originality, or independence."

Urquhart comments that most of the pages dealing with this period were written before the hue and cry about Waldheim's war record, but he didn't change them. He gives him credit for being conscientious, hard-working and ready to accept ideas and suggestions. He was never too tired or too indifferent to undertake an awkward journey or make a difficult telephone call. But he was a ditherer, hating to come down on one side or the other when dealing with a contentious issue.

During Waldheim's term in office the UN was involved in the October, 1973, war in

the Middle East, which led to the re-establishment of UNEF and the creation of the force on the Golan Heights, the renewal of hostilities in Cyprus, the Lebanon crisis of 1978, and the efforts to obtain independence for Namibia.

"Waldheim's travel program for 1981 left no doubt that he was hell-bent on running for a third term...I continued to deal with Waldheim Mark II, the dedicated, far-seeing public servant and statesman, while my colleagues fretted under Waldheim Mark I, the scheming and obsessively ambitious bureaucrat."

But all the Secretary-General's efforts were for naught. When the Security Council failed to reach agreement on the two main candidates, by a process of informal straw polls Javier Perez de Cuellar was selected.

"I had known Perez de Cuellar well for many years...He was well-qualified by experience and ability — a quiet, highly intelligent and civilized man with a wide knowledge of the job he was undertaking. Whether he was too civilized, or too lacking in ego or cutting edge, remained to be seen. The fact was that out of an apparently hopeless situation a reasonable and qualified Secretary-General had emerged."

The closing chapters of the book touch on the Falkland Islands war, Namibia, the situation in the Middle East, and the financial crisis in the UN, which he correctly identifies as being more properly a political crisis, involving all governments, but especially the major powers. The behaviour of the Soviet Union had almost never been supportive of the efforts of the Secretariat in fulfilling its peacemaking function, but now the Western governments seemed also to have gone off on a unilateralist path. His description of the Thatcher approach is worth quoting:

"At first glance Mrs. Thatcher seemed to combine the characteristics of La Pasionaria, the girls of St. Trinians, and Mrs. Miniver. She seemed to believe that the United Nations was, or should be, primarily the instrument for asserting Western values to the world."

His description of President Reagan's speech at the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly is equally pungent:

"His speech was evidently designed to score points at home off the Soviet Union before the upcoming Geneva Summit. He scarcely mentioned the United Nations except to praise the 1950 Korean War and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and his list of regional conflicts which should be discussed with the Soviet Union omitted the Middle East...At the conclusion of this performance the

main body of the United States Delegation left the hall, leaving only junior officials to listen to Mrs. Thatcher, Rajiv Ghandi, and the Prime Minister of China. Both statesmanship and good manners took a considerable beating... The United Nations fortieth anniversary celebration, if it did nothing else, dramatically highlighted the need for new international leadership."

My personal association and friendship with Brian Urquhart go back to 1955, when we were both involved in the creation of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Over the years since that time until I retired in 1980, I had the opportunity, as a

member of the Canadian Delegation and the Canadian Mission, to work with him on many of the issues described in his book. It was therefore a source of great satisfaction to me that in 1987 Brian was appointed to the Board of Directors of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security.

William H. Barton, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, served as Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the U.N. Office in Geneva from 1972 to 1976 and as Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York from 1976 to 1980.

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Tug of War by W. Denis Whitaker and Shelagh Whitaker, Byron Farwell, Stoddart, Toronto, 1984, 461 pp.

Reviewed by Bill Dymond

Tug of War is the story of the campaign fought by the Canadian Army in September-October, 1944 in northern Belgium and the south-west corner of Holland. The virtue of the book is the reminder that the war in Europe after the Normandy invasion was not a glorious romp to Berlin, but often, a tough, grinding, bloody fight; regrettably, the book is also an exemplary product of the whining school of military history.

In August 1944, the Canadian, U.S. and British armies raced across France and Belgium, believing that the enemy would crack by Christmas. But the Allies had no major port in their possession. Antwerp, the city, had fallen in early September, but Antwerp, the port, was unusable until the heavily fortified Scheldt river approaches stretching 85 kilometres from the North Sea were cleared. All supplies had to be shipped by truck from Normandy. If the Germans held, the Allied armies would run out of food, fuel and ammunition.

The Germans stopped the British at Arnhem in mid-September. The task of opening the route to Antwerp was assigned to the Canadian army.

The campaign was the antithesis of a glorious romp. On either side of the Scheldt, there was no cover for the infantry and armour advancing over the waterlogged farmland and the bombed out villages. The battle was slow and murderous, the German troops brave and resourceful, the losses to the Canadians crippling. It took two months to open Antwerp to Allied supply ships.

Denis Whitaker was commander of the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry in the campaign. His otherwise admirable account of the campaign is cluttered with bitter criticism of the strategy and tactics of the high command. Why was the importance of the Antwerp approaches not recognized from the outset? Why were insufficient and inadequately trained replacements not provided to replace the severe casualties suffered in the Normandy campaign? Why did Canadian politicians ignore and then conceal the truth?

All this is in some measure true. But war is not a precise business. The ultimate stupidity is to make war in the first place. Avoiding casualties is a good reason to stay out of war, but a poor way to fight. The major strategic error was to believe that the enemy was beaten. Once the Germans stopped retreating, there was nothing for it but to fight it

out. That's what the Canadians did. All honour to them.

* * *

Tug of War rekindles fond memories of the Liberation March in Belgium held annually on November 1st to commemorate the campaign. The march is a thirty-three kilometre trek across the dykes and country roads of the battlefield from the Dutch village of Hoofdplaat to Knokke, a resort town on the Northern Belgian coast an hour's drive from Brussels.

The March forms up in the central square of Hoofdplaat near beaches assaulted by the North Nova Scotia Battalion on October 9, 1944. A platoon of Royal Canadian Engineers from Lahr takes the lead, followed by a collection of young and old, Belgians and Canadians, bicycle clubs, and fraternal associations. Across the cobbled pavements to the haunting wailing of the bagpipes and steady beat of drums, the marchers — 2,000 strong — begin their journey.

I am accompanied by Barry Mawhinney late of the Queen's Own and his trusty walking stick. Si Taylor, then Ambassador to NATO and his family join the march.

The first stage is a fifteen-kilometre hike to Oostburg, a village captured by the Queen's Own on October 26, 1944. Barry and I reconnoitre loud bursts of applause coming from the City Hall, find the soldiers, the Oostburg Mayor and Town Council and Willy Parker, late of the Signals, Ambassador Tait's chauffeur — the honoured Canadian guest for that year. Barry loudly announces that we are the Canadian diplomatic representatives and would be obliged for a glass of schnapps. The speeches over, the Mayor beaming, Willy beaming, the Town Council beaming, Barry and I beaming, we are led to a fine lunch in the local eatery.

Throughout the afternoon, Barry, the walking stick and I keep step with the soldiers at the regulation fifty-five paces to the minute. The schnapps, and wine at lunch, and a bottle of rum passed from hand to eager hand make the following 10 kilometres slide hazily by. At the next halt, an old farmhouse, there are deep tracks in the stone pavement left by two Canadian tanks who shelled German positions until knocked out. The farmer produces two dozen shell casings for our inspection, and schnapps for our consumption; thus fortified we push on five kilometres to the village of Retrenchment.

Joined by the piper and drummers and the town band of Knokke, three more kilometres see us into the outskirts of the Knokke. It is like Liberation day. Barry, the walking stick and I wave to the townsfolk cheering us from their windows and bal-

conies in the bright autumn sunlight. Fine speeches in English, French and Dutch in the Knokke central square conclude a tiring but worthwhile day.

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

Monty the Field Marshal, 1944-1976 by Nigel Hamilton, Penguin Books Canada Limited, approx. 800 pp. \$35.00.

Reviewed by Richard Fadden

Hamilton's third volume — *Monty the Field Marshal 1944-1976* — is long (almost 1000 pages) and often filled with detail that could easily have been omitted. From the mass of data it is nonetheless possible to

*Montgomery is a flawed man
who never really fully
developed. As a professional
soldier, Montgomery is the
equal of Nelson or Wellington.*

paint a fairly clear picture of Montgomery as a man and as a professional. Montgomery is painted by Hamilton as a flawed man who never really fully developed. As a professional soldier, Montgomery is cast as the equal of Nelson or Wellington. The comparison with Nelson is perhaps the most apt as he served and died as a superlative fighting commander, before being called to perform as a "military statesman".

The fighting Montgomery likely had no equal among the World War II allies. After the war, as a Whitehall warrior and as a supreme commander, the Field Marshal came very close to destroying his wartime reputation. If nothing else, Hamilton's book offers eloquent support to the Peter Principle.

The first part of this book deals with the final year or so of the war and begins with Monty's promotion to Field Marshal on September 1, 1944. It chronicles in often painful detail both Montgomery and Hamilton's view of the Supreme Commander (Monty's boss, U.S. General Dwight Eisenhower) as the fuzzy armchair general who never commanded a major unit in war.

Only rarely is Monty seen to acknowledge that Eisenhower had a range of concerns involving dozens of countries that

made clear-cut strategic decisions of the type he demanded as almost impossible to give. Monty effectively lumped together Eisenhower with the U.S. generals (especially Omar Bradley) who, like himself, commanded Army Groups and condemned them as professionally inadequate. Relations with his U.S. colleagues were kept going because he realized that only the American Army was capable of winning the war and by the efforts of his very effective — and later discarded — Chief of Staff, Major General de Guigand.

Hamilton properly emphasizes that Monty's relations with the Americans were

ality. Hamilton provides example after example of Montgomery's unassailable analysis of a problem and of its solution. Regrettably, he had also to note the Field Marshal's almost total inability to transfer this great wartime advantage to the peacetime tasks that were given to him.

His first post-war job was as Military Governor of the British Zone of Germany and as member of defeated Germany's governing body — the Allied Control Commission. Both required a mix of military and diplomatic skills. Controlling and feeding the Germans caused Montgomery no problem at all. However, dealing co-



made much worse than they might have been by the fact that he was almost always correct in his strategic judgements. A case in point concerns Eisenhower's decision to advance across the whole front instead of, as advocated by Monty, concentrating the Allied effort and taking Berlin. As a result, the ending of the war was likely delayed, Berlin was taken by the Soviets and the shape of Europe altered likely forever.

Having noted one of Montgomery's major shortcomings — a highly developed inability to get along — it is only fair to comment on the other side of the coin. As Hamilton repeats throughout his book, Montgomery's strong point was his ability to think through and solve the military problems that faced him. He nurtured this skill through a lifetime of determination to delegate details to others, to insist upon excellence in his subordinates and to show a concern for the average soldier that did much to soften his austere person-

Winston Churchill overlooking the Rhine accompanied by Gen. H.D.G. Crerar, Lt. Gen. G.G. Simonds and Field Marshal Alan Brooke on left and Field Marshal B. Montgomery on right.

operatively with the other controlling powers — the USA, the USSR and France — proved to be beyond his skills. He seemingly could not accept that other than straightforward practical concerns should be considered in decision-making. With the USA increasingly conscious of its leadership of the West, with the Soviet Union acting like the Soviets again and with the French being French, it is not difficult to imagine why Montgomery began to yearn for the army's top job in the UK — Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

In foreign service terms, Montgomery was a superlative senior ambassador who, once esconced in headquarters, was not able to comprehend, yet alone accommodate, the



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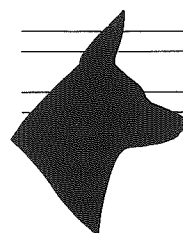
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General Bernard Montgomery speaking to Canadian troops, Pachino peninsula, Sicily, 11 July 1943.

competing pressures emanating from a hundred different sources. Monty had a very clear idea of what he wanted to accomplish as CIGS — essentially to transform every element of the British Army in line with his vision of what was required to meet the new threat he saw on the horizon. Unfortunately, his vision took into account neither the U.K.'s much reduced post-war condition nor Prime Minister Attlee's disinclination to be lectured on the shape of the world to come. Relations with the Navy and the Air Force reached a point so low that the defence of the realm was at risk. Yet, in the Field Marshal's mind, it was never he who was in error but always someone else. Notwithstanding the above he did make one lasting contribution as CIGS — he foresaw the need for an integrated Western defence. And he cajoled and bullied the U.K. Government into championing the cause of what was to become the Western Union.

After his service as CIGS, when at least he could exercise direct command over the British Army, Montgomery was appointed Chairman of the Western Union Commanders-in-Chief Committee where he commanded not even the land, sea, and air C-in-Cs on his Committee. The Western Union was a bit of an embryonic NATO without the United States and Canada that had been set up to deal with the reality of a wartime ally's newly found belligerence — on the other side of what Churchill was shortly to call the Iron Curtain. At the

Western Union, Monty's job was to encourage co-operation between the military forces of the member states while convincing the governments of those states that the Soviet threat was a real and pressing one which only a strong and united European response had the slightest chance of resisting effectively. For these tasks, Montgomery was singularly ill-suited. His entire professional life had been dedicated to analyzing problems and then taking the required action. As the chairman of a committee of senior commanders over whom he did not exercise command, where diplomacy, timing and persuasion might have worked, the Field-Marshal's bullying served largely to enrage those he was trying to bring along to his way of thinking. Indeed, the one clear positive result of his term was to convince everyone that NATO's military structure required a supreme commander not a committee. As a direct result, SACEUR today heads NATO's military structure.

Monty's term ended as the Western Union became NATO with Eisenhower as Supreme Commander and Monty Deputy Supreme Commander. Given Monty's views of Ike's accomplishments as wartime supremo, it is no small an indicator of how much he had come to accept the U.S.' lead position — and how much he had mellowed — that he was delighted with his assignment. Monty had accepted that he could no longer command and that he should, under Eisenhower, become the thinker and cajoler that NATO

needed. Yet, he quarrelled with Eisenhower's successors and like many "old soldiers" did not really recognize when it was time to go.

His retirement was livelier than most — his memoirs being no less controversial than the years he was describing. His recounting of the war years with Ike resulted in a final break with the man who had become U.S. President. In a way, that break symbolized much of Montgomery's life: being right and being hated for it. As a human being, Montgomery certainly proved that great people have flaws like everyone else. As a fighting general, he was likely unequalled in this century but as a commander required to consider other than purely military factors and to deal with other than pliant political masters he was the wrong man, at the wrong place, at the wrong time.

Hamilton's book fairly paints Montgomery's two sides. He does so with enough detail to please a student of history. With quick skimming of some chapters, the book is a good read for all, it paints a picture not only of Montgomery but also of many of the historical figures who crossed his path. ✍

Richard Fadden, a former foreign service officer who served in Accra, is currently Director of the Security and Intelligence Secretariat at the Privy Council Office.

Northern Development: The Canadian Dilemma, by Robert Page, Hollinger House, \$29.95.

Reviewed by Shelagh Jane Woods

Robert Page, professor of History/Environmental Studies at Trent University, explores in his book one of the key characteristics that makes Canada what it is: its northernness, or 'nordicity'. The dilemma Page sees is in the dual attitude of Canadians toward the north, "a powerful mixture of romanticism and greed". Our romanticism is directed at the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory; our greed is occasioned by its immense natural resources.

Along the way to explaining this dilemma and what it has led the Canadian government to do with respect to northern public policy, Page explores a number of issues that have emerged in response to southern Canadian desires to develop the resources of the north.

Pipeline building and northern economic development in general, environmental/ecological concerns, aboriginal rights and the living conditions of aboriginal peoples, and the place of Canada vis-à-vis other Arctic nations are all discussed carefully and in a highly readable fashion in this book. Not least important in the volume is the thread of sovereignty and the actions of successive

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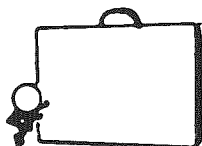
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Canadian governments to lay claim to and to protect Arctic lands and waters.

It may come as a surprise to many readers to note that sovereignty over the Arctic had been a focus of public attention long before the transit of either of the American ships *Manhattan* or *Polar Sea*. Despite the strong

romantic attachment of Canadians to "exotic wildlife and heroic native peoples" that flourished during the era of the great Arctic explorers such as Franklin, Vilhjalmur Stefansson and others, it never translates into bold policy making on the part of the Canadian government. According to Page, after

Canada acquired the high Arctic islands in 1880, it "did nothing to establish [its] sovereignty by any effective presence in the area."

When the discovery of gold in the Yukon in the 1890s engendered the fear of an American takeover, "following the British imperial tradition, [Canada] sent in a para-military police force and a bureaucracy". And despite extreme embarrassment in Ottawa at the widely publicized misdeeds of early American whalers in the Beaufort Sea region, inaction was the order of the day at the turn of the century. Page explains the failure of the Laurier government to act decisively on behalf of Canadian interests in the Arctic as due to Laurier's fear that boldness might provoke American concern where none existed before, and his conviction that Great Britain would not intervene on Canada's behalf in any dispute with the U.S.

What strikes the reader in all of this is how terribly familiar it sounds, the fear of waking the sleeping giant. To be charitable there has been consistency, at least, in Canadian responses to American actions and initiatives in the Arctic. There is always a rationale for hesitation — Laurier feared unduly raising American concern, Trudeau worried about the critical import of American oil, while the Mulroney government simply refused to admit that there was any challenge to Canadian sovereignty. The "para-military police force and a bureaucracy" still linger, each one as ineffectual as the other — the widely scattered Inuit armed with aging Lee-Enfield rifles, and a growing number of federal departments and the burgeoning territorial civil service.

In Page's mind the disputes over the north have centered as much on ecological concerns as on social or political matters such as aboriginal cultural survival or sovereignty. The bulk of *Northern Development* is an analysis of two landmark sets of public hearings that have shaped northern public policy for more than a decade. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was known as the Berger Inquiry after its chairman, Justice Tom Berger of British Columbia. He made Canadians aware that the northern regions are populated by intelligent, determined people. Page selects excellent quotations from witnesses' testimony to illustrate the attachment of the Dene to their homeland, and their traditions, as well as their clear recognition of the threat posed by unrestricted southern-dominated exploitation of their natural resources. The Inquiry also made Canadians aware that the north's ecological character was such that it could be irrevocably devastated by conventional oil and gas activity, including the building and operation of transmission pipelines.

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The National Energy Board's hearings on the technical aspects of the competing pipeline proposals were much less a public concern, but the environmental interest raised at the Berger Inquiry spilled over to the NEB hearings. As environmentally-oriented organizations formed in response to the northern pipeline issue, and as other groups took up the environmental cause, the NEB hearings were forced to pay scrupulous attention to environmental evidence.

Page makes his account of the latter hearings interesting to the lay reader with no particular knowledge of construction, the effects of severe Arctic climatic conditions on building techniques, and so on. Page examines the personalities and attitudes of some of the key figures involved in both sets

"The only effective means of environmental protection is through international law, diplomacy, and co-operation."

of hearings, giving us a hint of the flavour of the proceedings — the emotions stirred by the eloquent aboriginal witnesses, the anger of some of the pipeline proponents, the frustrations of some of the environmental intervenors. He discusses, too, the political machinations, the 'hidden agenda', of a federal government determined in advance to make the pipeline happen.

Perhaps the volume's greatest strength is its insightful analysis of the emergence of public interest groups and the significant role that they played in the hearings that pondered the future of the north. Page traces the intellectual origins of such groups as the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, with its dual emphasis on the northern environment and the need to consider a 'national interest' in northern resource development, and the more nationalist Committee for an Independent Canada with its important representations at and about the hearings.

The environmental movement captured the attention of Canadians in the 1960s and 1970s, according to Page, attracting those with an interest in parks and conservation, and adding weightier philosophical questions about economic growth and the ultimate ecological future of our planet. This movement drew together usually disparate groups representing most of the political spectrum. It played upon the disaffections of Canadians with 'big government' and an unresponsive, remote civil service. It attracted, too, those who feared big business and its isolation from ordinary people. In addition, it contained a strong undercurrent of the desire for social justice, and northern aboriginal

peoples quite naturally became a focus of environmentalists' concern.

Page notes somewhat ruefully that as national attention has been diverted from the north, so too have the public interest groups waned. His analysis of the historical roots of the "politics of ecology" is not to be missed, nor his linking of environmental concerns with foreign policy, as he points out that through environmental instruments such as the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, Canada seeks to protect the national interest by negotiating agreements with other nations, rather than directly challenging their intrusions into territory Canada regards as its own (the Trudeau government's somewhat late response to the voyage of the *Manhattan*).

Finally, Page pleads persuasively for Canada to base its Arctic policies on the recognition that our northern region is but one segment of a circumpolar whole that forms a more or less integrated ecological unit while comprising several national entities. Impacts on one region are usually subsequently felt in one or more of the other parts of the whole (as the world learned after the incident at the Chernobyl nuclear installation at Kiev). For Page, "the only effective means of environmental protection is through international law, diplomacy, and co-operation," and while there is movement in that direction there remain some difficult political barriers.

With growing strategic interest in the north bringing in more equipment and increasing traffic on the seas, there is more likelihood of an accident that will devastate the northern ecology, and for this reason Page calls for the second layer of co-operation, that is, in the realm of scientific and technological research. Page argues that Canada must do its part to assure that the "competitive economic rivalry of the current scene" is displaced by co-operative effort. "A balance of power at the lowest level of military activity, plus economic, scientific, and environmental co-operation, appears to be central to Canadian interests in the Arctic." Page suggests that there be a close examination of the Nordic countries and Iceland that, despite many differences, have made their commitment to regional stability paramount. He issues a challenge to federal departments, most notably External Affairs and Defence, to consider a thorough review, subsequent overhaul, and realignment of responsibilities. To anyone interested in the recent history of the Canadian Arctic and in its future, this volume should be required reading. ✍

Shelagh Jane Woods spent two years as Policy Advisor to the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee.

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Old Tibetan woman in Shigatse.

tion. But otherwise, they are not inspiring, and much of the plateau is given over to scrub. The villages and towns along the way tend to be grubby truck stops. The towns and villages we had passed along the Lhasa to Kathmandu route were, by contrast, much more interesting, retaining at least some semblance of the old way of life. But it was the village of Tingri, right in the shadow

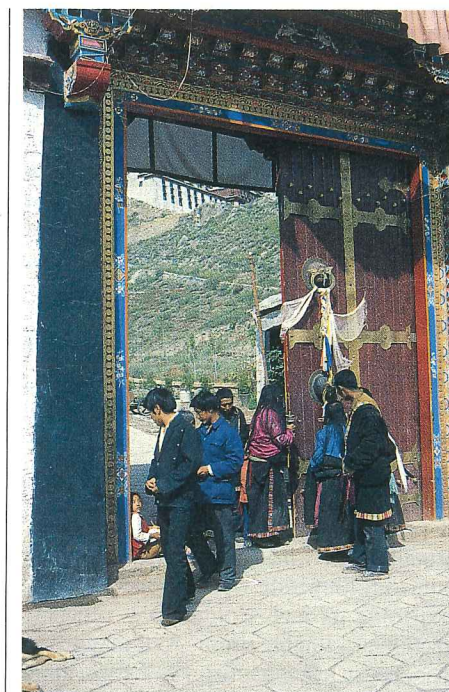
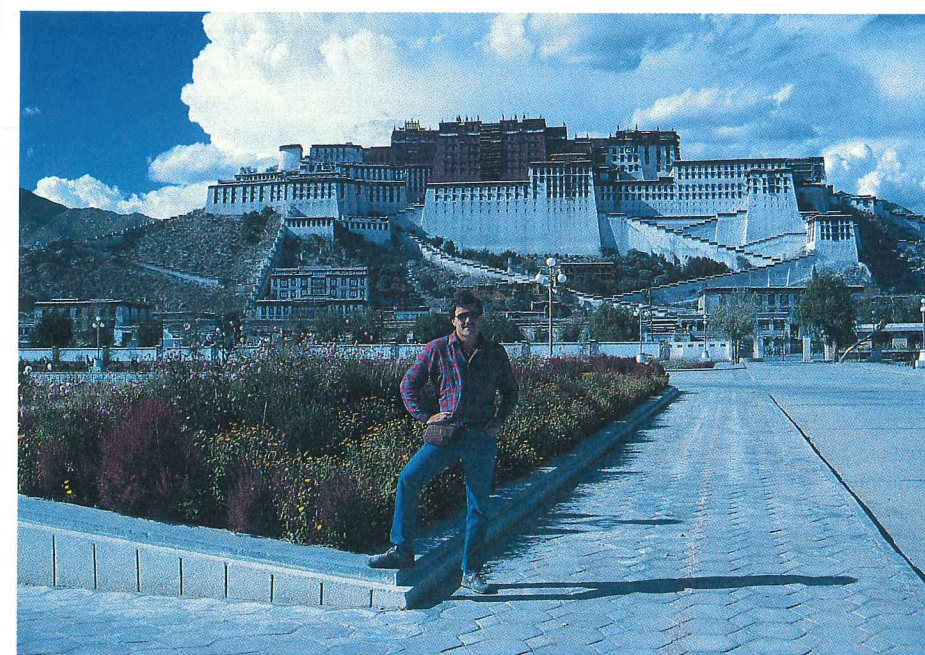
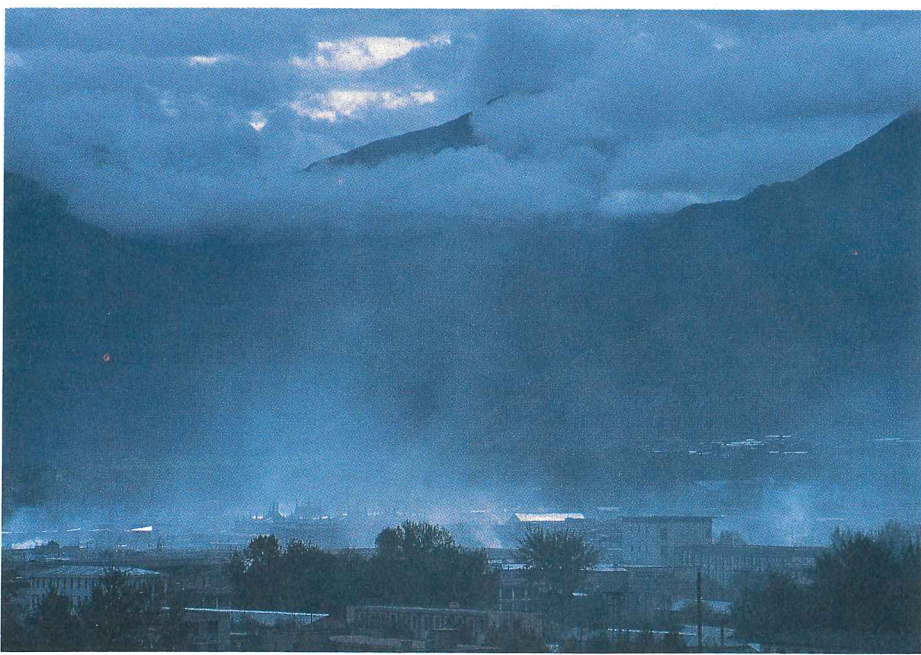
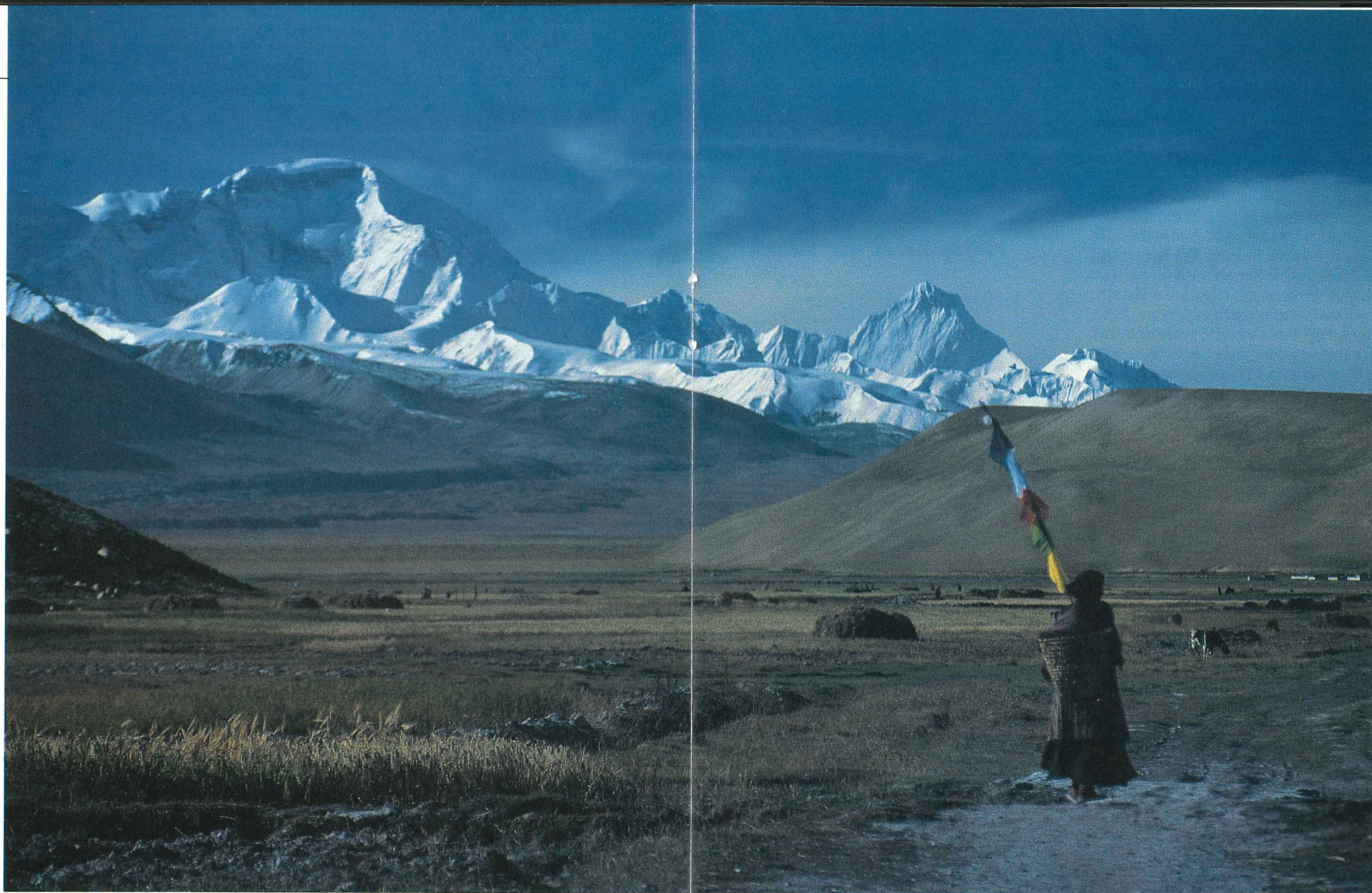
Although the towns had given us fascinating glimpses of the Tibetan way of life, nothing had prepared us for the natural grandeur which greeted us when we emerged onto the Tingri plain.

of the high mountains, that fulfilled my romantic and idealized vision of Tibet.

The marketing of Tibet's spectacular landscapes and culture has now begun in earnest. Recent Chinese plans for tourism in Tibet are nothing if not grandiose. The talk is of as many as 250,000 tourists a year in Tibet in the late 1990's. And, indeed, the current trends suggest that the potential is almost limitless. The number of visitors to Lhasa since the restrictions on entry were lifted exploded from under 1500 in 1984 to more than 30,000 in 1986. Much of the appeal to visitors has been Tibet's hitherto off-limits status and aura of mystery.

It has, until very recently, not been easy to visit Tibet. The formidable natural barriers

View of Jokhang Temple and Tibetan quarter of Lhasa from Potala Palace.



Pilgrims entering grounds of Potala Palace by Western entrance.

Left:

Tibetan peasant with prayer flag going to fields in Tingri. Mountain in background is Cho Oyu.

which had kept large areas of Tibet as blank spots on European maps were also supplemented in the 19th century by a conscious policy to keep out the intrusive element of foreigners. In time, Tibet became synonymous with the exotically inaccessible. A parade of European adventurers and explorers would make heroic and often futile attempts, frequently ending in death, to reach the holy grail of Lhasa. By the time the first tour groups entered Lhasa a few years ago, it was estimated that fewer than 1,200 Europeans had ever been to the city, including the 600-man British invasion force led by Francis Younghusband in 1904. The small trickle of adventurous foreigners who were able to make it to Lhasa in the first half of the 20th century, such as Heinrich Harrer, Peter Aufschnider, Lowell Thomas, Alexandra David Neel and others, dwindled down to nothing following the Chinese takeover in the early 1950's. For almost three decades Tibet's isolation from Western visitors was total.

In the mid to late 1970's, with China's gradual opening to the West, the first cracks opened narrowly, and a few carefully chosen dignitaries were allowed to enter for a brief visit, often after extraordinary efforts to wring concessions from a conservative

Author in front of Potala, Lhasa.