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The New Internationalism
Life in a War Zone
Le logement : un enjeu crucial

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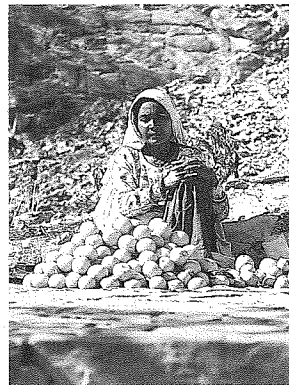
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Our cover photo this issue, by David M. Edwards, is of a street woman selling oranges in Jaipur, Rajasthan, India.

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LE CARNET DU RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF

Le 20 janvier, M. Chrétien, sous-secrétaire d'État associé, a fait salle comble à l'amphithéâtre de l'immeuble Pearson, après avoir offert d'y rencontrer le personnel du Ministère. La rencontre tombait pile en cette période où les restrictions et les réductions de dépenses, jumelées à un rôle sans cesse croissant pour le Canada sur la scène mondiale, ont drainé tant de vitalité chez le Service extérieur en minant sa capacité d'exécuter un travail efficace et professionnel. M. Chrétien n'avait pas de réponse instantanée à donner à quelques-unes des questions qui lui ont été posées. Mais, chose plus importante, il s'est rendu disponible afin de découvrir quelles sont les problèmes qui minent tant le moral au Ministère. Il y avait foule, non pas simplement des « FS », mais aussi beaucoup d'employés de soutien, ce qui témoigne bien de la profondeur et de la gravité des problèmes à régler. M. Chrétien a plus tard tenu une autre réunion, beaucoup plus petite cette fois, le 6 mars, avec des employées permutantes de toutes les catégories afin de discuter de questions d'intérêt particulier pour elles. Son intention de poursuivre un dialogue franc est louable, et il faut l'encourager.

M. Clark, lui aussi, a profité d'un rare moment, le 2 mars, pour parler aux troupes au sujet du nouvel échéancier de la politique extérieure et du rôle indispensable que les « penseurs » et les « exécuteurs » au Ministère jouent pour ce qui est de réagir à des situations nouvelles ou en voie d'évolution. C'est dans un climat de respect mutuel que M. Clark a répondu aux questions concernant la difficulté d'en arriver à un consensus sur la politique extérieure dans un Canada multiculturel et les répercussions possibles du prochain budget sur nos priorités en matière de politique extérieure. Toutefois, ce qui m'a frappé, c'est que personne n'ait posé de question au Ministre au sujet de la question banale mais cruciale des ressources amenuisées du Ministère. J'imagine que l'obligation professionnelle de bien se conduire à tout prix a empêché quiconque de détourner l'attention des grandes questions de politique vers des « trivialités administratives ».

Cependant, une question cruciale tant pour les agents que pour les employés de soutien vient de ce qu'on en exige sans cesse de plus en plus d'eux et ce, au moment même où on sabre dans les postes et l'argent. L'avancement, les traitements, le congé de maternité, les garderies, l'emploi des conjoints et le logement ne sont qu'une partie de l'équation moral/satisfaction au travail. Les longues heures, les priorités urgentes qui supplantent les responsabilités permanentes régulières et

minent le fonctionnement normal, le manque d'ordinateurs (en particulier ceux qui peuvent effectuer du travail classifié), les lourdes coupures dans la circulation de journaux et de périodiques, les réductions des budgets de voyages allant jusqu'à 75 % de ce qu'ils étaient il y a à peine quelques années et, pour comble, plus de Notocollants 3M, voilà autant de facteurs qui ont contribué à affaiblir la capacité des agents et des employés de soutien d'être efficaces et de tirer une grande satisfaction de leur travail. C'est donc par un soupir de soulagement qu'on a, dans l'amphithéâtre, accueilli l'aveu de M. Chrétien que le Ministère avait atteint sa limite et que nous allions devoir en faire « moins avec moins ».

Bien que j'aie été du nombre de ceux et celles qui ont poussé un soupir de soulagement, j'en suis venue, depuis, à me demander de quelle manière nous pourrions y parvenir. Selon M. John Kirton, dans son article intitulé « The New Internationalism » dans le présent numéro, le Canada en est venu à assumer un rôle important sur la scène internationale, un rôle qui grandit et qui donne au Canada de plus en plus d'importance. Mais cela s'accompagne d'une responsabilité accrue. M. Kirton met en doute notre tentative d'administrer une politique extérieure à bon marché. Peut-être qu'au lieu d'en faire « moins avec moins », il faudrait plutôt en faire « plus avec plus ». Toutefois, qui pourra protéger le budget du Ministère, encore moins l'accroître, dans le climat de restrictions qui prévaut à l'heure actuelle?

Le Service extérieur du Canada en est à un carrefour crucial qui exige que l'on repense du tout au tout le rapport entre nos objectifs en matière de politique extérieure et le rôle, la structure et le maintien des machines bureaucratiques qui président à ces objectifs. J'utilise « machines » au pluriel parce que le ministère des Affaires étrangères est loin d'être le seul intervenant dans les affaires internationales. Cela a toujours été le cas, mais c'est aujourd'hui vrai plus que jamais. Le ministère des Affaires étrangères ne dispose tout simplement pas des ressources voulues pour s'occuper de tout. La responsabilité fonctionnelle pour ce qui est de gérer de plus en plus de questions appartient désormais *de facto*, sinon *de jura*, à un grand nombre de ministères « intérieurs », notamment ceux de l'Agriculture, de la Justice, de l'Environnement et des Finances, qui semblent avoir suffisamment d'argent et de personnel pour se rendre à d'importantes réunions internationales. En théorie du moins, le ministère des Affaires étrangères a pour objet d'être un genre bizarre d'agence centrale, doté d'un rôle de coordination ainsi que de fonctions de prestation de programmes et d'élaboration de politiques (quoique

pas nécessairement pour les mêmes questions — le ministère des Affaires étrangères applique le programme de l'immigration, mais il n'établit pas la politique en matière d'immigration). Toutefois, même si j'estime que le ministère des Affaires étrangères n'a jamais été efficace dans ce rôle d'agence centrale, il n'en reste pas moins que les fortes coupures des dernières années entraîneront une érosion plus marquée de la capacité du Ministère de jouer, même marginalement, ce rôle, de même qu'une possibilité accrue que la politique extérieure soit erratique, non coordonnée et incohérente. Si le ministère des Affaires étrangères n'a pas les moyens de lire la presse internationale, d'assister à des réunions internationales et de produire assez rapidement les analyses et les mémoires nécessaires, son efficacité et sa crédibilité continueront de s'en ressentir. En notre qualité de membres d'un Service extérieur professionnel, cela devrait nous préoccuper.

En outre, d'autres facettes du travail et de la vie au Ministère sont victimes, elles aussi, de la mentalité de restrictions — la représentation et le logement. Je recommande aux lecteurs dans le présent numéro l'article de Laurel Pardy concernant la représentation, ainsi que celui d'Yvon Turcotte et de Laurent Beaulieu sur la question du logement pour les célibataires à l'étranger. Ce qui est en jeu ici, ce n'est pas seulement le luxe ou les gratifications, mais, d'une part, un outil indispensable pour la tâche de rassembler de l'information et, d'autre part, des principes fondamentaux de traitement équitable et de dédommagement convenable pour le « confort » canadien auquel on demande aux agents du Service extérieur de renoncer lorsqu'ils sont en mission à l'étranger.

Nous, de l'APASE, aurions intérêt à rappeler aux décideurs les conclusions de la Commission royale d'enquête de 1981 sur la situation dans le Service extérieur. C'est triste, mais, huit ans plus tard, nous sommes aux prises avec un grand nombre des mêmes problèmes, plus particulièrement des « économies réalisées non pas au détriment des programmes qui coûtent cher, mais à celui des personnes, soit dans leurs conditions de service, soit dans leur poursuite d'une carrière plus enrichissante, soit dans les outils dont elles disposent pour remplir efficacement leurs fonctions. »



From the President's Desk

Officially, we are the *Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers*. But in the recent past, I believe we may have been placing too much emphasis on our uncredited union title to the detriment of our professional interests.

There have been indisputable reasons behind our more militant actions, if only to redress our image as a "paper tiger union". But more important, it has been necessary to fight for better returns from collective bargaining by going, for the first time in the Association's history, to arbitration during the 1985 contract negotiations and mediation during the 1987 round of negotiations. We have also been forced to go to third party adjudication on a number of key issues, such as performance pay, to ensure that the economic interests of our members were fully protected. To stem the corrosive effects of too many political appointments, we've had no choice in recent years but to go public.

I believe that our actions have gained us the respect we need to be able to effectively defend the legitimate union interests of the Association. Certainly, as an Association we should continue to be firm on union issues. But at the same time, I also believe the time has now come to pay greater attention to the "professional" in our title.

The professional issues facing us are often not as tangible as the results of collective bargaining, but they are every bit as important to us. This is especially true in an era where the diplomat's role is rapidly evolving as a result of technological change and the reality of the global village. As Canadian diplomats, we must deal not only with a vast array of countries and regions which are vital to our future. We must also respond and react to a host of other global issues, such as the environment.

At the same time we, the working level professional diplomats, are being asked to respond to such issues with reduced resources and smaller budgets. To my mind, this means that as an Association, we must ensure that the Department efficiently and effectively manages its human resources. And to be quite frank, I think the Department has a dismal record on this score.

I have not heard anyone in the Department disagree with the statement that human resources are the most important asset the Department has. The reality is that the Department pays only lip service to this principle at best.

Career planning, for example, is almost non-existent. We should all be appalled that we have a personnel division whose primary



mandate is bashing square pegs into round holes, although to their credit they often manage to bash round pegs in round holes. The soundest piece of advice that can be given to a new officer by his colleagues about his or her career is to say "never assume that the system has a plan for you, look out for yourself". When was the last time your assignment officer discussed with you your career prospects and interests? And yet people seriously wonder why many officers end up embittered, and essentially useless to the Department, because they followed a career path that was entirely motivated by promotion. No one ever bothered to manage their careers otherwise.

I do not blame the personnel divisions for this sorry state of affairs, for they must manage the best they can with the meager resources that they are given. Moreover, personnel divisions' officers rarely have training in personnel management. No, the fact is, that it is the responsibility of senior management to take an active interest in the management of human resources. Did you know that corporations such as Esso and the Bank of Montreal, companies that are after all driven by the bottom line and not some innate desire to make employees feel cared about, have CEOs who spend over 50 percent of their time on the management of human resources?

Why? Because they realize that their human resources are their most valuable asset and to get the most out of them, they need to nurture and tend them. I believe that

the first positive step in that direction is to begin a real process of career planning for the officer corps.

A second critical area of human resource management lies in training and development which one would hope would be a key element of career planning.

Again, a look at the Department's track record is revealing. The training and development programs offered by the department are woefully inadequate. Did you know that it has been three years since the Department sent an officer on full time education leave? As for new recruits, I do not think I exaggerate when I say that FSIDs are little more than cheap cannon fodder.

PAFSO is currently in the process of putting together a proposal on training and development. We believe that, even without additional money for the program, significant improvements can be made. At the moment, there is not even a coherent program for training and development that ensures an officer is exposed to training programs throughout his career, whether it relates to very basic issues such as changes in consular policy or sending an officer on a highly specialized training program.

PAFSO is committed to putting forward positive proposals on these questions because we believe it is in everyone's interest to do a better job of managing human resources. There is however a third point that must be raised. It is time for officers themselves to examine their attitudes to these questions. In many respects the corporate culture of the Department has ingrained the very problems I have described above into the officers themselves. When was the last time you sat down with your manager to have a serious chat about your performance, interests and long-term aspirations? And I don't mean just at rating report time. We as an Association, and you as members, must begin to show management that we do deeply care about the system and providing the best delivery possible. And that means making sure management realizes that it is upon us, the professional working level diplomats, that the system relies at the end of the day to get the job done.

Rodney Briggs

LETTERS/CORRESPONDANCE

Dear Editor,

I continue to read *bout de papier* with great interest and admiration. It reflects very well on the Canadian Foreign Service and I hope it is reaching a wide audience across the country.

In this letter I would like to comment on David Levy's article "Russian and Russians are No Enigma When You Know Both". I'm not sure the proposition in the title is entirely valid, but his plea for a greater effort on the part of Canadians to learn the Russian language I can endorse without reserve.

In 1954, when I was Head of the European Division, which in those days encompassed all of Europe plus Africa and the Middle East, Lester Pearson, who was External Affairs Minister, asked me if I would chair an inter-departmental committee to find ways of encouraging the study of Russian in Canadian schools and universities on the basis of "knowing the enemy". I agreed and the Committee had some effect. But interest gradually diminished partly because of lack of funds, lack of Russian language teachers, and lack of enthusiasm by students to tackle a very difficult discipline.

It did, however, help towards the decision taken at the end of the fifties to require diplomatic and military personnel proceeding to the Embassy in Moscow to spend a year studying Russian before posting. As a result, our Embassy was relatively well equipped and certainly better prepared to cope than some larger missions such as the French and Italian. The need of a knowledge of Russian was obvious in dealing with the Soviets, in analysing the press, in observing the Soviet scene and, of course, in making life in Moscow more interesting and rewarding.

However, I disagree with David Levy about the language itself. It is indeed a very rich and beautiful language and, as I said in my introduction to my volume of translations of Russian poetry, the best language for poetry after English. And the alphabet is perfectly adapted to the sounds of the Russian tongue.

But there must be no illusion. It is a difficult language for the English or French speaker. The vocabulary is largely unfamiliar and the grammar complicated and highly inflected with six cases on three genders.

The Russians feel strongly about the lack of interest in their language on the part of Westerners. I recall a senior Soviet official once complaining to me that, although Russian was one of the five official languages of the U.N., nobody spoke it. I agreed, but explained why:

First, the favourite slogan of the Soviets at the time was "peaceful coexistence", easily recognisable in French and Spanish but in Russian "MIRNOYE SOSHESHTVOVANYE". Second, the word for "ICE" in Russian is "LYOD". To say "WITH ICE" becomes "SALDOM". To say "ON ICE" becomes "NALDU". My interlocuter looked startled and then laughingly had to agree.

To conclude, there is a little foot-note to the eternal Canadian language dispute. When Mr. Pearson proposed setting up the Committee to encourage the study of Russian, I asked if he did not think we should start with a higher priority, a Committee to encourage anglophone Canadians to speak French. He reflected a moment and then said he believed it would be unconstitutional to use federal funds for the encouragement of the use of one of our official languages.

Robert A.D. Ford

Editor's Note: Mr. Ford was Canadian Ambassador in Moscow from 1964 to 1980. Now retired, Mr. Ford lives near Vichy, France. He has recently written a book Our Man in Moscow, A Diplomat's Reflection

on the Soviet Union, published February 1989, by University of Toronto Press.

* * *

Dear Editor,

I have a comment on an article on pages 14/15 Vol. 6 No. 3 entitled "Waldheim Fooled Canada Too" by Sidney Freifeld.

I just do not believe that a professional foreign service needs to print such a vindictive article on a current head of state, particularly an ally of Canada. It was simply not in good taste.

An avid reader and member,

Max Reid
Councillor (Commercial)
Canadian Embassy, Washington, DC

* * *

Dear Editor,

All foreign services officers owe you a debt of gratitude for the tributes to John Holmes in the last issue of *bout de papier* (Vol. 6, No. 3). We need to be reminded that we follow in such footsteps.

Out of fairness to Mr. Holmes, I should point out that his lecture, as published by you, contains a number of errors not of his making. In the final paragraph, the first of the two couplets from William Blake should have read "Do what you will, this Life's Fiction/And is made up of Contradiction". The second couplet should have read "If the Sun and Moon should doubt,/They'd immediately go out". Mr. Holmes was not known for misquotation and Blake was not given to sloppily metre. The errors in question are attributable in part to my own lapses in quoting the couplets to Mr. Holmes from memory, and in part (I suspect) to the usual typographical gremlins.

L.H. Legault
Minister (Economic) and
Deputy Head of Mission
Washington, DC

* * *

CORRECTION: We apologize that, due to an editing error, the final paragraph of Keith Greenaway's review of J. Honderich's *Arctic Imperative* (Vol. 6 No. 3 pages 44/45) did not make complete sense. The sentence, "This is unfortunate, but such errors do not detract from the book's message, although they may be annoying to readers" should have been deleted.

* * *



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Thinking the Unthinkable: Contractual Perspectives for 1989

by Daryl S. Copeland

The Foreign Service contract expired in April 1989. In considering the current negotiations for the next FS contract, it may be helpful to reflect upon the experience gained in the negotiation of the last contract, and to review developments subsequent to the last settlement.

By way of objectives in the current exercise, it is crucial that our collective sights be raised in a determined effort to improve on previous performance. While there are many contractual goals worthy of contemplation, the following might be considered as elements of a minimalist platform:

Salary. In the present era of slow to non-existent promotions, it is essential to improve emoluments, especially for the lowest paid segment of our membership. To address this need in a progressive fashion would involve increased remuneration based on a sliding scale which would reward those at the bottom of the scale with a higher percentage increase than those at the upper end.

Those at the ceiling of their pay scale who have seen their salaries shrinking in real terms.

The time is long overdue that recognition be accorded to the fact that those at the lower end of FS scales — including all FS-1's — are grossly underpaid. Nurses and bus drivers have recently joined the ranks of school teachers, skilled tradesmen, policemen, postal workers, and many others, whose salaries are the envy of a substantial number of our members. PAFSO has been severely disadvantaged in the past by its inability to illustrate this case with convincing data. It would be unconscionable to fail again.

Prior to the last round of negotiations PAFSO approached the Pay Research Bureau (PRB) to secure its cooperation in undertaking a study of comparative pay rates. The PRB survey bogged down hope-

lessly in problems of exact comparability. The need, however, remains. PAFSO could commission a wide-ranging study of salary and benefits among generally comparable professional groups. There are many reputable private sector firms with experience in the field.

The analysis should cover salaries, benefits, terms and conditions of employment, and rates of promotion. It could include samplings drawn from groups within the public service (for example lawyers, economists, historians and information officers), as well as appropriate provincial government and private sector employees. To avoid a recurrence of the PRB's problems, these groups would be selected on the basis of general comparability only. This exercise would not require identical job packages, or directly equivalent levels of responsibility. None of that is necessary to show that, compared with persons of similar professional and academic background, Foreign Service Officers are underpaid and deserve better.

Productivity/efficiency bonus. This proposal is designed to benefit those at the ceiling of their pay scale who have seen their salaries shrinking in real terms because successive economic increases have been less than the rate of inflation. In lieu of performance pay or promotion, those affected should expect full protection for their incomes.

Vacation leave. The current contract approaches, after the second year, the leave provisions enjoyed by the Commerce Officer group prior to their conversion to FS. In exchange, the bargaining team traded away unlimited vacation "banking" (i.e., cumulative carryover covering annual leave). These provisions remain far from generous by comparative standards. This is one area, even in a period of continuing financial constraint, where we could make real gains.

Acting pay. The current provisions stipulate that an employee must work a minimum of thirty working days at a higher level to qualify. This rules out many common acting situations and in practical

terms means that this compensation is much less accessible than it should be. The threshold should therefore be dramatically lowered and brought into line with other contracts — that is, a qualification period of 10 to 15 working days.

Secondly, and probably more importantly, acting pay should be provided for in the regular assignment process. If an employee is asked to fill a position classified at a higher level than his/her own, payment should be provided accordingly. There has been much misleading subterfuge surrounding this issue, usually involving the attribution of enhanced flexibility for the employer and improved career opportunities for the employee. This is little more than a thinly disguised excuse for paring the Government's wage bill at the expense of PAFSO members. To pay fairly would not eliminate one opportunity and the same number of appointments could, and in likelihood would, be made. The only difference would be a more just reward for those involved.

In dealing with an institution as unresponsive and lacking in imagination as the Treasury Board, PAFSO should be prepared to take its case before the court of public opinion.

Once PAFSO has identified its objectives and adopted a suitable strategy to attain them, it will be essential to review the approach to the negotiations themselves. These arcane, tedious proceedings have proved virtually irrelevant in the settlement of our last two contracts; there is scant reason to believe that the situation will be otherwise in the forthcoming round. Wooden, formulaic, and characterized mainly by endless repetition, it seems inadvisable to waste much time or effort on this biennial ritual. Sitting through these endless meetings evoked a vaguely anthropological image — the dance of the dead. Any sincere intellectual commerce or the give and take of hard bargaining was entirely lacking. In its

place was substituted a numbing exchange of empty litanies. This chanting embodied the triumph of form over substance. If it appears at the outset that there is insufficient common ground to enable agreement, PAFSO should cut its losses and proceed directly to arbitration.

A second observation involves ratification, and in particular extending the vote to PAFSO members outside Ottawa. Some time ago, PAFSO won the right to use departmental communications facilities for association business; there is no reason to deny a large proportion of the membership the opportunity to express its views on a proposed settlement. It is, therefore, essential to ensure that this is possible.

In dealing with an institution as unresponsive and lacking in imagination as the Treasury Board, PAFSO should be prepared to take its case before the court of public opinion. This would require both solid research and great confidence in the strength of our arguments. PAFSO's stand on patronage was a useful and instructive precedent. In the absence of a more pro-active approach, we will continue to suffer from a serious image problem — as illustrated, in

no uncertain terms, by the Aberdeen Club fiasco.

Our needs might best be met through the preparation of a comprehensive and integrated communications strategy. Consideration could also be given to the publication of occasional papers on key issues.

For a group which has every reason to consider negotiating abilities among its more formidable assets, it is surprising that PAFSO has fared so poorly when it comes to defending and advancing its own interests. It is perhaps even more curious that this failure has received so little attention from those most affected. We should be capable of improved performance on our own behalf. PAFSO's record has been highly unsatisfactory, across virtually the entire range of issues subject to contractual agreement. This trend can be reversed, but only with the full support of all concerned. It is unfortunate that this critical component has been visibly absent in the past.

It is clear that desperate clinging to notions of gentlemanly behavior and reliance upon departmental management to act on our behalf have produced meagre returns. The legitimate place for collaboration with the

employer is in pursuit of foreign policy objectives and the national interest. In collective bargaining, management's proper place is on the other side of the table. There is a fundamental divergence of interests here which has not, to date, been fully recognised. In 1987, for example, PAFSO's negotiating brief was surrendered to senior management in the vain hope of securing their successful intervention. The only tangible result, however, (following the suspension of performance pay awards), was an additional two month delay in reaching settlement.

The Foreign Service is still struggling to shake off an enormous burden of historical baggage which still informs its collective self-image. Although it is always difficult to break with the past, the need has become acute. In refusing to see the writing on the wall we only delude ourselves. If Foreign Service Officers are to begin to exercise full responsibility for their own destiny, the 1989 contract seems a reasonable place to begin.

Daryl Copeland, formerly a vice-president of the PAFSO Executive Committee, is now Second Secretary in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.



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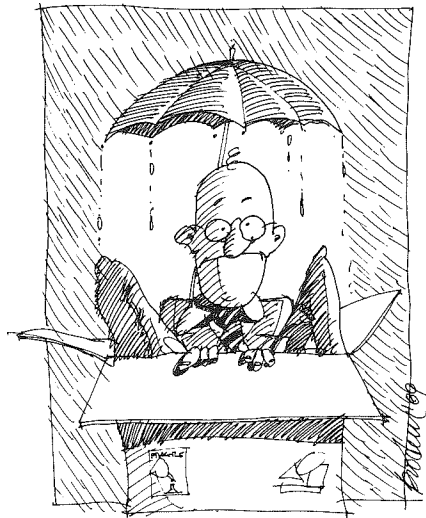
Le logement : un enjeu crucial

par Laurent Beaulieu et Yvon Turcotte

On s'est beaucoup préoccupé ces dernières années du bien-être de nos employés à l'étranger et de celui de leurs familles. Les conversations abondent de témoignages sur des problèmes spécifiques ayant affecté des enfants, des conjoints ou des gens seuls à quelque mission. On comprend bien en revanche que le choix d'oeuvrer dans le service extérieur s'accompagnait de la conscience du fait que la vie n'allait pas nécessairement être aussi confortable et chaleureuse que si on était resté chez soi, entouré à tout moment par les siens, au Canada même. Il faut reconnaître par ailleurs qu'au fil des ans beaucoup d'efforts ont été déployés pour améliorer les conditions de vie à l'étranger, notamment depuis la réaction très positive du gouvernement à plusieurs des recommandations de la Commission royale d'enquête sur les conditions de vie dans le service extérieur.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il arrive à l'occasion qu'un enjeu devienne plus prenant, soulève beaucoup d'interrogations et rassemble ou devrait à tout le moins rassembler spontanément autour de lui les membres du service extérieur. C'est le cas en ce moment des nouvelles règles devant régir à l'avenir la surface des logements du personnel à l'étranger. On a indiqué que dorénavant il y aura des types précis de logements selon qu'il s'agisse de familles avec enfant(s), de couples ou de personnes seules, ou plus communément appelées célibataires. Pour ces derniers, la barre a été étonnamment fixée bien bas : 90 mètres carrés (ou 968 pieds carrés) seraient ainsi tout l'espace auquel ils devraient avoir droit plus 5 mètres carrés dans les cas où le logement est aussi utilisé à des fins de programme, c'est-à-dire de représentation. Si l'on suit imperturbablement ce raisonnement, on pourrait avoir à une mission donnée trois employés du service extérieur logés de façon radicalement différente sans égard à ce qu'ils avaient choisi de s'offrir eux-mêmes à Ottawa lorsqu'affectés à la centrale ou à leurs responsabilités et obligations à la mission.

Il ne s'agit pas de nier le droit bien légitime des familles à élever leurs enfants dans un environnement approprié, soit une maison suffisamment spacieuse, complétée par un



jardin, comme cela est accessible à la plupart des gens ici même au Canada. Ce qui est préoccupant au plus haut point dans les nouvelles dispositions, c'est que l'on semble méconnaître l'évolution sociale considérable des dernières décennies, et prendre pour acquis qu'une personne seule vit nécessairement dans un si petit espace. De plus en plus de gens vivent désormais seuls : les célibataires par choix (ou dépit!), des gens mariés dont le conjoint aura préféré rester au pays pour poursuivre sa carrière, des personnes séparées ou divorcées. Bref, les rangs actuels

À l'étranger, son chez soi devient plus important et plus central dans la vie de chacun.

du service extérieur comprennent une proportion de plus en plus grande de personnes de cette catégorie, atteignant même, selon une estimation provisoire de l'APASE, un niveau de près de 50%. Or, les personnes seules, qu'elles l'aient toujours été ou, qu'en raison des circonstances de la vie elles le soient redevenues, vivent de nos jours de façon bien différente de celle des célibataires, beaucoup plus rares, d'antan. Elles ont très souvent leur propre maison, soit en banlieue, soit en rangée dans la ville même plus près de leur travail, ou encore un spacieux appartement, d'ailleurs de plus en plus souvent acheté que simplement loué. Il ne sera pas rare de les voir disposer en fait de l'équivalent

de trois chambres à coucher aménagées à leur façon ou selon leurs besoins, de deux salles de bains et d'un espace vert attenant au logement, même si parfois restreint. À ceci s'ajoutera assez souvent l'accès à une piscine et à d'autres facilités devenues très courantes tels gymnases, saunas, terrains de tennis ou autres. Enfin, plusieurs ont ou partagent une résidence secondaire à la campagne. Bref, les gens ici ont de l'espace privé en abondance, s'accroissant habituellement avec leur âge et leur revenu, et un généreux accès à une espace public où ils puissent se sentir à l'aise et évoluer en toute tranquillité d'esprit.

On trouvera en fait de nos jours dans nos cités bien peu de gens seuls, au-delà de 30 ans, d'un niveau comparable à celui d'un agent du service extérieur 1 ou 2, confinés à un minuscule appartement pour tout espace vital. Or, c'est précisément ce que les nouvelles normes nous réservent, si elles sont effectivement mises en vigueur. L'incongruité de la chose est d'autant plus grande si l'on considère qu'à l'étranger, son chez soi devient plus important et plus central dans la vie de chacun, soit comme refuge si les conditions extérieures sont agressantes, inconfortables ou insécures, ce qui est de plus en plus le cas dans un nombre grandissant de capitales, soit comme outil même dans son travail : il est en effet illusoire de penser que toutes les responsabilités de représentation puissent s'accomplir autour d'un verre ou d'un repas au restaurant, les meilleures et plus utiles confidences ne s'obtenant pas naturellement dans des lieux publics et les personnes dont le contact est à cultiver s'attendant de toute façon à plus que cela.

Les nouvelles normes semblent hélas faire fi de tout cela même si sans doute inspirées d'un correct souci d'économie et d'une volonté d'abolir d'occasionnelles trop grandes distorsions entre la taille effective des ménages et celle des logements à l'étranger. Encore qu'un certain degré de distorsion soit plutôt en fait inévitable car des mêmes logements, acquis à long terme, seront appelés à loger tantôt plus ou tantôt moins de personnes selon la situation familiale des employés se succédant à une mission. Enfin, et c'est peut-être là où le bât blesse le plus, les nouvelles normes ne semblent pas tenir compte (du tout dans le cas des célibataires et pas suffisamment pour les autres) du fait que le coût du logement exigé aux employés à

l'étranger est basé non seulement sur le nombre d'occupants, mais aussi le niveau de salaire, et donc la capacité de payer, c'est-à-dire le facteur sans doute déterminant dans les choix d'habitation que font les gens pour eux-mêmes au Canada. Ce critère du coût du logement à l'étranger en fonction du salaire serait donc, en principe, à revoir si l'on ne veut pas que les nouvelles normes, si elles sont maintenues, donnent l'impression de procéder d'une perspective purement économique mais incomplète, et dont les dommages sur le moral et la qualité de notre service extérieur ne tarderont pas à se manifester. On voit donc assez clairement que la taille de la famille ne saurait être le seul critère dans ce domaine. Les nouvelles normes prévoient d'ailleurs une surface légèrement plus grande dans le cas de deux personnes ou plus si le salaire est supérieur à un certain niveau; ne pas introduire une telle disposition dans le cas des célibataires paraît plutôt incompréhensible voire discriminatoire. Il est fort heureux que l'APASE, en consultation au besoin avec les représentants d'autres groupes d'employé(e)s, s'intéresse de près à la question. Les nouvelles lignes directrices sur les logements du personnel sont déjà en vigueur. Il est heureux qu'elles comportent des dispositions permettant une certaine flexibilité. Elles risquent toutefois

de créer beaucoup de ressentiment, à tout le moins chez les personnes partant seules en mission à l'étranger. Il faut espérer que l'on saura rectifier le tir, à tout le moins à ce dernier égard.

D'autres enjeux préoccupent beaucoup aussi les personnes seules et il faudra certes en discuter lors de la prochaine révision périodique des Directives sur le service extérieur. Il conviendra toujours, bien sûr, d'établir des balises pour éviter les abus et les situations paradoxales, mais le maître-mot devrait toujours demeurer la flexibilité si l'on ne veut pas déshumaniser inutilement l'environnement très particulier que constitue le service extérieur et si l'on veut, ce faisant, qu'il demeure attrayant pour ses membres, indépendamment de leur statut civil ou situation familiale.

Laurent Beaulieu a été en mission à Mexico. Il a été affecté à la Division des relations générales avec les États-Unis et est présentement en affectation de formation au Ministère des Affaires extérieures.

Yvon Turcotte a été en mission à Alger, Santiago et Bogota. Il est présentement affecté à la Division des relations avec l'Afrique francophone et le Maghreb au Ministère des Affaires extérieures.



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The Mechanics of Media Relations

by Allan Bonner

I would love to meet the civil servants who troll the halls of government departments inspecting press releases to make sure they're boring. They must exist, because the average public sector press release reads like this:

FREDERICTON, N.B., Feb. 12, 1989: The Hon. H.E.M. Locke, federal minister responsible for trees and the member for Whispering Pine, Ontario, along with the Hon. Bruce Spudworm, provincial minister responsible for land and the member for Dulce Bay announced today a federal/provincial cost sharing agreement to stimulate and advance the scientific...

BORING! I have asked why they don't try something like this:

"I'm delighted with the progress we've made," says the Hon. H.E.M. Locke...

My clients in the federal public sector say they actually must follow written guidelines that require writing in this style. Yet at least one person in the Privy Council Office says no such guidelines exist and if they do, they do not have to be followed verbatim. Somebody isn't talking to somebody.

One federal agency told me they send out 200 press releases a year and not one is picked up by the media. The result is often waste and a message which does not reach the public. There are better ways to write a press release and promote productive relations with the media.

The Release

William Parkhurst (*How to Get Publicity*, Times Books, 1985) is right when he says the press release is the most important document in your media relations. He suggests the writer start by asking a lot of questions that begin with the traditional 5 Ws and H. Who will benefit? What is being done that's new? When will results show? Where will be the greatest impact? Why is this being done now? How will it work?

There's more to it than Parkhurst suggests though. Having articulated all the elements of the story, these must be sifted through a matrix of standard journalistic criteria such as timeliness, proximity, number of people affected, lasting importance and so on. Generally, stories which are brand new, nearby, affect many people and will have lasting historical importance are the most newsworthy. The point is illustrated by gauging the changing importance of a seemingly

inconsequential two car fender-bender outside a radio and TV station in a big city. It doesn't sound newsworthy, but add some of the following elements and the situation changes:

1. It happened 30 seconds before newstime and a reporter happened to get a great sound recording of the cars colliding.
2. One of the drivers was dressed as a clown on his way to the circus.
3. One car was a police cruiser.
4. It happened two nights ago, but there is spectacular film of the cars colliding and knocking over the TV newsman.
5. It happened 10 years ago.
6. It happened 10 years ago, and it has just come to light that one of the drivers was Pierre Trudeau.
7. It happened 10 years ago. One driver was Pierre Trudeau and the other was Brian Mulroney.

You have a picture. Call the *New York Times*. You're rich.

Most things can be newsworthy in the right context. The communications professional's job is contextualization. The 5 Ws and H must be constantly weighted against standard journalistic criteria and competing stories in a moving matrix. Highlight one aspect and play down another. It is like juggling on roller skates on a moving train. When you get it right, you're not only having fun, but really going places too.

Having decided the most newsworthy angle, you must write a lead, or first sentence. Parkhurst lists some of the types including the question, quotation and humorous leads. There are also shotgun, rifle, umbrella, split, historical, geographic and others detailed in any good journalistic style book.

I agree with whoever said that good writing is just good talking put on paper. One thought per sentence, present tense, active voice and the transmission of simple word pictures are the foundation of clear communication. The release must have a straight spine. The writer must be taking the reader someplace and not deviate. You must start at A and logically end at Z and not divert to math when you promised to deliver the alphabet. This concept of simplicity, or 'journalism as form letter' is the hardest concept for students of journalism or PR to grasp. They all want to be Hemmingway because he once wrote news.

Above all, ask yourself, "who cares?" If you can't picture a nurse, policeman, taxi driver, unemployed labourer, professor or

others being interested, then re-write it. So, instead of writing "A Canadian traveler was rescued by a consular official..." you might try, "Joe Smith, who normally handles minor passport and visa problems for Canadians abroad, became a hero to at least one family today..."

Format

There is a study I like to cite that shows that the average human resources manager looks at the average unsolicited resume for 14 seconds. I suspect the same is true of press releases. A stack of one hundred releases in newsrooms where I used to work was not uncommon, but neither was the fact that 90 if them were single spaced, had no date, had no contact person, were boring or had other faults that eliminated them from contention. Basic format rules are as follows:

1. Leave generous margins all around.
2. Use your organization's stationery.
3. Banish mundane procedural data and get quickly into the headline and body.
4. Type 'for immediate release' or 'not for release before 2 p.m.' and the date in the upper right hand corner. Don't squander your 14 seconds on extraneous facts.
5. Use a short, grabby headline typed in capitals.
6. Write in conversational, journalistic style (consult a style book).
7. Avoid boring details. Try starting with a quote and list dates, places and other details further down.
8. Double or triple space.
9. Tell the whole story, even if it takes 2 or 3 pages. (It will be thrown out if you haven't interested the reporter in the first paragraph, but having done so, you must do a complete job.)
10. End with the traditional marks -30- followed by 'for further information contact Fred Bloggs...' and a phone number.

Hooks

If the editor looks up from your release and asks, "What does this have to do with the price of tea in China?", you don't have a hook. Hooks are reasons for doing the story, today, in this way. Unusual things, human interest and striking photographs are special cases where the hook may be the story itself. A two-headed calf story is news anytime and has to run when discovered.

Obvious hooks are the piggyback kind. National implications of local stories, local angles to international stories, and your

reaction to a continuing story are examples. The easiest are time hooks. A calendar will give you lots of story ideas. People travel at Christmas, March break and in the summer. They start school in September and end it in April or June. There is more unemployment in the winter than in the summer and seasonable types of employment at all times. The weather patterns change about every 3 months and there are a couple of dozen holidays or anniversaries per year. Your organization can plug into a good dozen of these events and piggyback on existing media awareness/interest. In this way, you may even be able to make routine releases of upcoming events, personnel changes and statement of position interesting.

What Else Do You Send?

Releases do not take the place of media tours, private interviews, public service announcements, background briefings, conferences, letters to the editor, and other tools. Moreover, the mailing of a release is a good excuse to send other material. A recent clipping about your organization or on a topic related to your release signals to the media that you are newsworthy. Biographies, cover letters, question and answer sheets (Q and As), transcripts of recent electronic interviews, photos, lists of recent media appearances, company brochures or annual reports all can make a professional press kit.

To the media, a well run communications department signals a well run organization. In times of crisis or controversy, you will be judged, in part, on how professional your communication was during average times.

To Whom Do You Send?

"But we always send to the CBC and they never cover us" says a client. "How did you address the release?" I ask. "The Editor, CBC, Box 500 Stn. A, Toronto, says the complaining client.

The CBC has about 28 buildings in Toronto housing AM, FM, TV, French and English. Each public affairs show has an 'editor', as do the national radio and TV and local radio and TV newsrooms. You need to send 15 releases to CBC alone. There are also 1,500 other AM & FM radio stations in Canada, 130 TV stations, 700 cable systems, 700 business publications with 7 million monthly readers, 850 weekly newspapers with a circulation of 3.3 million and 116 daily newspapers with 5.5 million readers.

I get frustrated when professional communicators say the media is lazy, out to get them and won't cover their events for ideological reasons, and they say their press list contains all of 80 names for the whole country. Media bashing is a smoke screen for

inaction. A trip to the library will generate many complete lists, starting with the "Matthews" list of all Canadian media organizations and outlets.

Media 'Etiquette'

Parkhurst actually breathes a little life into the old cliché of the freeloading reporter who shows up to the press conference because there is food. There may also be crooked politicians, bureaucrats who sleep on the job and industrialists who knowingly poison ground water. But what do these clichés tell us about effective media, government or industrial relations? Just to put the chestnut to rest, when a journalist is covering 4 stories between 10 AM and 4:30 PM all over town, he or she often has to eat on the run.

Simple etiquette rules will help your media campaign:

1. Treat reporters like regular people under pressure to get a story.
2. Brief them well. Then do it again.
3. Don't say you have 'news', say you have some information and let the reporter do his job in deciding if it is news.
4. Don't thank a reporter. That implies he has done you a favour which is unethical. Say his story was interesting, clear or timely.
5. A call before the release goes out to alert the reporter is helpful: A call afterwards is pushy.

Communication Plan

While practitioners should be de-mystifying the media relations process for senior managers, there is too often a sense that more gobbleygook and planning is an end in itself. Planning has its place but the fact is often forgotten that planning is not actually doing anything. It is just planning to do something and does not take the place of real and appropriate action. Better to send out one so-so press release than to write up a plan that has 10 full media kits going out each quarter, but is never implemented.

Finally...

The world is as it is, not as it should be. The media, warts and all, exist. Don't waste time trying to reform the media — change *your* approach. The newsmakers' job is to know everything about media deadlines, style, foibles, values, ethics, needs and what makes news. All the rest is just plain work.

Mr. Bonner heads W. Allan Bonner & Associates, the Toronto-based consulting firm which has provided crisis management and media training to clients in emergency response, corrections, the military, security and intelligence and government.

Further Help

Each book is rated out of 10:

Comber, Mary Anne & Robert S. Mayne, *The Newsmongers*, McClelland and Stewart, 1986 (7)

Gans, Herbert J., *Deciding What's News*, Vintage Books/Random House, N.Y., 1980 (10)

Housman, Carl & Philip Benoit, *Do Your Own Public Relations*, Tab Books, Blue Ridge Summit, PA., 1983 (4)

Hilton, Jack, *How to Meet the Press*, Dodd, Mead & Company, N.Y., 1987 (5)

Mickiewicz, Ellen Propper, *Media and the Russian Public*, Praeger, N.Y., 1981 (7)

Schmertz, Herb, *Good-Bye to the Low Profile*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1986 (6.5)

Siegel, Gonnie McClung, *How to Advertise and Promote Your Small Business*, Wiley, N.Y., 1978 (4)

Zenker, Arnold, *Mastering the Public Spotlight*, Dodd, Mead & Company, N.Y., 1983 (6.5)

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Representation: One Offsider's View

by Laurel Pardy

Accuse a diplomat of being primarily a social gadfly and only secondarily a working public servant and the fires of righteous indignation will be well and truly lit.

The grease that turns the wheels of international intercourse and commerce is the brow sweat of a nation's foreign service. The front line is its diplomatic corps.

Embedded inextricably in the workings of diplomacy is the role of the social function. Social functions allow for easy access to the representatives of other countries in informal surroundings. In addition to access, a social setting also allows for assessment, information exchange and subtle (or not) sparring outside official channels.

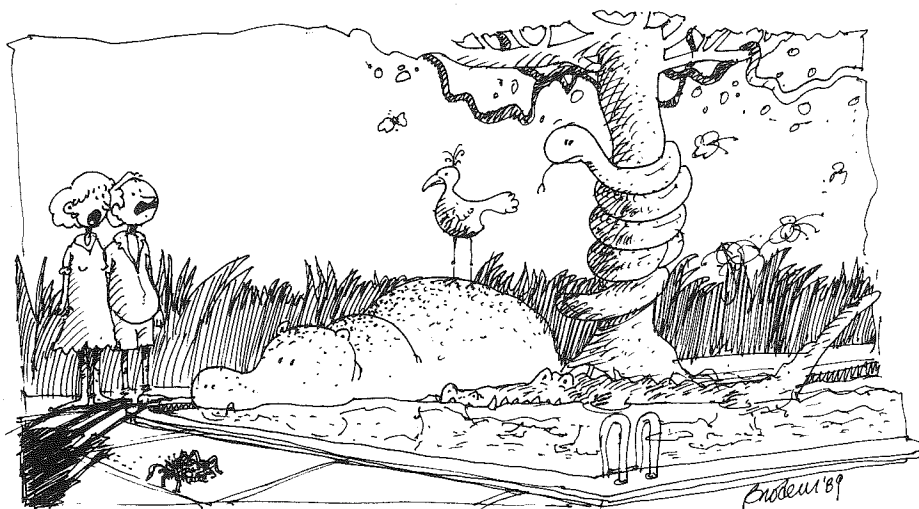
Diplomats of all countries, regardless of their location, are almost always strangers in a strange land. Giving and receiving hospitality with the host country and other diplomatic representatives is the fastest way to learn how to achieve one's country's objectives. It also allows diplomats to arrange appropriate introductions and occasions for visiting officials from the home country.

Social functions are part of the activities required to carry out Canada's diplomatic role overseas. This representational facet of diplomacy is one with which the Canadian government is uncomfortable. It is expensive, it is sometimes ostentatious, it is difficult to defend because the benefits accrue far down the road and it is not understood by many elected officials.

The diplomatic corps, with its plentitude of national pride and cultural differences, makes it necessary to adhere to a more formal and mutually accepted form for social occasions. Hence the adherence to protocol which allows everyone to know the rules and avoid embarrassment, but which creates a necessity for more formal hospitality.

The style, setting and trappings of diplomatic events attract the limelight and often the attention of the social editor. The result is apparent confirmation that a diplomat's work is to socialize at public expense.

Since these are occasions both to show off the best that Canada has to offer and to honour one's foreign guests, there are certain requirements for space, equipment, consumables and ambience. These requirements, seen as a perquisite and defended as a necessity, often create jealousies within and without the foreign service.



Are you sure the Ambassador requested a pool party for the press corps?

The fundamental principle used to determine guidelines for the overseas benefit package has always been that an employee posted abroad should neither gain nor lose by virtue of belonging to a rotational service. Fortunately, it was realized that circumstances abroad differed from those in Ottawa and the concept of equality has so far been balanced by that of equity.

The representational responsibilities of some positions create an appearance of preferential treatment in terms of housing, allowances and general lifestyle. The resulting resentment has been most pronounced between the program and non-program personnel although it can exist between different officer ranks as well, including the head of mission if he/she usurps an undue portion of the hospitality budget.

In addition to the complaints from specific groups, other trends are developing — the cost of representational standard housing is increasing, servants and casual household help are more expensive, more spouses are working outside the home and more public facilities are being used as venues for official hospitality.

Factors such as these are being used to validate a movement toward the appearance of both a vertically and laterally egalitarian public service. There seems to be a reluctance to recognize that differentials exist within the system, to be more specific, to recognize that some positions have more responsibility than others and justify commensurate treatment.

One perception currently making its

rounds is that most spouses are working so that hospitality is mainly being done outside the home and, therefore, representational quality accommodation is not required for most officer positions.

Whether or not spouses work outside the home is irrelevant and to cite them as a causative factor in any evaluation of representational requirements for housing and allowances is spurious. Firstly, there are many countries in which official hospitality outside the home would be unavailable and/or inappropriate. Secondly, if it needs to be done, it is the responsibility of the employee and will be done with or without a spouse's assistance.

Lastly, one must remember that Canadian diplomats abroad are not private citizens, they are Canada. What they say and do, where and how they live, represents all Canadians to the world. A language barrier often makes it difficult to draw the fine distinction between righteous monetary austerity and ordinary monetary cheapness.

It is the head of mission's duty to see that official hospitality at the post is carried out appropriately; it is the department's responsibility to see that it can be done with quality.

*Laurel Pardy, a regular contributor to **bout de papier**, is a frequent writer on issues of international mobility, basing her observations on both research and personal experience.*

The Poets of External

by Sidney Freifeld

External's early archives yield such amazing gems! Readers of *bout de papier* may remember, for example, my yarn (in Vol. 5, No. 3) about the unbelievable correspondence in the middle of World War II between the Canadian Legation in Washington, i.e. Mike Pearson, and the State Department concerning the baseball game between those harrassed organizations. Now let me relate another — this time early post-war — oddity to be found in our files.

The Canadian Government of the day had decreed that "permission will not be granted to civilian Canadian nationals in the service of the Canadian Government abroad or to Department of External Affairs personnel, whether at home or abroad, to accept foreign decorations either for war service or otherwise, except for distinguished services in the saving of life". Under the wartime leadership of the truly great Under-Secretaries, Norman Robertson and Hume Wrong and, at the lower level of Mike Pearson and Hugh Keenleyside, External personnel had endured great personal sacrifices as their contribution to the war effort.

And there was Alfred Rive. He had been severely wounded during the First World War (losing one eye), and he had toiled tirelessly for External throughout World War II on prisoner of war and interned Canadian problems. He was given his first Head of Post assignment in 1946 as — by his own admission — the Not So Very High Commissioner to New Zealand. When, in Wellington, he received notification of the Government's ukase forbidding acceptance of decorations, he was inspired to write — of all things — a touching poem of lament, which he sent to Under-Secretary Mike Pearson. I subsequently served under Alfred Rive for three years in Dublin — his next post after a long sojourn in Wellington — and never knew a kinder or gentler soul in External. But I never suspected that he had a talent for poetry nor, for that matter, the sense of humour which inspired these verses which he sent to Mike Pearson:

November 25th, 1946

Attention: L.B. Pearson, Esq., O.B.E.

Sir, I have the honour to
Acknowledge your dictations,
In your despatch two fifty-six,
Concerning decorations.

When first I was an F.S.O.

"Third Sec." the designation's,
I thought "Some day my chest will show
Some simple decorations."

As "Second Sec." I carried on,
More work and more vexations,
Sustained by thoughts that to be won
Were various decorations.

The years went by, I was a "First".
I had no more vacations.
My high ambition still I nursed —
Some rows of decorations.

As Counsellor I counselled well
And hid my palpitations.
"How near" I thought, "no one can tell —
Those glamorous decorations."

And so, as slow I struggled through
External's permutations,
I saw myself in distant view
Bedecked with decorations.

Through thick and thin, as near or far
Were my perambulations,
I hitched my wagon to a star
And other decorations.

But as I neared the goal apace,
And told all my relations,
External sent a blunt ukase
"You'll get no decorations."

"We'll put you in no Honours List
With flattering citations.
We think your name will not be missed
No stars — no decorations!"

"Nor will it help you to ally
With foreign delegations.
The rigid rule will still apply
No stars — no decorations!"

I have the honour, Sir to be
(Quite without berations,
C.M., C.B., O.B.E.,
Or other decorations)

Your very humble (sir, that's me)
Accept felicitations,
Obedient servant, (you'll agree)
Bereft of decorations,

(Sgd.) Alfred Rive
Not very High Commissioner

Receipt of these lines moved Mr. Pearson
to send the following reply:

Ottawa, 5th February, 1947

Dear Alfred:

I am deeply moved by your poetic lament in your unnumbered despatch of November 25th, in which you revealed your bitter disappointment at being deprived of decorations.

I wracked my brains trying to compose a suitable reply but with no success, so at Hume's suggestion I called upon the poetic talent of the East Block, with the offer of a bottle of whiskey as a bait for the best poetic rejoinder to your tale of frustrated ambition.

The results were most successful and as all the entries were of such excellence, I have decided to send you the lot. The prize was awarded to Stuart Hemsley for the first poem in the attached collection, but it was difficult to choose and you may prefer one of the others. The authors initials are given in each case. I should perhaps warn you that this whole collection, together with your original poem, has been circulated to all our missions, so you may well be assailed with verse from all corners of the globe. I am not sure whether this action will put an end to versification by Heads of Missions or whether it will start a flood of poetry which we will be unable to stop.

I also enclose a copy of a letter from Hume suggesting some verses for inclusion in the reply, which, however, were not followed up by the poets. We did not insist that your "rhyming scheme and damned reiteration" should be followed and Terry MacDermot is the only one who stuck to it closely.

Yours sincerely,
L.B. Pearson

As you might not expect, the Department, and Alfred Rive, were deluged with verse from every quarter of the globe (although the file yields nothing from the Department's most distinguished poets, Doug Le Pan and Robert Ford). With uncharacteristic restraint, I will confine myself to providing below only one poetic reply, viz. the Bottle-of-Scotch prize winner submitted by Stuart Hemsley:

Ottawa, January 18, 1947

Reply to Alfred Rive, Esq., O.S.C.

Sir,

With a sense of deep emotion
I approach your rhymed lament;

For I never had a notion
That you crave embellishment,
Longed to make a clanging entry
With be-medalled foreign gentry.

Though a rose, you blushed unheeded,
Fruitless always was your quest
Of the medal sorely needed
For your Diplomatic chest.
Not a ribbon on his sternum!
Though he strive, he may not earn'em.

May not? Hold! 'tis when they're broken
By exception rules are prove-
'd. Let's design some little token;
Let's get Alfred in the groove!
Beat the cymbal, sound the clarion!
Pin a medal where there's nary 'un!

Something neat — not like the whopper
That your foreign envoy wears;
But more suited to the proper
Corps of High Commissionaires.
Something for our dignitaori,
On his mission to the Maori.

So I cooked a neat Submission,
Cooked it, Alfred, just for you;
Rectifying past omission,
'Twas the least that I could do.
Movd by Council's Topmost Genie!
Passed, and signed by Arnold Heeney!

Thus by awful dispensation,
Compensating years of loss,
Fitting is your decoration;—
Order of the Southern Cross.
Take your Cross and either wear it,
Or, in silence, grin and bear it.

I have, Sir, the dubious honour to be,
Lester B. Pearson, O.B.E.
(for Stuart Hemsley)

Mr. Pearson then concluded this episode
in the poetic life of External Affairs by
sending the following letter to Hume Wrong,
who was by then Canada's Ambassador in
Washington.

Ottawa, 5th February 1947

Dear Hume:

Your suggestion in your letter of
January 3rd that a bottle of whiskey should
be offered for the best reply in verse to
Alfred Rive's poetic lament has revealed a
wealth of poetic talent in the East Block.

The results have been so cheering that I
decided to circulate the whole collection in
the attached sheets. The prize was awarded
to Mr. Hemsley, but only after much critical
consideration. The other competitors were
compensated, however, as Stuart held a

party in Ronnie Macdonnell's office and the
honours were shared by all the poets.

Sidney Pierce took exception to your
remark that he might show "unexpected
gifts" and sent me the following message on
receiving notice of the competition:

"Please advise the Under-Secretary that I
shall compete in the competition and please
convey to him the following:-

Hume Wrong, our representative
To Uncle Sam's great nation,
Suspects my "unexpected Gift"
At rhythmical creation.

I urge that L.B. (Mike) have this
In officers implanted:-
"Your *own* gifts you may unexpect
But others' take for granted."

I trust that the circulation of these poems
will not create a new flood of poetry from
our missions abroad. We may have started
something that we will be unable to stop.

Yours sincerely,
L.B. Pearson

*Sidney Freifeld a former ambassador to
Colombia and Ecuador, and a member of the
Senior Editorial Board of **bout de papier**,
holds the world's record for fly-rod-caught
spotted sea trout.*

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Some Thoughts on Policy Planning in External Affairs

by Don Page

Although it is commonly agreed by diplomats and their academic watchdogs that every foreign office requires a strategic policy planning unit, there remains considerable disagreement in both circles on its mandate and position. Policy planning has multiple facets, the most important are designed to develop and test a range of options in order to determine those most suitable for implementation in a given or anticipated situation. This involves the clarification of policy options, the development of possible solutions to anticipated or current problems and the analysis of alternative courses of action. Strategic, as opposed to tactical planning, is specifically oriented towards the development of new policies through the identification of trends and opportunities that would call into question or buttress the organization's basic objectives and goals.

Foreign policy planners have the common problem of getting their work taken seriously.

Where in a foreign office such a function should be carried out varies according to traditions that are usually rooted in who initiated the unit in the first place. In the Kennan-Marshall tradition of the State Department, the planning unit reports directly to the Secretary of State and, as his "think-tank", remains somewhat independent of the operations of the department. We, however, have placed our Policy Development Bureau more firmly in the bureaucracy by having it report to the Associate Under Secretary. While there are

merits in both reporting relationships, the continuity of the unit and its work are more assured within the bureaucratic stream.

Regardless of whom they work for, foreign policy planners have the common problem of getting their work taken seriously. In the State Department, the Policy Planning Staff has flourished under the leadership of such well known figures as George Kennan, Paul Nitze, Walt Rostow, and Winston Lord without necessarily having a corresponding amount of influence on policy formulation. As in other offices, when the planners' function was not properly understood, they were not always successful in competing for knowledgeable input with the specialists who are on top of the issues and are normally in control of implementing policies. Moreover, as Brock University political scientist Dan Madar has pointed out in his study of planning units, there is an endemic bureaucratic framework built on parochialism, rigidity, territoriality and authority, and rooted in specialization, which weighs heavily against any successful planning operation. Even Kennan, according to his Memoirs, considered his efforts to have failed.

In foreign offices, there is a certain inherent bias that weighs in favour of the intuitive skills of the practicing diplomats when dealing with international events which are essentially regarded as unpredictable. This is especially true in a middle power like Canada whose policies must of necessity be largely reactive to international developments over which it has very little control, thereby militating against predicting events and planning courses of action with any degree of certainty or specificity. Yet, at the same time, it would be short sighted in the extreme to forgo altogether the making of projections on future developments which of necessity require as much forethought as possible if a country is to assume an active foreign policy in the mold of constructive internationalism.

Too often the weight given to the planner's work ultimately depends upon the delegated authority for influencing policy formulation. This is unfortunate since executive authority soon wears thin if policy substance is missing in the planner's work and the specialists come to see themselves as in competition with the planners for the ears of senior management. Both have distinctive and necessary functions that are neither mutually exclusive nor necessarily competitive in the formulation of policy if both understand and respect the other's functions and the inter-relationship between them.

The idea of a policy planning unit for the Department emerged from various suggestions made in the 1960's to make the department a more effective and modern instrument of government. While most senior managers in the Department at that time believed that more long range planning of foreign policy was desirable, it was the Privy Council Office that suggested that it should no longer be left to the line officers within existing geographical and functional divisions to carry it out.

When the Policy Analysis Group was set up in 1969, it was supposed to assist the Under-Secretary, to whom it reported, in the determination, development and analysis of major policy objectives, priorities, and alternatives. It was also to have a somewhat ambiguous policy coordination function. More attention was given, however, to what it was to do than to how these responsibilities were to be carried out in relation to current operations of the Department. Being starved from the outset of adequate personnel in a period of fiscal retrenchment, it did not get off to a very auspicious start.

The really important overview and forward looking policy planning studies continued to be pre-empted by the specialists in the geographical and functional bureaus or contracted to academics without much regard for the unit's mandate. While objec-

tive setting was much in vogue among Ottawa's mandarins following the shock of the oil embargo in 1973, the Group found that it took so many months to secure, if at all, ministerial approval for a statement of what were supposed to be the Government's priorities in foreign policy, that it was outdated or discarded as irrelevant or too vague and academic by the specialist-operators who, in any case, thought that their greater familiarity with the issues automatically gave them an exclusive priority in suggesting what should be done. Moreover, since strategic policy objectives were always having to be modified as the international environment evolved, desk officers did not like the notion of having their activities measured against a moving target, least of all against objectives being set by seemingly meddlesome planners. Except for the Third Option Paper which Klaus Goldschlag wrote and the Group produced, little support was forthcoming from senior management which not only ignored the Group's work, but in its formative years frequently saw its main value as a personnel reservoir for meeting short term operational needs.

The more recent higher profile phase of the unit's work began in 1977 when the Under-Secretary redesigned it as a means of assisting the department in regaining its "central agency" or paramount role in the giving of interdepartmentally coordinated advice on foreign policy to the Government. The unit was renamed the Policy Planning Secretariat as his secretariat for spearheading this process.

The new Secretariat won its spurs by conceptualizing policy in a manner that was easily understood and succinctly transmitted. Beyond its strictly policy planning function, it came to be the source of alternative policy advice, which it drew from its own analysis of current situations. Within the Department, it was also recognized as the place where overview work should be coordinated and written.

Instead of generating its own agenda, in the way the Group had been forced to do in its first years of operation, and which got it into trouble with line authorities, almost all of the Secretariat's work was assigned by the Under-Secretary himself or flowed from the discussions of the Under-Secretarial Group. Through the delivery of consistently high quality policy statements, often to the Prime Minister's Office, the Secretariat became virtually indispensable to External Affairs' senior management. But, at the same time, such seminal pieces as "the strategy for suffocation" continued to flow from the pens of other gifted writers and thinkers who worked apart from the Secretariat.

Subsequent changes in the Secretariat

have been more on the structural than the functional side with several name changes and the addition of an economic and trade component after integration. At a critical period in the Department's evolution, the new Secretariat developed the potential for becoming a unifying force for meeting the Government's wish for building an economic dimension into Canadian foreign policy. This would have made the Policy Development Secretariat unique among foreign offices in the western world and should have enabled it to play a key role in preparing the Government for the broad range of subjects being discussed by the G-7 Economic Summits. For several reasons, that potential has yet to be fully realized.

Foreign policy has an impact on the totality of Government policies.

Although for administrative and functional reasons the current Policy Development Bureau has worked under many titles, perhaps its current functions are best described as a policy overview and analysis secretariat, which sets it apart from the work of other bureaus in the Department. Its ultimate effectiveness depends on its ability to do, and be seen to be doing, essential work that is not being performed elsewhere in the Department. When this has not been done, as in the past, it ran into trouble with other jurisdictions, as the original Policy Analysis Group did with the Academic Relations Division over research contracts and as the Policy Planning Secretariat did with some geographical divisions before its agenda was set by the Under-Secretary. Its unique contribution was to be found in its ability to provide senior management with timely analysis of policy that could be used to fill in the gaps in broad policy overviews or frameworks and thereby improve the quality and consistency of the Department's policy statements. In this regard, other sections of the Department could and have utilized its skills to advance their own interests.

Without line responsibilities to attend to and being responsible to deputy ministers, it should be better able than the line divisions to do the intellectual spade work associated with the development and articulation of their ideas. This was what happened in the development of the central agency concept and the design of the bureaucratic mechanisms for its implementation. Today, it could be seen in thinking about the nature of the foreign office that will be required to meet the challenges of the 1990s and the impact of

demographic changes on policy making and articulation.

In the past, the unit's chairman or director-general has sometimes been used as the Under-Secretary's spokesman in revising the work of others, or as his intellectual gadfly among senior managers. Such a role is fraught with danger, however, and can only be exercised in rare or exceptional circumstances because of its potential for disrupting the good relations which need to prevail among the Under-Secretarial Group. Ultimately, it will be the inclination of the deputies that will determine when a gadfly role is required. But the basic question of policy-making remains. Does the Department require a unit that will look beyond the traditional molds of foreign policy and who in the Department is best suited to fulfil such a role?

When it comes to the preparing and writing of policy overviews and reviews, the Department has usually turned to gifted individuals. Only in the last few years have the policy planners been intimately involved in these exercises, as in the drafting of the Government's response to the report of the Special Joint Committee. Their credibility for doing so depends upon the quality of their work being acknowledged by other units. Seldom do other units, or for that matter senior managers, have the combined time and perspective required for undertaking such tasks. When, in the course of such work, it becomes necessary for events and issues to be viewed from a perspective that transcends that of the functional and geographical bureaus, as in the case of sovereignty, the unit must be able and prepared to swing into action. While the various geographical and functional divisions can reconcile their differences through compromises, it is the planners who have to take the lead in rationalizing their perspectives within the broad Canadian policy framework. Within the increasing complexity of External Affairs' jurisdictions and of international affairs, it is also essential that in doing so they bring more than a departmental perspective to bear on policy development. Recognition that foreign policy has an impact on the totality of Government policies necessitates the closest of relations being maintained with policy thinkers in the Prime Minister's Office, the Privy Council Office, and the Minister's staff.

Beginning in 1978, the Policy Development Bureau has been responsible for coordinating and synthesizing the input of other divisions into foreign policy reviews and writing the introductory overviews and themes for the final presentation. Such work gives it a high profile and in turn makes it better able to respond as an intellectual reservoir for other assignments, like the prepara-

tion of transition briefing books for Ministers, requiring an overview of policy, the setting of priorities, or the integration of political/strategic and economic policy. Where else in the Department could such extensive and broad policy exercises be carried out without disrupting other activities?

Much of the challenge of organizing and managing an effective policy planning unit has been contingent on it being able to anticipate long term issues while remaining able to respond to urgent and often important political needs in the short and medium term. During the mid-1970s, in the 'heyday' of futurism, the Group took an active part in encouraging futures research within the Department. Think-tanks with specialists such as John Kettle, the leading futurologist in Canada, were periodically sponsored, decision-trees were plotted indicating speci-

have a constructive foreign policy in what promises to be a very different decade ahead in which the woods must be distinguished from the trees. Perhaps the planners contribution can be most effective when they join with the operators in a task force looking at a specific issue, region or problem.

Over the years, the most controversial work of the planners has been speech-writing. Even now, those who have served in the Bureau are divided on whether the articulation of policy for public consumption is a proper function for the unit. In its earliest years, the unit had tried to avoid speech-writing because demanding deadlines disrupted its program of studies. Since 1970, however, the Bureau has had the primary responsibility for writing speeches on broad trade and foreign policy questions and think-pieces for delivery to selected audiences.

Speeches affirm and develop the department's policy priorities in a systematic way.

fic foreign policy problems, and several contract studies were commissioned. When futurism passed out of vogue toward the end of the 1970s with the death of its godfather, Herman Kahn, a great deal of steam went out of the movement. By then it was realized that forecasting methods such as dynamic modelling, scenario building, Delphi and cross-impact analysis could not be carried out by the unit, though the information such activities provided was beneficial to its workings. Furthermore, the results of its studies of the future were invariably disappointing as the academic authors that were engaged at that time were not speaking the same language as the Department and their projects too often went astray because they were neither properly defined in the first place nor adequately supervised through to completion. Filing cabinets have been filled with these unused or under-utilized futuristic foreign policy studies.

While External Affairs' traditional responsive mechanism in policy formulation inclines to the use of short-term adjustments at the expense of the planner's function on defining and relating a long-term perspective to current operations, this does not negate the value of longer term studies. In an era of fiscal retrenchment, it has been easy to argue that the considerable personnel resources that would be required to mount an effective futures research program are simply not available. In the meantime, the Department has yet to find a satisfactory means for adapting the work of others to its own policy requirements. We still require a group that will think beyond the next crisis if we are to

In the past, speech-writing has sometimes suffered from the low priority that it was accorded in the Department. It has not always been appreciated, for example, that a speech, after all, is a statement of Government policy and may be as important as confidential exchanges between leaders in explaining or even developing policy. As such, it requires much thought about its presentation and frequently provokes decisions about policy. Indeed, as Henry Kissinger was wont to point out, it is often in speech writing that policy is made regardless of where it is supposed to have been made. The Policy Development Bureau's responsibility is in ensuring that speeches affirm and develop the department's policy priorities in a systematic way.

Work on policy speeches has led the Bureau's staff to become more involved in the briefing of visiting delegations and public groups on Canada's broad or macro foreign policy objectives. Such presentations provide important opportunities for public dialogue on policy and presenting such policies to officials in other departments. But the cost in time for such activities must be carefully monitored lest the speech-writers and makers drift so far away from the centre that their texts become irrelevant. They are, after all, only as good as their next draft.

Other foreign offices have experimented with speech-writing units which, being set apart, may experience difficulty in keeping on top of issues unless they are tied into the press office or minister's office. While the burdens of deadlines sometimes seem intolerable, the great benefit of having speeches

written by the planners is the continual access it provides to ministerial and under-secretarial thinking. Thus far, the trade off seems worth it, providing its speech-writing activities are confined to the truly policy pieces and not the dissemination of information which is best left in the hands of the specialists and the Communications Branch of the Department.

Functioning as a policy secretariat responsible to the changing requirements of senior management means that the Policy Development Bureau's daily functions can never be spelled out as precisely as for a line division. Although its mandate is bound to undergo a shift in emphasis over time, in general terms it has evolved through the application of the lessons drawn from its past to encompass: the analysis of broad economic and political trends in international relations, the identification of the implications for Canada of these trends, and the provision of policy advice on how to deal with them. As the only departmental unit functioning from this broad policy perspective, it tries to provide consistency and continuity to Canada's foreign policy and quality control and stimulus to the process of policy formulation.

In fulfilling this role, the Policy Development Bureau should provide substantive analysis, review, advice, and forward thinking, including recommendations for alternative courses of action, on a wide range of Canadian foreign policy concerns. By monitoring the inter-relationship between regional and functional issues, analyzing the strategic or longer-term consequences of action, it attempts to ensure that a full range of policy and strategy options is presented. On many occasions, it works as an ad hoc task force or coordinator thereof on broad questions, such as Canada's approach to the political agenda at annual economic summits and input into the political agendas of the Francophone and Commonwealth summits.

Because it is not a line division with easily understood functions, its operations remain a mystery to many in External Affairs. These thoughts about its evolution and mandate are meant to elucidate its present role. They are also meant to stimulate thinking in the foreign service at large about the perennial question that faces policy planners and analysts in every foreign office — how do you deal with the tyranny of the urgent without sacrificing strategic planning? If the world of tomorrow is, as I believe it is, important to today's operations, then where and under what conditions can we best plan for the road ahead?

Don Page is currently with the Political and Strategic Analysis Division of the Department of External Affairs.

Baghdad: Life in a War Zone



Staff of Canadian Embassy, Baghdad, November, 1987

by Erik Wang

"This isn't our war — should we really be here?" The question was voiced by an Embassy staff member one morning last March after an Iranian missile had struck our residential neighborhood about 500 meters from the chancery, demolishing five villas and killing eleven Iraqi residents. It was a question we couldn't help asking ourselves from time to time as the war between Iran and Iraq intensified into the "war of the cities", with repeated missile attacks on Baghdad and Tehran.

In August, the two exhausted belligerents agreed to a UN-brokered cease-fire and to negotiations towards a peaceful settlement

under the auspices of the Secretary-General. After eight years of war, Iraqis greeted the cease-fire with spontaneous celebrations, singing and dancing in the streets, fireworks and *feu de joie* from the multitude of weapons, big and small, which had become such a normal feature of life in Iraq.

*For much of the war,
visitors to Baghdad were
often struck by a sense
of normalcy.*

The sense of relief was fully shared by foreigners in Baghdad. They had also shared with the local population some of the risks

and privations through the darker days of the war.

How did the war affect our day-to-day life in the Canadian Embassy?

For much of the war, visitors to Baghdad were often struck by a sense of normalcy. The city of 4½ million inhabitants went about its business without disruption, at least on the surface. Buses ran; trains and planes arrived and departed. Businessmen came and went. The Baghdad International Trade Fair was held annually with only slightly diminished participation by countries and firms, including many Canadian firms, determined to maintain a presence for the longer haul in the potentially rich Iraqi market. The Iraqi authorities made every effort to maintain a "business as usual" atmosphere in spite of the constraints of the war effort, which absorbed the bulk of Iraqi manpower and foreign exchange earnings.

Concerts and poetry festivals were staged; major development projects moved forward.

At the same time, however, there were frequent reminders that Iraq was at war. Poets from around the world (including six Canadian poets) who gathered in Baghdad for the Mirbed Poetry Festival last year were rudely awakened one night shortly after their arrival by a missile striking the bank of the Tigris river a few hundred meters from their hotel. Some left on the next flight home. Most reacted in accordance with the dictum: there is nothing as exhilarating as the sensation of being fired at and not being hit. Canadian poet Henry Beissel was inspired to take pen in hand and compose a lyrical tribute to the courage and steadfastness of the ordinary Iraqi.

*Our locally-engaged
staff felt the full,
sometimes devastating
impact of the war.*

The war intruded on daily life in less dramatic ways. The local economy was severely stretched and food supplies were frequently scarce, with priority for the one million Iraqi men under arms. For a few weeks, butter might disappear from the market. Then, no potatoes; and after they reappeared, suddenly, no tomatoes. There was no rationing system and the shortages were usually brief but unpredictable. As a result, one kept one's larder full and depended heavily on periodic orders from the freeport in Copenhagen. Periodic visits to nearby Kuwait — a difficult eight-hour drive past the war zone by Basra and across the desert — were joyful occasions to stock up on all the consumer goods unavailable in Baghdad. The Canadian Embassy staff in Kuwait won our affection and gratitude for their unfailing support on our shopping expeditions.

The war inevitably meant restrictions on movement. Embassy staff had to apply for permission from the Foreign Ministry four days in advance in order to travel outside of Baghdad. Routes were prescribed and many areas were closed to foreigners including, of course, the front with Iran, as well as large areas of the mountains in the north where Kurdish guerrillas were active.

On one occasion, I had obtained permission to visit Erbil, the capital of the Kurdish Autonomous Region of Iraq to call on the Governor and other officials. While travelling by car accompanied by my daughter and driver, I was stopped at one of the

numerous military check-points and told that I would need additional military escort for the last hundred or so kilometers in to Erbil. After a few minutes, an escort formed up ahead of and behind my car. With progressive reinforcements en route, by the time we arrived in Erbil, we were being protected by 54 battle-ready Iraqi troops riding in three trucks, three jeeps with heavy machine guns and one armoured personnel carrier. They were on full alert. The escort officer, a young Lieutenant, apologized for the inconvenience and explained that (unknown to us) Kurdish insurgents, backed by Iran, had ambushed a convoy on this road the previous day and killed eleven Iraqi soldiers. He said he had received "strict instructions not to lose the Ambassador and his daughter".

One became accustomed to the presence of soldiers on guard duty throughout Baghdad, at the ready with their Kalashnikovs in front of major public buildings and outside embassies and residences. They were well disciplined, and incidents seemed to be rare, but it was clear that these weapons were for use, not decoration. From time to time, the military set up check-points on major thoroughfares to look for deserters or draft evaders. On one occasion, our registry clerk happened to be walking through a populous shopping area not far from the chancery when gunfire erupted from a check-point. A young man in civies came running along at top speed, weaving in and out of shoppers, with two soldiers in hot pursuit with guns blazing. Luckily, no one was hit and when the fugitive ducked down a side alley, people picked themselves up from the sidewalk and continued on their way largely unperturbed.

From time to time, the Foreign Ministry organized diplomatic outings for heads of mission and wives. They were always accompanied by heavy security. On one occasion during a parade and folk festival in the town of Baquba, the corps was seated in the reviewing stands when terrorists attacked the Iraqi Governor and associated Baath Party dignitaries in the adjoining stand. Bullets flew in all directions as Iraqi soldiers returned the fire, and participants took refuge under seats and behind pillars. A number of by-standers were killed in the cross-fire. The assembled officials and diplomats escaped with bruised shins and injured pride.

Tight censorship and war-time restrictions imposed on information had an inhibiting effect on our contacts with ordinary Iraqis, who were generally discouraged from mixing with foreigners. Officials were discouraged from accepting diplomatic hospitality except when approved on a selective basis for official purposes. Concern about security

sometimes went to extreme lengths: there was no information published about the weather in the Government-controlled media. Such information might be of some use to the enemy. News from the front and outside world was carefully filtered in accordance with the government's perception of its possible impact on public morale and the war effort. Foreign magazines and newspapers were unavailable locally and our subscriptions arrived anywhere from one to three weeks late. We depended heavily on short-wave broadcasts from the BBC, Voice of America or the CBC, when we could bring it in.

In spite of this restrictive climate, all Canadians in Iraq could cite instances of the kindness and friendship of individual Iraqis. I travelled as much as I could throughout Iraq to gain a better understanding of its culture, problems and potentialities. I was invariably received and welcomed in the best traditions of Arab hospitality.

Our locally-engaged staff felt the full, sometimes devastating impact of the war. From the early years of the war, the men of prime military age had departed into the army, some never to return. All members of our dedicated local staff of twenty-two had sons, relatives or friends at the front. There were heart-breaking moments when we grieved with them on the loss of a loved one. News of a major offensive would always cast a shadow of apprehension.

*Windows were blown
out of several of our
staff quarters.*

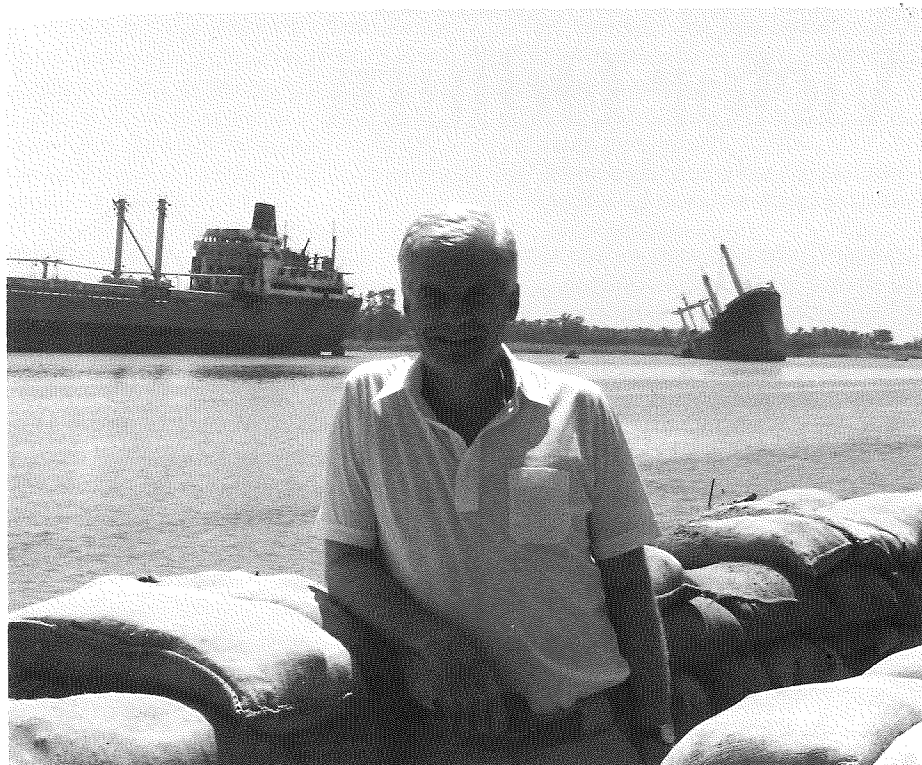
Baghdad was only 110 kilometers from the front lines to the east. On still nights, when conditions were right, one could sometimes hear the faint rumble of artillery to the east. There were Iranian air raids on Baghdad in the early years of the war, but as Iraqi air defenses became stronger, and as the Iranian air force ran out of spare parts for their American-made aircraft, these became rare in later years. It was the missile which brought the war to Baghdad and Tehran in a very emphatic way.

The "war of the cities" consisted of sporadic bouts of missile bombardment on capitals and other major cities. Up until the beginning of this year, it was a one-sided affair, to Baghdad's disadvantage. From 1983, Iran had struck intermittently at Baghdad with a medium range missile of Soviet origin known as the "Scud-B", thought to be of 1950's vintage and to have been acquired by Iran second or third hand

from Libya or Syria. Although Iraq also had the Scud-B in its inventory, Tehran was beyond range of this missile.

The Scud-B was originally designed for use with a nuclear warhead in circumstances where it did not need to be particularly accurate to achieve its purpose. Given this inaccuracy, probably compounded by its somewhat shop-worn history, it was difficult

Most Embassies felt that, at this tempo, the risks were tolerable. The East Europeans had a policy of not posting staff with children to Baghdad during the last three years of the war. Otherwise, it was largely business as usual in the diplomatic corps, enlivened from time to time during missile bouts by active consultations as to whether any particularly threatening pattern was developing.



E.B. Wang at the Shatt-al-arab at Bajra.

for us to discern any clear targeting pattern or to predict where the next one might strike. They tended largely to fall in the south-east quadrant of the city where there were oil refineries and military camps as well as residential areas. There were, however, unsettling exceptions, and clearly no neighbourhood was immune to attack. Most Embassy staffs lived and had their chanceries in the central or (in the case of Canada and others) western part of the city. The missiles fell usually late at night, presumably because the Iranians preferred to bring them out of safe-keeping for the launching procedures under cover of darkness. Because the Iranians seemed to have limited stocks and few launchers, we rarely received more than one missile on any one night. After a few days or weeks, there would be a pause or moratorium of weeks or months before they resumed. The thundering impact of several hundred kilos of high explosives could be heard throughout Baghdad but unless one was unlucky enough to be at the point of impact or within fifty meters, one could roll over and go back to sleep.

The lack of symmetry in missile capabilities was finally overcome by Iraq when it was able to produce and unleash, at the end of February 1988, a longer range modified version of the Scud-B capable of reaching Tehran. During the period of seven weeks between February 28 and April 19, Baghdad and Tehran experienced missile exchanges of unprecedented intensity. Thirty-eight fell on Baghdad during this period, often two or three per day, while three times as many fell on Tehran and other Iranian cities. In Baghdad, several Embassies including the Canadian, had near misses. Windows were blown out of several of our staff quarters. The wife of our communicator escaped serious injury, or worse, thanks to the protective film and blast curtains which the Department had authorized us to install on all windows of our chancery and staff quarters. A large picture window shattered and collapsed into the room in which she was standing, but the film and curtains held.

The Canadian Embassy, like other embassies, had temporary and partial evacuation measures in place, including

"safe-haven" bungalows rented for our staff in a tourist village one hundred kilometers west of Baghdad, beyond Scud-B range. In close consultation with Ottawa, we trimmed down our personnel and dependents to the extent possible, while maintaining basic consular and other Embassy services. Many foreign companies evacuated their personnel to camps outside of Baghdad or to Jordan or other neighboring countries, or brought them home on extended leave. Most western airlines suspended services to Baghdad. Tensions were mounting and a number of embassies were actively considering total evacuation when, after 52 days of intermittent missile attacks, Iraq and Iran decided to accept an undeclared moratorium on the war of the cities. Fortunately, no diplomatic personnel had been killed or injured. There had been a tragic toll of casualties amongst Iraqi (and Iranian) civilians. Four months later, Iraq and Iran accepted the UN cease-fire.

At the time of the cease-fire, we were down to a modest community of sixty-one Canadian souls in Iraq, including 20 staff and dependents at the Embassy. Our community had been shrinking gradually through the war years, as the economy went more and more onto a war footing. Several Canadian companies, including Bell Canada International and General Motors of Canada, maintained throughout at least a minimum presence.

Iraq has now embarked on an ambitious program of post-war reconstruction and development. Canadians familiar with the market will be well positioned to participate in an economy which has enormous underlying strength and resilience, based on rich oil reserves. If the cease-fire with Iran can be converted into a durable and comprehensive peace, the future prospects for Iraq should be glittering.

This is part of the answer to the question: "Should we really be here?" Canadian businessmen depended heavily on Embassy support and assistance in their dealings with Iraqi state enterprises through these years. Not only in terms of trade potential but also taking into account Iraq's important place in the Arab world and vital role in regional stability, it seemed very much in Canada's interest to continue to maintain that presence. All Canadians who served in the Canadian Embassy in Baghdad through difficult times over the past eight years can take satisfaction from knowing that they contributed to that objective.

Erik Wang was Canadian Ambassador in Baghdad from 1986 to 1988. He is now Inspector General with the Department of External Affairs.

Preparing for the Worst: Post Evacuation à la Victor Odlum

by Don Page

One of the most colourful appointees as a Canadian Head of Post was General Victor Odlum. He was originally appointed in 1940 as our first High Commissioner to Australia (in order to relieve the Prime Minister of the political embarrassment of having him command the Second Canadian Division). When his efforts to have Canadian Forces engaged in Pacific defence caused problems with the Australian Government, Odlum was moved to China when that post was opened in 1943. Once a general, always a general. The post was run with his accustomed military flare, much to the consternation of his diplomatic

Odlum informed External Affairs that he had devised his own plan of escape.

"As I have not heard from you, I must assume that you have not been able to picture a probable situation and, as a consequence, have neither directions nor advice to give at the present moment. I am not at all surprised at this, for it must be more difficult for you than it is for me to envisage what is likely to happen.

"I have, naturally, because it is my custom to do so, made plans of my own. To these I will adhere unless, before it is necessary to put them into effect, I receive other instructions from you. They are based upon the prime consideration that the only transport

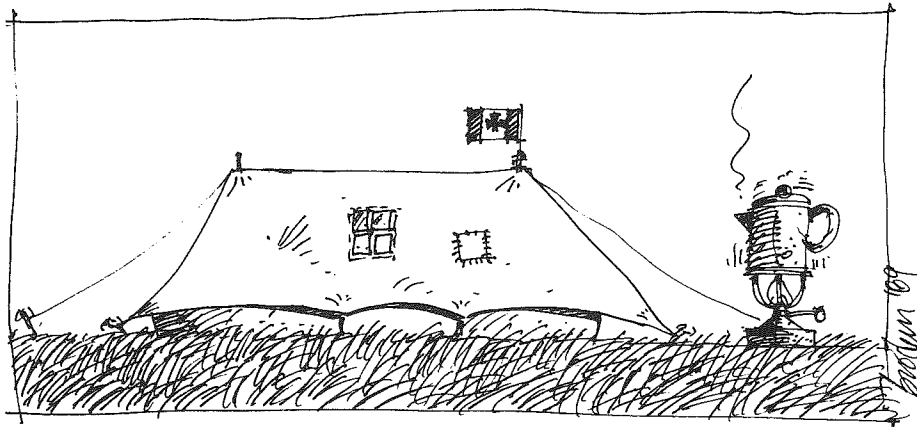
it had been agreed by the Turkish Government, as well as by my senior colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps, that a move was necessary.

"It is true that here in Ankara, we have not as many administrative problems requiring last minute attention as rest on the shoulders of the Canadian Ambassador in Athens. There are a good many Canadians in Greece; but there are few, if any, Canadians in Turkey for whom we would have to assume responsibility. The number is certainly negligible. In any event, we could not do much for them because those who are here in Turkey are out of our reach. We have no facilities which we could place at their disposal in any event. My major task would be to look after the Embassy staff and records, and to keep you advised up to the last moment.

"In order to be able to carry out the programme I have in mind, it would be necessary to secure, at some early stage, a number of drums of petrol and with them a supply of oil. We would keep these stored and ready for emergency. We ought to have one vehicle which could play the part of a truck to carry our heavier material as well as the supply of petrol. It is true that there are petrol stations between here and Beirut; but, under the circumstances which would certainly prevail, we could not be sure that their supplies of petrol would be available for us. The petrol in the tanks would probably be requisitioned by military authorities.

"If you concur in my major suggestion, I think it would be wise to have a sturdy truck shipped to Ankara. This truck would be most valuable in any event. It would be invaluable in case of evacuation.

"There are financial aspects to the situation concerning which I have already written you. I have asked that an emergency fund be placed at my disposal in the form of physical currency, to be held as a reserve until the worst comes or, in the alternative, until the whole situation clears up.



"Fortunately, I brought with me some camping equipment."

colleagues who resented being ordered around and inspected as if on parade, for no other reason than to satisfy the General's wishes to be a commanding officer. When he was posted as Ambassador to Ankara in 1948, he very quickly found another avenue in which he could exercise his military flare.

In the spring of 1948, there was some fear that the Soviet Union might invade Greece and Turkey. Assuming that their likely route of evacuation from Ankara would be cut off by the prior invasion of Greece, and in the absence of any directions from Ottawa,

facilities we will have under our own control will be our motorcars. At the present moment, we have three of these. I am informed that Colonel Bingham's car has already left New York. I would make immediate use of at least three of these cars and with them send (possibly) Colonel Bingham and (certainly) Mr. Cox with the majority of the members of the staff. They would travel by overland route heading for Beirut, in Syria. I would remain behind myself and might keep Colonel Bingham with me. I would not feel like leaving Ankara until

"As long as signal communications continue, I would be able to keep in touch with you and to get last minute instructions. At the same time I know that, as General LaFlèche [Canadian Ambassador in Athens] has suggested, communication systems may become badly disorganized. Even if not disorganized, they will certainly be so congested that I could not be sure that messages would get through . . .

"I am sure that, through my Arab friends, I would be given all necessary protection and assistance in travelling through Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Arabia and *parts* of Palestine. Moreover, through them and in Egypt, I would be able to secure local funds in any grave emergency.

"At an early date a substantial shipment of canned goods and supplies, ordered last fall, will arrive from Eaton's, in Toronto. An ample reserve will be set aside for use *only* if and when it may be necessary to move out of Turkey under pressure.

Fortunately, and perhaps with some foresight, I brought with me camping equipment, including knives, forks, plates, cups and cooking utensils. Moreover, there are two camp beds and with them, a "roll" table and folding canvas chairs. These would provide comfortable travelling accommodation for my wife and Mrs. Cox. The rest would have to adjust themselves to "service" conditions and customs. As a matter of fact, even without any help from you, I am reasonably prepared to face any emergency; but a truck, primarily to carry a supply of petrol, would certainly be of great assistance. It is true that my camping kit was not designed for so many people; but by second and even third "sittings", it could be made to do. I even have a South African canvas water bag, and a small Australian silk tent!"

Ottawa gave him neither additional funds with which to purchase petrol nor a truck, and a year later he was once again writing to the Under-Secretary to update his evacuation plans in case, this time, of an attack from the air. Not to be defeated by Ottawa's reluctance, he had devised his own means of acquiring a truck in the event of an emergency.

"Assuming that from the first hour communication would be gone and that all traffic, including air, would be in confusion, I turned my thoughts to transport by motor car and truck. These could be under our own control. Reference to previous despatches on this subject will show that I have not changed my mind. In fact, my opinions are held more firmly than ever.

"I admit that there is a school of thought which believes that Turkey, being tough, will not be attacked, but will instead, be side-tracked. The many who think this way are

taking the situation very light heartedly and are making no preparations.

"For my own part, I cannot adhere to this school. It would be very wrong for me to do so, unless I had sound grounds for my convictions. Instead of having such grounds, my mind turns in an entirely different direction, as will be disclosed in the despatch referred to above; and so I feel it my duty to provide for the worst eventuality, not for the best.

"To evacuate the last Embassy group (after all records have been destroyed) by motor car would mean:

- (a) Sufficient cars *and* a truck, the latter to carry gasoline and supplies;
- (b) Reserve gasoline (since the purchase of gasoline at that time would almost certainly be impossible);
- (c) Reserve food supplies (for the same reason);
- (d) *Usable currency* — Turkish lira, U.S. dollars or gold.

"I have consistently assumed that a route to the north would be an impossible one; that the coastal harbours of Turkey would be in confusion (under bombs, as was Boulogne when I tried to get out of France in 1940); and that the only feasible route would be the south, through the Arab countries.

"Believing those things, I set out to make concrete plans. We have three passenger cars; and we *could* use the station wagon as a truck, if necessary, but it would hardly be strong enough to carry a substantial load over the bad Turkish roads. A six-wheel truck would be much more reliable — and for one of these I have made arrangements. But I will only buy it in emergency. I have Turkish lira and U.S. dollars in the bank — although I have not yet succeeded in changing the latter into physical currency. (This I expect to do before the summer is over.) I have put aside a reserve of gasoline — as the Embassy accounts will show. I have adequate reserve food in storage and so I am nearly ready . . .

"You will ask why I show so much concern at a time when "peace" propaganda is the major feature of the moment and while everywhere — except in China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Greece — the air is so quiet that it is almost somnolent. Hitler's attack on Russia was a "noisy" one and its preparations were obvious to all observers. But the Russians do not think or act as Hitler did. With them everything is screened behind veils of distance and silence. If and when they strike, it will probably be just as silently and with great speed . . .

"In a letter I received a few days ago from General Pope [Head of the Canadian Military Mission in Berlin], he made reference to the fact that from every quarter come reports that there is neither tension nor apparent prep-

aration for aggressive movement. General Pope very shrewdly added that when all men talk that way it is time for some men to be on their guard!"

The saga does not end here as Odum kept firing off further despatches on other evacuation procedures that he was planning, such as how he had used petty cash to purchase small quantities of sodium nitrate and sodium chlorate which he had used to conduct experiments in the chemical destruction of documents before demanding that Ottawa ship him, by separate sea bags in order to avoid an explosion, sufficient quantities for the anticipated emergency. Given how ill-prepared the Department had been to assist those who found themselves under German invasion in Western Europe in 1940, Odum's anxieties were not entirely without foundation, but, as usual, overdrawn.

Fortunately for both Odum and the Department, his evacuation plans never had to be activated. The lengthy telegraphic battle between a Department which sought to moderate or, more often, ignore his plans and pleas for help in implementing them, and an Ambassador determined above all else to carry them through was happily avoided by a more peaceful turn in world events.

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From Vietnam, Looking Outward

story and photos by Bruce Burton

From April 27 to May 12 a delegation of 12 Canadian academics visited Vietnam to examine conditions and prospects with a view to compiling a book on Vietnam in the 1990's: Canadian Perspectives. They also had talks in Bangkok, Thailand before and after their visit. Two of the academics, Professor David Wurfel and Professor Bruce Burton of the University of Windsor, have written short articles on the impressions they formed about Vietnam. Looking Outward by Professor Burton is the second of a two part series. Impressions of Perestroika, Vietnamese Style by Professor Wurfel appeared in the Fall issue of bout de papier (Vol. 6 No. 3).

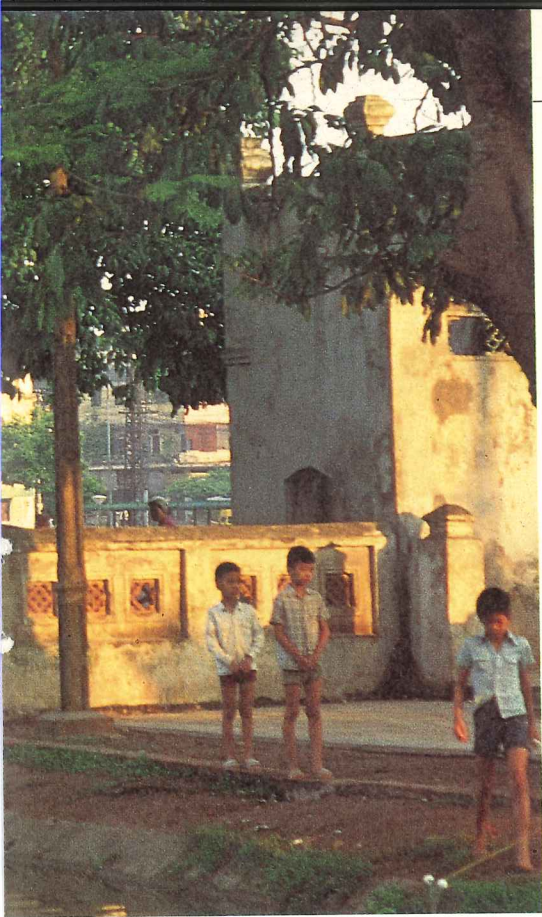
All the while that the protracted negotiations over the future of Kampuchea have been taking place in various world venues, Vietnamese party and government officials, journalists and academics have been engaged in ongoing discussion and analysis of their own country's future position in the international system.

The debate has been and continues to be a wide-ranging one, encompassing strategic, economic, political and even cultural dimensions and involving Vietnam's relations with all the major global and regional powers. It is a debate that appears to be largely conducted in pragmatic, national interest terms rather than in the language of conventional Marxism-Leninism. During our visit we heard nothing about "the international correlation of forces" or the "fundamental contradictions" in world politics.

This debate is also one in which participants frequently punctuate their remarks with the phrase "after 1990", taking as beyond question that Hanoi will be with-

drawing all its armed forces from Kampuchea by early that year, come what may. Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach was particularly adamant on this point. During the course of a lively hour-long exchange, he repeatedly reaffirmed this commitment, whatever worse-case scenarios we threw at him. He and his officials professed confidence in the ability of the "Heng Samrin armed forces" to cope with the Khmer Rouge after the Vietnamese withdrawal. In Hanoi's view, the "Pol Pot group" is much weaker than the Afghan Mujahideen and therefore even if attacks on the government continue in a post-withdrawal Kampuchea, the security situation will become "no worse than that currently prevailing within the Philippines."

The Vietnamese are in fact eager to be rid of the heavy burden of military losses, diplomatic opprobrium and international economic costs consequent upon their prolonged military intervention on behalf of the Heng Samrin regime. As the former Vietnamese ambassador to Canada told us, "For



School boys in Sadec linger in a park which extols Vietnam's Communist Party.

Vietnam, the urgent problem is how to concentrate on our economy”.

Indeed, economic rather than strategic imperatives appear to be currently accorded greater priority in both debate and policy

making in Hanoi. It is not that strategic concerns are ignored. Rather, the Vietnamese have come to recognize, as have the members of the United Nations at large, that “national security” embraces much more than military concerns. Undoubtedly, many would argue that for Vietnam continuing economic underdevelopment and backwardness constitute a much greater threat to national security than even the Chinese divisions mustered along the common border or the Chinese naval task force encroaching upon Vietnamese positions in the Spratlys.

It is for these reasons that a great deal of the discussion about what happens “after 1990” is focussed on aspirations in the economic sphere. The expectations clearly are that once the military withdrawal from Kampuchea is complete and some form of coalition government is established in Phnom Penh, normalization of relations with Japan, the ASEAN countries, Western Europe, Canada, Australia, and even the United States will take place. This in turn will be followed by a steady expansion of Vietnam's foreign trade, a significant increase in assistance from international organizations and of governmental aid from Western countries (at present, only UN agencies such as UNDP, FAO and WHO, along with France and Sweden, have substantial programmes in Vietnam), a flow of investment into Vietnam and the establishment of joint venture projects, growing economic cooperation with ASEAN countries and the steady integration of Vietnam into the mainstream

of the capitalist-dominated world economy.

However, Hanoi is certainly not waiting until 1990 before taking initiatives in pursuit of these aspirations. The New Investment Law is now firmly in place, though its effectiveness has yet to be adequately tested. Delegations of Japanese, American and European businessmen are being warmly welcomed. Potential investors from Japan in particular visit in large numbers, and are by now poised at the starting gate and all set to go in 1990, or earlier, once the United States and ASEAN governments give the all clear signal. The Vietnamese have also been successfully promoting trade relations with the ASEAN countries, including such “hard-line” members of the anti-Vietnamese coalition on the Kampuchean question as Singapore and Thailand, and Vietnam's ably led embassy in Bangkok is now one of its largest anywhere.

While there will certainly be increasing emphasis on diversification of Vietnam's economic relationships, there is no suggestion that the pursuit of this diversification will lead to a Vietnamese exit from the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The integration of Vietnam within the COMECON framework is already too advanced for any major reversal to take place. Moreover, we were assured that close

Cao Dai temple in Tay Ninh. Cao Dai priests were off limits to visitors in 1986, while conversations were facilitated in 1988. The Cao Dai history of resistance has not been forgotten by the regime.



political, economic and military relations with the Soviet Union are going to remain "a cornerstone" of Vietnamese foreign policy. Soviet economic assistance, with all its drawbacks and deficiencies (and in informal conversations we heard plenty about these!), constitutes the major source of foreign aid, and continuance of the comprehensive military assistance received from Moscow is regarded as crucial in the face of ongoing uncertainty about future Chinese policy towards Vietnam.

From the perspective of Hanoi, it is indeed China that is seen as posing the main long-term problem for Vietnam, and not the United States or ASEAN or even Japan, despite the concern expressed by some officials about that country's rising military potential. Geographical proximity ensured that in the past Vietnamese language, literature, religion and traditional political and social organization were all heavily influenced by the Chinese model and that until the 1960s the Vietnamese communist movement had closed links with the Chinese Communist Party. Such propinquity, however, also meant that on many occasions before the French colonial era, the Vietnamese rose against Chinese imperial rule or had to defend their political independence from China on the battlefield. ("Sixteen Chinese invasions — and every one defeated!" one Foreign Ministry official exclaimed to us.)

When China invaded Vietnam in 1979, within less than four years of the withdrawal of American military and political power from Indochina, all the old fears and animosities were reinforced, and the recent clashes in the Spratlys have stirred them up once again. Hanoi currently believes that, even "after 1990", Beijing will do little to moderate its hostile policies unless the Vietnamese accept Chinese hegemony without question. "How to cope with China?" and "How to live in peaceful coexistence with, and yet independent of, such a large, threatening neighbour?" are questions that are likely to preoccupy Vietnamese elites for some time to come. And since Canada is regarded as having had some useful relevant experience, Canadian visitors should not be surprised if asked, as we were: "How do you deal with *your* big neighbour?"

The interest in Canada extends beyond its possibilities as a role model for handling relations with the local great power. There clearly is the hope that Canada might be willing to play some part in a future international peacekeeping or monitoring force in Kampuchea. We did of course explain why such an idea might not necessarily be greeted with unbridled enthusiasm in Ottawa. However, ours must be one of the few countries



Hanoi's citizens seem to enjoy just as much as visitors the tranquil beauty of early morning hours around the lakes.



Uncle Ho's image is raised high on a government building in Hanoi for May 1st.

whose participation in such a force would be welcomed both in Hanoi and Bangkok. As Foreign Minister Thach put it, "History has brought Canada into the region and history could bring Canada back in."

Whether or not Canada agrees to become directly involved in the Kampuchean peace process, our discussions with government officials clearly indicated that the regime would welcome a renewal of official Canadian developmental assistance after 1990. At the moment, the Canadian presence is limited to a small handful of Canadian NGOs, such as the Mennonite Central Committee and Fraternité Vietnam, who are offering some modest unofficial developmental and humanitarian assistance. What can be achieved by even a modest outlay of funds is impressively illustrated by the M.C.C. aided drainage and irrigation project at Tan Xuoi in Vinh Phu province. (Any visitor from Canada is assured of a cordial reception from this rural Vietnamese community!)

It is difficult to assess the post-1990 prospects for the development of Canadian trade and investment relationships with Vietnam. Canadian businesses, with one or two notable exceptions such as Petro-Canada, do not yet appear to be following the example of their Japanese, European, Australian, and American counterparts and undertaking exploratory visits to the country. Partly as a consequence of this, even southern Vietnamese entrepreneurs have no clear idea of what Canada has to offer by way of a market for exports and as a source of imports and investment.

There is, however, one segment of Vietnamese society that has clearly identified what it would like to receive from Canada — and other Western countries. Vietnamese scholars are eager for more contact with the West. They would of course ultimately like to be able to visit universities in the West, but their more immediate concern is to have access to recent Western books. Because of Vietnam's acute foreign exchange shortage, university and research institute libraries in both Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City are unable to purchase such works. The only post-1975 English-language books and journals available in these libraries are those published in Moscow. The availability of French-language material is a little less unsatisfactory only because of exchange agreements with certain academic institutions in France. This situation perpetuates Vietnam's dependence on the Soviet bloc and hinders diversification of its international and cultural relations. Donations of English or French books to the country's impoverished academic libraries would contribute in a modest but constructive way to change in Vietnam.

Bruce Burton is an Associate Professor with the Department of Political Science and coordinator of international relations at the University of Windsor.

The New Internationalism: Implications for Canada's Foreign Policy and Foreign Service

by John Kirton

*The following was originally a speech given to a meeting of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers which was subsequently revised for publication in *bout de papier*.*

In considering the challenges and changes that confront Canada's foreign policy and Foreign Service over the next

decade, it is important to begin with a recognition of the fundamental forces that are transforming the post World War II international system and order as we approach its half century anniversary. There are basic changes in the relative capability among the major powers in the system that are generating a new internationalism in the world. This new internationalism means a different price tag and a different role for Canada. It is a larger role than we had in the past, but not necessarily a happier one. It means more burdens, more demands, more requirements for new investments, and maybe the possibility for exercising rather more influence in the

world than Canadians have traditionally thought, or dared hope, they could.

The most striking trend in contemporary world politics is the systematic, sustained and probably irreversible decline of the United States as a system-dominant power. The American Empire was meteoric in its rise; its dominance at its height was historically unprecedented and, partly as a result, the speed and magnitude of its descent was unparalleled as well. It is clear that Americans have now recognized the trend and have begun to debate its implications for their role in the world. Students of Canadian foreign policy largely have not. In this, they

The Toronto Summit: "No one who has ever gotten an invitation to the Summit has ever exercised their option not to show up."



Photo credit: Bill McCarthy

have perhaps just followed the lead of their government, whose green paper on foreign policy, *Competitiveness and Security*, was premised on an America exercising perpetual primacy in the world.

Does the U.S. domestic political system have the carrying capacity to cope with the unfortunate historical fact of a reduced place for America, in what is now a much more integrated world? There is nothing in America's historical experience to prepare them for this condition. When they were weak, they were insulated by an isolationist foreign policy and British hegemony from outside predators. For most of their life as a country, they have been on an upward swing in relative power, which has reinforced the extraordinary sense of self confidence and

some of its imperial pretensions, Afghanistan being the latest.

In this age of the two declining dinosaurs, where even an outburst of institutionalized superpower summitry seems insufficient to engender a condominium of the duopolist, to whom will power pass? Across the Pacific, will it be China or Japan? Canadians informed by historical baggage, tend to answer China. They are wrong, at least for the next quarter century or so. Clearly, Japan, in terms of relative national capability, is going up — straight up. It is not just a post-war phenomenon. It came not just after Honda managed to export its products into the United States. It is a longer 20th century trend. Japan was rising rapidly until 1941. It flattened out while they fought and lost the

How much longer can Canada go on running a foreign policy on the cheap?

exceptionalism which has characterized the American republic since its inception. But, if one looks closely at its critical capabilities for the future, at the foundation for big-project science, national security science or the dynamic technologies of the future, the situation is quite clear. Not only American corporations, but America itself is hollow at the core.

What is the solution for the United States? One hope for them is to adopt the Canadian model, which has stood their fellow North American country in such good stead during the century which, in a quiet way, has indeed belonged to it. Here the prescriptions are clear — demilitarize, accept massive amounts of direct foreign investment from the technological, managerial and financial powers of the world, and because this is a Canadian rather than Japanese model, accept as a basic national value effective multiculturalism, and the openness to the outside world which genuine multiculturalism brings.

The second country experiencing a difficult time on the curve of relative capability is the Soviet Union. They too have recognized their decline and this recognition has brought Gorbachev to the fore. Will Gorbachev endure? Yes, if only because the maternalistic, middle aged baby boomer in the Soviet Union — Communist yuppies — yearn for the rewards that only he and his approach can bring. Will Gorbachevism turn the Soviet Union around? Probably not. The flight path of the Soviet Union through history in terms of relative capability is basically a straight line. It's not going up nor is it going down. In a sense, it has recognized its historical fate, and begun to withdraw from

war. But their ascent was frozen for only ten years. Then, they took off exactly where they left off and kept going. The problem for Canada is that, relative to our competitors, we are lagging very badly. This is nowhere more true than in our broadcast media, whose images of Japan are still locked in traditional stereotypes and the worldview of World War II.

As to the newly industrializing countries, who are most visible across the Pacific, they are not generating a new strata of middle powers of the kind that we historically would love to form a partnership with. Most of the NICs are basically the Guadeloupes of the dominant Anglo-American imperial systems of the past rather than the most historically resilient "likeminded" middle powers in Europe and India. Once one gets beyond Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, to look at more longstanding middle powers such as Mexico, there are few who are willing or able to take the leap into being major middle powers, able to practise the diplomacy of constraint and eventually graduate into the major power rank. The debate really comes down to India or Brazil, and whether their second level space and nuclear programs can withstand the competing claims of their international indebtedness and the demands of their populations.

And, what about Europe? Despite the emergence of real European cooperation on the road to 1922, Europe is ultimately too multipolar to be a single entity or even a very stable bloc. And, even if it appears to the outside world as a single thing, there remains the questions of whose Europe is it to be? The historic fear in Canadian foreign policy — the distrust of a regional Europe or a for-

tress Europa — what was offered in the late 1960's and the 1970's — a French-centred Europe, just when Gaullism was imposing itself on Canadian foreign policy and Canada with such destructive consequences. But now that Gaullism has gone, or shifted its target to New Zealand, the proper French place in the European and global scheme of things has become more apparent. This more modest France highlights Germany as the dominant power in the European region. This is overwhelmingly evident in the economic sphere. But Germany is also moving — slowly and cautiously but relentlessly and cumulatively — beyond that.

The world of the year 2000 will not be one of isolated and competitive regional blocs, for neither the configuration of emerging powers and the cascading, multifunctional interdependencies among them will allow for that. In the year 2000, the dominant powers are going to be an aging United States and Soviet Union, and fast-fading Britain and France and an ascending Japan and Germany. Torontonians can be forgiven for adding Italy, partly because things Italian matter so much in Toronto, but also because Italy was at the seven power Summit that Toronto hosted last year. (Those outside Toronto will have to settle for the fact that Italy now has a greater GNP than the United Kingdom as evidence for Italy's inclusion.) Japan, Germany and Italy are, of course, the great powers who lost the Second World War. That may be why they have grown so relatively rapidly in the postwar period. It is certainly why they were excluded so systematically from the institutionalized arrangements for managing international order in the postwar world. The challenge for Canadian foreign policy, because we too were often excluded, is to recognize our natural affinity with this trilogy of non-mother countries and to think up a new modern generation of international institutions in which Germany, Japan, Italy and Canada have their rightful place.

A few years ago some thinkers in External Affairs invented the term "plurilateralism" to begin this Canadian exercise in new thinking. To add to this, one might usefully resurrect an old and forgotten term in the lexicon of international relations — that of a great power concert. In world politics today, one exists and operates with remarkable effectiveness. Its centre is not the Security Council of the United Nations, where Canadians have been conditioned to fix their vision. It is the Summit of the seven major industrial democracies of the Western World.

Throughout the western world, people are very skeptical about the value of the Summit. The leading doubters have been the forums founders — the Presidents of France.

But no one who has ever gotten an invitation to the Summit has ever exercised their option not to show up. And, there is an impressive list of countries that want to get in but can't. One of the challenges for Canadian foreign policy is to go beyond the Summit connection with Japan, Germany and Italy to develop a serious bilateral relationship with them, so that Canada can activate a new set of associated powers for ventures in a number of fields from debt, aid, and arms control to security policy, environmental protection and space operations as well.

But, it would be wrong to confine the Canadian foreign policy of the future to the cosy clique of the Summit club. For beyond the plutocracy of the North, lie Canada's rich networks of association with the South. The famous futurologist Herman Kahn once said that, "Canada was a regional power without a region." He was profoundly wrong. His characterization is not only wrong as a judgment about Canada, it is wrong as a way of thinking about the world. Herman Kahn, not surprisingly, was from that old German school of geopolitics in which land mattered and water didn't. (They didn't even think about the quintessential Canadian concern — ice). The basic fact of Canadian historical

antagonists over most of the pieces of land, water and ice we did win, refute the point. As the late John Holmes was fond of suggesting, Canada's vast territorial domain was not really acquired in a fit of absentmindedness. Rather, the very name and motto of the country suggest it was secured as a matter of divine right.

Beyond our empire of ice lies Africa. Canada has, with only intermittent effort, acquired an important role in sub-Saharan Africa, francophone and anglophone alike. One can argue about whether or not our aid program is creating more of a population problem than it is helping and other difficult tradeoffs, but that sense of deep historical commitment is there. The problems of South Africa have resonance with some of our deepest values and interests which we affirm in the international system as well. There are also those areas of the world where retreating British, and more recently French, imperial power have opened up a need for modern countries, with major resources and an international orientation to play a large role. The list is long enough to confirm our global relevance, if not our great power role.

But, even this raises a basic question — how much longer can Canada go on running

posts abroad and a capacity for political reporting. Given that Japan ranked third when Canada started to build its network of posts, and given that it is now the second or third most powerful country in the world, Canada would be well advised to invest in more than just two posts in that country. If Canada's political leaders are looking for a role in Central America, or how to avoid one, then resident representation in Managua would surely provide some prudent insurance. Similarly, if Canada is to sustain its leadership in the campaign against apartheid in South Africa, or extend it to embrace military assistance or peacekeeping roles, then it would be appropriate to have embassies in Botswana and Namibia.

The recollection of Canada's peacekeeping legend points to a broader problem — the decline in the status of Canada's professional diplomatic corps. However intellectually confining the peacekeeping mediation mystique and its larger ideology of middle power liberal-internationalism may have been, it did honour public service and diplomacy as a high calling for the best and brightest young Canadians of the day. That status and sense of specialness is now evaporating. The primary cause is not the Trudeauian belief that diplomats should spend more time running other departments in Ottawa, nor the change which came from co-habitation with Trade Commissioners in the Pearson building itself. It is the sense of secondary status that comes from the clear message that native foreign service officers need not apply for the top jobs in the system because these have been reserved for a better breed.

Professors across Canada have difficulty in countering with evidence the theory of their most intellectually promising and politically sensitive students that the surest way to become an ambassador and exert influence on Canadian foreign policy is to turn down External's job offer, go into law or business, make a fortune in the private sector first, and then get a classmate-turned-politician to provide a fast track to the top. It may well be that on the really tough assignments in difficult places — say London, Lisbon, Dublin and Boston — that political appointees can provide better value for dollar than the coddled careerists of the foreign service corps. But then, let the Senate of Canada create its own set of posts abroad to provide a fair test of whether political appointees, without the hidden help of loyal, long suffering professionals supporting them on station, can out perform a post peopled entirely with professionals from bottom to top.

Beyond an expanded and strengthened diplomatic corps, lie further requirements. Although Oliver North and the French in

The time has surely come to transform the Canadian Foreign Service into a major player around the world.

experience has been that oceans, and the British navy and British empire on top of them, connected rather than divided. Canada thus began life several centuries ago as an inherently global power, as a full participant in a global community. And over the years, we acquired a distinctive place on the periphery of the international system, a place to which we are uniquely sensitive and where we can make a difference. Canada, in fact, has lots of regions in the world.

To identify them, in the first instance, it is useful to recall an important historical fact. With the sole exception of the Duchy of Masovia, since the treaty of Westphalia, Canada has been the most successful territorially-expansionist state in the modern interstate system. Some say we simply got the stuff that nobody wanted, but Newfoundland was a hard-fight: We wanted it and we won. Canada's full sovereignty over the Canadian Arctic, even without the capabilities to adequately survey it, let alone control it, is something about which virtually all Canadians agree. One might suspect we won because the Americans allowed us to, but bitter memories of the Alaskan panhandle and Greenland in World War II, as well as the fact that the Americans have been our

a foreign policy on the cheap? How much longer can we go on lacking the physical assets to back our diplomacy and still expect our values to prevail. One can quibble about the priorities, and many will with a vengeance in this age of Prime Ministerially directed expenditure. But some fundamentals endure.

Even in an age when Canada was merely a modest middle power, it depended critically for its success on Hans Morgenthau's ultimate factor of national power — that great force multiplier of material assets — the "quality of diplomacy." Canada's compares rather well by international standards. But, the time has surely come to transform the Canadian Foreign Service from an upscale boutique in a niche market (peacekeeping, hosting summits, preserving prosperity in North America) into a major player around the world. Canada might get by through bringing home another major multilateral triumph in the 1990's — to go with the United Nations Law of the Sea Treaty of decades past. But even with a Canadian sponsored or brokered international law of the environment, it is important to get back to basics, fast.

To do their jobs properly, diplomats need

New Zealand have recently given overseas intelligence agencies a bad name, a suitably adapted Canadian version that protected our benign international image could reduce our dependence on whatever American and British friends chose to provide at any moment. Given our skill in communications and public broadcasting, one could expect a CBC International with global coverage, with, for example Japanese-language programming beamed to Japan, and with a capability to transmit the Canadian message, to the world, not just on radio but on television as well. And most importantly, there is simply no excuse for the world's third space power not to have the capability to survey from space its own territory — and that of its adversaries and allies as well.

Can we afford the relatively modest sums required for these capabilities in the new dark age of expenditure restraint? Can the materialistic, middle-aged baby boomer taxpayers in Canada be made to realize that their old age security, properly conceived, depends less on the size of their future inflation adjusted cheque from Ottawa, than on how well our diplomats can construct a new international order to prevent the invasion of ultraviolet rays through an ozone-depleted atmosphere, radioactivity from decaying Soviet reactors in space or on the ground, refugees hitting Canada's eastern shores in lifeboats, or the many other real physical penetrations of Canada in the modern age? Certainly the challenge is more complicated than in the good old golden days, when Lester Pearson merely called in Blair Fraser for a drink, and External's domestic communications strategy unfolded on a sea of charming irreverence and baseball anecdotes. In part, this is because today's politicians communicate with their publics not through the written word of elite newspapers and newsmagazines (which foreign service officers such as Pearson trusted and, if necessary, could produce) but through the vastly more powerful medium of television news (which few modern foreign service officers understand). In part, this is because those publics now talk to their representatives directly, comprehensively and often instantly through public opinion polls (another new communications technology which too few foreign service officers, and the political science professors which taught them, adequately appreciate and comprehend.)

A more important cause of the challenge, however, is the underlying message that public opinion polls reveal. The old, virtually unanimous national consensus on the reigning ideology of Pearsonianism, externally legitimated by our Nobel Peace Prize of 1957 and confirmed (through the UN) in 1988, has broken down. As suggested in the work

of Professor Don Munton, this old foreign policy consensus in Canada is being replaced by a more variegated and volatile mix. Pearsonian internationalism endures, but it now has some formidable competition from economic and cultural nationalists, still preoccupied with the threat to a fragile Canada from the late, great United States.

There is emerging, however, a new internationalism focused not on the old idols of the United Nations, peacekeeping, and international institutions and law, but instead preoccupied directly with the plight of dispossessed and deprived human beings around the world. The spotlight on the aid program, human rights, Ethiopia, South Africa, those who flee from political oppression and on our obligations to help rebuild a nature-ravaged Jamaica and Bangladesh. It is easy to overstate, or declare as irrelevant to foreign policy narrowly conceived, this growing public sense of the essential illegitimacy of individuals dying in great volume at the hands of natural or political disasters on the planet. But the public's assumption of an obligation to help compensate for, if not yet prevent, such disasters, is likely to be durable and deep. It is, in part, a product of modern television, whose unique ability to instantly transmit human suffering from distant lands in ways that evoke an instant political response at home has been combined with the high, and ever increasing, attention to international affairs which North American television network news provides. And in Canada, the television fuelled image of the new internationalism is a fully bilingual and bicultural experience. After the difficult period of the 1960's and 1970's, the creation of such a consensus among anglophones and francophones about the way the world works and how Canada should work in it is an historical accomplishment of some importance. And far more than Canadians in blue berets or on the United Nations Security Council, this image of a global caring and sharing Canada is the foundation upon which a new foreign policy consensus in Canada can be built.

Widely differentiated interest groups will pose a challenge to formulating a new consensus. So too will the demographic composition of Canada change as a consequence of Canada's immigration and refugee policy. Canada is developing a world view that is very differently focused, and much more genuinely global, than that of the United States. It is one that will increasingly be defined by particular ethnic groups which mobilize, as ethnic groups, to place demands on Canadian foreign policy. The recent challenges the government has faced in dealing with Canadians in the Jewish community, in the Ukrainian community, and in the Sikh

and Indian communities, are just the start. That is going to require a range of linguistic and cultural skills and a kind of free-floating pluralism that will challenge the middle-aged managers in the academic and foreign service professions alike. It will certainly compound the difficulties of developing a new consensus on Canadian foreign policy.

Finally, it is worth reconsidering how, in this new world abroad and at home, the Government of Canada has organized itself for deliberation and decision-making in international affairs. Despite much institutional growth and reorganization, Ottawa's foreign policymaking machinery is still largely focused on coping with the world of the Gouzenko affair and ensuing Cold War. One can be grateful that international summitry forces the Prime Minister to encounter the real world periodically, for back in Ottawa, in his own cabinet, he personally deals, on a routine basis, only with the grim world of security and intelligence, the immediate political crises that hit Priorities and Planning, and now the "do less on everything else" mentality of Expenditure Management Review. At lower levels of the cabinet system, his colleagues and their servants in the PCO still operate in a system which fuses foreign policy with defence of the basic vintage military sort. In the 1980's, External Affairs and the House of Commons, have made international trade their preferred conceptual partner. This may have been a wise choice for a materialistic decade, but could well be inappropriate for the 1990's, when environment has replaced trade as the reigning priority in even our bilateral relations with the US (and perhaps beyond), and when movements of civilian populations rather than troops abroad give the Canadian government most cause for concern. Short of the comprehensive efforts at institutional architecture and construction that tend to come only with war, one is left to look, more modestly, to the days when executive interchange will send External's officers to Inuit communities in the Arctic to learn about sustainable development, when the foreign service visitor program despatches its sovietologists to the Bedford Institute of Oceanography to explore ways to free ice-trapped whales, when social affairs becomes the most prestigious — as well as the most beleaguered — stream in the whole corps, and when, to politically protect this new institutionalism of the new internationalism, the Secretary of State for External Affairs becomes a Deputy Prime Minister as well.

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Letters from the Iranian Revolution



Evacuation route from the Caspian Sea.

story and photos by Roger Lucy, CM

Ten years ago, in February, the Iranian Revolution toppled the Shah's regime. A year later, the Canadian Embassy closed down because of its involvement in smuggling six American diplomats out of the country. It reopened late in 1988. To give some of the flavour of what it was like in Tehran in January and February 1979, I have assembled some extracts from my letters written home. They give a fairly vivid picture of how things were. I felt little need to downplay events to my parents who took a fairly relaxed view of the nightly TV coverage of the revolution. One letter from my mother summed it up, "Dear Roger, if we believed everything we saw on TV, we would fear for your safety, but we don't, so we don't."

Things had been bubbling in Iran before my arrival, but soon took a distinct turn for the worse. On September 8, 1978, less than one week after my arrival, 'martial law' was declared. This included an assembly ban as well as a 9:00 pm curfew. It not only cramped social life, but also made going out to fetch late arriving couriers a rather interesting, not to say exciting, procedure. Following the Jaleh Square massacre on September 8, when a large number of demonstrators were shot

after putting the ban on assemblies to the test, the situation became fairly calm and stayed that way throughout October. But escalating strikes and violence in the provinces finally exploded in Tehran.

On November 5, mobs systematically ransacked and burned the downtown business district. The Canadian Embassy was somewhat to the north of the area affected, but we had a good view of the fires which was better still from my flat higher up the hill. The burning of the National Iranian Gas Company's building was particularly spectacular, but fortunately the damage to the district was not extensive and concentrated on banks, discos, government offices and other very specific targets — including the British Embassy which had a unique Guy Fawkes celebration. The curfew, which had gradually been rolled back to midnight, was once again set at 9:00 pm and a military government installed. In spite of the new government's outward show of force (more road blocks, more aggressive shooting at demonstrations, and Chieftain tanks going flat out down the main drag), things did not really quieten down and the country was slowly paralyzed by spreading strikes which in the end stopped all but essential services. Embassies began to update their contingency plans, and divided Iran into evacuation areas. Canada was assigned responsibility for evacuating western nationals from the

Caspian coast where there was a large Canadian forestry project.

December coincided with the Moslem month of Moharram, a month of mourning for the Shia's culminating in "Ashura", the day Imam Hussein was martyred at Karbollah. During Moharram, the mobs came out every night after curfew, and every night at that time there was a power cut. All over town, you could hear chants of "Allah Akhbar" (God is Great) and "Marg bar Shah" (death to the Shah), followed by gun fire of various sorts ranging from tear gas grenades through heavy machine guns and the odd tank cannon. The Americans, who tried not to believe this was happening, claimed at first that these sound effects were actually tape recordings!! Any illusions that the Shah could reimpose order were finally dashed on Ashura, when the army pulled back to the northern suburbs and allowed 2-3 million demonstrators to hold a rally at the Shahyad Monument on the airport road.

Around Christmas, I did recce of the Caspian area to discuss evacuation plans with the Canadians there, check out airstrips, and the feasibility of taking evacuation convoys either down to Tehran or north into Russia. At the same time, we were installing "bullet-proof" doors, a radio system and a contingent of 7 Military Police who provided very valuable protection. However, we had none of the modern refinements Embassies in difficult situations now get like satellite dishes, flak jackets or armoured cars.

The first evacuation of Canadians was on January 3, 1979.

Jan. 2, 1979

Dear Parents,

Here I am sitting in the Embassy, the power has been off since 7:30 pm and we wonder if it will ever come on again. (It did at 5:00 am.) Iran has basically run dry and we "Middle Eastern bastards" are, as they say, "freezing in the dark".

Economically and politically this country is bankrupt. The latest PM can't get anyone to form a Cabinet, and those civil servants who are still working won't make any decisions. Canadian planes are sitting in Ankara waiting for the word to fly to Rasht,

and 350 Canadian and another 150 other nationals are sitting near Rasht waiting for the planes. The Iranians at the highest level won't give them permission to go to Rasht because there is no Customs there, and they can't provide planes to get the people to Tehran (where our planes can land) because they have not got the fuel. It's all very interesting. So we may have to have a bus convoy to get them all down to Tehran. I'm not really looking forward to going up to Rasht to face 350 cold, hungry and puzzled Canadians.

We spent New Year's Eve at the Embassy sending flash telegrams everywhere. We broke out my last bottle of champagne at midnight and had a tin of caviar. Why, you ask, all this sudden flurry? What happened? Nothing in particular, except that with growing shortages of fuel, food, heating oil and what have you (Iran Air is going on strike again), the Shah's fall seems imminent. So we, the Americans and British decided the time was ripe to tell our nationals to go if they had no reason to be here. Sensible enough. The problem is how to pull it off, as Iran Air is on strike, and air traffic control is too. It will be hard to get the planes in.

Jan. 4, 1979

Dear Parents,

January 2-3 were all one to me. Basically, I was travelling or working from 6 am Jan. 2 to 4 pm Jan. 3. Last night was my first night in a bed this year. Gruelling but, one gets one's second, third or fourth wind and keeps right on going. Early Tuesday morning, after cat-napping on a sofa in the office, I started to write notes for an aircraft clearance. Then I went home to have a quick bath and change, before going back to the office to try to get our flight clearances again and make preparations to go up to the Caspian to bring the convoy down.

At 4 pm three of us, Mahmud our driver, John Broadbent (a commercial officer at the Embassy) and I, with Mr. Schumacher from the German Embassy, set out for our "Anabasis". The real sticker was Qazvin, about two hours away, where there was now a 6 pm curfew. We reached Qazvin at 5:30 pm — it was dark and the power was off. There were Chieftan tanks and BTR-60 armoured cars on the outskirts. The town was a mess, literally burnt out. There were rows and rows of sacked and gutted buildings, burnt out shops, smashed, burned vehicles on the streets and one large truck wedged nosedown in the gutter. Beyond the area patrolled by the troops, clusters of people were gathering in the streets obviously

waiting to come storming out after curfew. Eech! It was not a nice place. We got slightly lost on our way through, but we were through and out by 5:45, and then had the long drive through the mountains in Rasht.

Outside Rasht we found the road totally blocked by a line-up at a gas station. The mood of those involved was quite festive, but the only lane through was blocked by a bus which had just had an altercation with a Citroën 2CV. The driver of the Citroën was holding out for rather heavy compensation, although the car had suffered only a minor scrape. The arrival of the police cleared up the jam, and we roared through the empty streets of Rasht (despite grim reports to the contrary, it looked in pretty good shape) on to Bandar Pahlavi and to the hotel where the evacuees were gathering.

There we learned that permission had been granted for four aircraft sorties into Rasht. So leaving the others, I collected about 110 of the hardier looking souls into three buses, and we went blasting off at 3 a.m. back to Tehran. We made it in one piece and without incident, beyond wear and tear on my nerves. I lost track of some of the buses at one point, but all were back in the convoy at the end of our trip.

We then had to sort everything out at the airport, wondering what was wrong with all our planes. One broke down with an engine that would not start. It had to have a "windmill" start, the airplane equivalent of a push start, by doing a fast taxi. The other managed the flight, but the last two came in too late to fly to Rasht.

Between Jan. 3 and 5 we took out 420 people. At our end in Tehran, we muddled through very successfully and no-one got left behind, despite the stickiness of Iranian Customs. It was an excellent operation, exhausting but exciting, and we really achieved something worthwhile. However, I do not want to see another Hercules for a long time. It clearly was the fashion to send a Hercules to Tehran! The Belgians, the Italians and the Australians each sent one, but none of these took out as many people. They took only 25-30 per plane, while we had over a hundred in some of ours!

Now everything seems anticlimatic. All there is to do is to continue to watch the decline and fall of the Persian Empire.

Over the next month things slid downhill. PM Bakhtiar finally got a government together and persuaded the Shah to go away on holiday (only the most die-hard believed he would ever return) on January 17. The town exploded with honking horns and flashing lights and woe betide anyone who showed less than total delight. But Bakhtiar,

despite his past anti-Shah credentials, never had a chance. On Feb. 2, he allowed Khomeini to return to Iran hoping to come to some sort of compromise arrangement.

That was not to be, and Ottawa was getting a little panicky about where things would go, and even took literally the newly returned Imam's call to "cut off the hands of the foreigners". In Tehran, we realized this was an allusion to foreign influences, but even so we had our moments of uncertainty about what attitude they would take to foreign embassies when the day of reckoning finally came. Would the army go down fighting or would law and order simply collapse? It seemed time to send in another evacuation flight, which in addition to members of the public, took out various "non-essential" (or were those of us who stayed on "expendable"?) Canadian staff.

While those of us who remained had few difficulties, the mood of the populace was more than a little xenophobic. Still, there were compensations. Beer could still be found at the Sheraton Hotel, which also had large stocks of smoked salmon. We made it our lunch-time goal to ensure none fell into the wrong hands and wondered how things had been in Petrograd in 1917. Meanwhile, I got out one last letter before "the deluge".

Feb. 8, 1979

Dear Parents,

Rather a short letter which I will entrust to Colin Fabro who is on his way to Peru, via Athens, Israel, Canada and Bolivia. As we will have no more couriers until Feb. 15, I thought I would get something off to you any chance I could. I'm still here, along with the Ambassador, Paul Thibault, Mary O'Flaherty, Betty-Jean O'Roidan our secretary, John Sheardown and Captain Joe MacDonald with his six "Sarbaz" (soldiers). All the rest of the Embassy staff, plus 35 other Canadians and a motley crew of foreigners exited Tuesday on the Herc, "Operation Baton 2". If we ever have a "Baton 3", that will be the last, as we will be on it. However, it may well never come to that, though in this country God only knows what will happen next. At least since the Ayatollah came home, things have been pretty peaceful, and the airport is working again, after a fashion.

My next letter began shortly afterwards but was not sent out until the situation was calm enough for the airport to reopen.



Burnt out cinema in Bandar e Pahlavi (now Anzeli).

Feb. 10, 1979

Dear Parents,

I was going to grumble in this letter about how the western press exaggerates everything — like the Defence Minister's comments. The news report almost compromised our flight, because by saying that the crew of the Herc would be armed, the Minister contradicted the terms of our clearance requests, which said that there would be no arms on the plane. Fortunately, the Iranians took no heed, so our operation went like clockwork.

Betty-Jean, my secretary, got some clippings about our first airlift. I was rather amazed to read an account of one lady, who seems to have been on my bus convoy, describing how she crouched in terror on the floor of her bus as it passed through gunfire and screaming mobs. Odd — I never noticed either. Qazvin was a mess (100 dead the day we went through it, another three score the day we came back), but on both occasions when we passed through, it was devastated, but calm.

Also, I learned one thing last night. Even a few gasoline and rubber tire fires set along the street, as some fool kids were doing, are able to make a respectable blaze with a dense column of black smoke, which from a distance and combined with other such fires (by now you would think that they would be running short of tires) makes it look like a re-enactment of the Hamburg raid. When you see all the flames and smoke on your TV, remember it is not always as nasty as it looks.

Since Friday night, after a calm week, things have become hot again. Friday night a fracas broke out at the airbase and the Imperial Guard bulldozed in to put it down. My first inkling came Saturday morning when, for over an hour there was continuous automatic weapons fire off to the southeast, probably at the army headquarters or the airbase. I went to the office and around noon the traffic seemed agitated. At 2 p.m. we learned that curfew had been lowered again from midnight to 4:30 p.m. The Americans figured the army was staging a coup. Later, it was announced that curfew would last to noon today, but why I don't know.

Yesterday evening was rather exciting. All

the local kids were out on the streets and rooftops 'Allah Akbar'-ing (no more 'Margbar Shah's) and setting bonfires in the middle of the road. They kept it up for quite a while. At about 11 p.m., some soldiers came in to pacify the area, and after a few bursts of automatic gunfire the kids must have been persuaded that it was past their bedtime. A little later, there were some more adult voices yelling something and some heavy crumps of probably home-made bombs, then more shooting. At last, all was quiet for a while. How far away this was I can't say: Sounds seem to carry a long way here. I think it was somewhere down to the west. There was some more gunfire around 4 a.m. and scattered shots at about 5 a.m., so let's see what today brings.

Feb. 14, 1979

Dear Parents,

It was rather a hiatus while we had our Revolution. Spent Sunday night at Paul Thibault's house, up in the northern suburbs, which took us through about a dozen roadblocks, manned by various groups of youths, with long sticks and knives. They were not unfriendly, and even waved us away from an on-going shoot out. Earlier that day I had gone down to the British Embassy, which being south of Shah Reza Avenue means traversing some rather hairy territory. However, again, the natives did not seem unfriendly. All afternoon there was fairly continuous shooting north-east of the Embassy, near Army Ordnance and Martial Law Headquarters. By the time we got to Paul's, the army had capitulated, and aside from burning down the police station at the end of the street, all was quiet.

Coming to work the next morning most of the barricades (which had been designed as flame barrages with tires and brushwood and garbage) were open. Outside two gutted police stations there were civilians sporting looted weapons, helmets and equipment. It was quiet, but soon everyone was in the streets with their newly acquired weaponry, blasting it off in all directions. There were truckloads of yahoos charging off to assault the last remaining army barracks, police

stations, SAVAK and the palaces. Vive la Révolution!

The Iranian army, including the highly overrated Imperial Guard, simply collapsed and Molotovs and assault rifles in the hands of some trained guerrillas, insurgent airforce personnel and a mass of civilians prevailed against Chieftan tanks — they even brewed up a few! Incredible!

Tuesday was quiet and it looked like the new Government was going to shake things down and gather up some of the 70,000 guns that had been looted. There was some shooting at night, but maybe the new Islamic militia was practicing in the park.

On Wednesday, things blew sky high. The Fedayeen Khalq (Communists) said they were hanging on to their guns. That morning they overran the U.S. Embassy. The supporters of the clergy (their guerrillas are called Mujehideen, rather inappropriately translated as Crusaders) barged in and got the Yankies out. It looks like the Reds are trying to make a play for a takeover before Khomeini's lot get too strong. Last night, they tried to take over the radio and TV stations, including the one up the street from me. I was routed from bed by an incredible fire fight, tracers and grenades all around my place.

Incredible! I found a place to sleep in a corner of my living room, which was not in the direct line of fire from any windows. With so much flak in the air, it did not seem a good idea to be too near a window, though there were no hits on my place. It is perhaps a little unhealthy to watch so grand a spectacle behind a floor to ceiling window. Today is quiet.

Thereafter, things gradually normalized. Most of the remaining foreigners were evacuated (we hitchhiked on British and Australian aircraft to reduce the staff at the Canadian Embassy even more) and slowly the local revolutionary "Komitehs" learned about such niceties as diplomatic immunity and diplomatic bags. Animosity to foreigners evaporated almost overnight and, for a time, even Iranian driving habits improved. An almost daily feature in the press were the photos of those of the Shah's generals and cabinet ministers who had been executed the night before. In September, I had not believed it would come to this, and when it did happen, I never believed the new regime would survive a year, let alone ten!

Roger Lucy has served in Chicago, Tehran and Oslo. He is currently Deputy Director for Terrorism Policy in the Emergency Coordination Division of the Department of External Affairs.

The Taxation of Real Estate

by Thomas H. Busing, C.A.

For most of us, an investment in real estate, whether it be a home, a cottage or some form of rental property, is our single biggest investment. It's something we know about — we can see it, walk through it, fix it up or treat it with benign neglect. The date of our monthly mortgage payment is etched on our mind — unless we have pre-authorized payments out of our bank account, and only have to remember each month to cover that cheque! Given the many different forms of real estate, it will be no surprise to anyone that real estate taxation is a wide and varied subject. In this article, I'll try to cover some of the general tax rules applicable to the purchase of a single rental property by an individual. Thus, the special rules for real estate developers, tax shelter investors, owners of MURB's and purchasers of a business property will not be discussed.

The purchase of a rental property should generally be compared to other forms of "passive" investment. It is not a "business": It has more in common with investment in stocks, bonds and so on. Therefore, the main questions that you should ask yourself include:

- How will this property stack up over time as an investment compared to other uses of my money?
- What is the risk?
- What kind of cash flows can I expect while I own the property? Can I afford the cash shortages likely in the early years when the rents don't cover costs?
- When I sell, will my expected gain provide me with an overall yield higher than I could have obtained in other investments?
- How will my investment be taxed, at purchase, during ownership, and upon disposition?

Purchase

In general, all costs associated with buying the property and putting it into rentable condition must be capitalized (i.e. they are not deductible in the year you buy the property). This will include legal fees and expenses, service connections, land transfer taxes, major additions and renovations prior to renting, and so on. The total cost should be allocated between land, building, and equipment (appliances — not the furnace, central

air, etc., as these are part of the building). This allocation should be made by you on a fair market value basis that you can sustain with Revenue Canada later on.

Prior to tax reform, the costs of negotiating and obtaining your mortgage (such as appraisal fees, legal fees, standby or mortgage brokers fees, bank fees) were deductible in the same year. From 1988 on, you may only write them off at 20% a year. Good records are essential!

Ownership Period

Any rental profits during the ownership period will be taxable to you; conversely, any losses will be deductible from other income.

- a) *Carrying costs* — interest on your mortgage or any other financing you use to acquire or improve the property will be deductible from the rents. If you borrowed, but used only part of the funds on the property, you will have to pro-rate the interest. Property taxes and insurance will also be deductible. If you re-finance, any deduction will be restricted to 20% of financing costs as noted above. Principal payments on your mortgages or loans are not deductible.
- b) *Operating expenses* — utilities, repairs and maintenance, advertising for tenants, property management fees and so on will all be deductible in the same year. Remember that you should report rents as *earned* and expenses as *incurred*, not on a cash basis. For example, a three year insurance premium paid at the start of the policy must be pro-rated over the years in question.
- c) *Capital costs* — how do you decide what is capital and what is current (i.e. deductible as repairs and maintenance)? Don't look to the Income Tax Act — there's no definition of either! Revenue Canada's guide to rental income says that "capital expenditures are outlays which usually provide a benefit lasting beyond the current year". Does this mean that a patching job which you expect to solve your roof leak for three years is not deductible? Of course it's deductible — and a case can be made that a completely new roof of the same quality as the old one is also a deductible current expense! There is no single rule, and each case must be decided on the particular circumstances.
- d) *Non-deductible expenses* — these would include most travel to and from your prop-

erty, an office from which to "manage" your single property, or expenses such as personal occupancy of part of your building.

Capital Cost Allowance ("Depreciation")

Buildings acquired after 1987 can only be depreciated at 4% per year. You may not create or increase a rental loss by claiming capital cost allowance. You can, however, reduce a rental profit to nil by claiming capital cost allowance. Capital cost allowance on furniture and equipment leased as part of the property is similarly restricted.

Sale of Your Property

When you sell, you could have a capital gain or loss and recaptured depreciation or a terminal loss. While we now have a limited exemption to cover capital gains, any recaptured depreciation will be taxable in the year of sale. You may be able to claim a reserve against capital gains if you had to take back a mortgage or for some other reason didn't get the full sale price right away. In calculating any capital gain, the adjusted cost base will be the original cost plus any capital costs you were not able to deduct during the period of ownership. Real estate commissions and legal fees on the sale will reduce your capital gain. However, rental losses incurred after 1987, as well as any other carrying charges you have claimed on Schedule 4 in excess of investment income (collectively all these amounts are known as cumulative net investment losses) could reduce your entitlement to the capital gains exemption when you sell. The capital gains exemption is not available to non-residents (deemed residents are acceptable here) and special rules apply to require a prepayment of any capital gains tax.

Conclusion

Owning a rental property should be a rewarding experience — in every sense, financial and otherwise! If anxiety about collecting the rents or about what your tenant may be doing to the property is going to keep you awake at night, think again. Perhaps you should invest in bonds or GIC's instead!

Tom Busing, C.A. is a specialist in corporate and personal tax with Frazer & Otton, Ward Mallette, Chartered Accountants.

International Business

Is Canada preparing itself adequately to compete internationally by developing needed expertise in international business? This question was examined at the Corporate Higher Education Forum held in the Autumn of 1988. The following quotations were made by various CEO's who attended the forum, while the excerpts are taken from a working paper entitled "Going Global."

"Our economy is now inextricably and deeply linked to the world economy. Unless Canada develops a comprehensive, coherent, broadly-based national effort to compete in global markets, the full revitalization of the Canadian economy will not occur."

"The central objective of domestic policy for the remainder of the decade must be to improve the ability of Canadian management to compete on an international scale."

"In Canada, you can have a successful career, a fine peer group relationship and a heck of a pile of creature comforts without going international."

"In my experience, the people produced by our educational system have little or no understanding of, or interest in, international affairs. They are poorly prepared to deal with the enormous social, economic and political challenges facing business today."

A recent study at Queen's University showed that 'International business' was ranked seventeenth out of eighteen listed disciplines in order of importance by respondents representing employers, graduates and academics.

Those who have been calling for urgent attention to the development of Canada's international business expertise say that international skills are highly complex, requiring a broad, interdisciplinary preparation including languages and an understanding of culture, politics, history and broad economic forces. Such skills are extremely difficult to develop on the job.

The prevailing view seems to be that international business is simply a variant of domestic business, and through the course of first-hand experience the minor adjustments necessary will be made.

"I would submit that there isn't a Canadian corporation today that knows how to market its services offshore. Yet the trade of the future is going to be selling things you can't touch, smell or kick."

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ditions, economic capacity and management techniques of our trading partners. Without such understanding of our customers and competitors, we cannot trade successfully..."

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Untitled by MAC

by Terry Jones

Have you ever met a Yuppie* who admits to it?
ever met a yuppie whom you liked?
Are the values they reflect
those we feel we must reject
as representing Mammon and the like?

*Yuppie — Young upwardly
mobile professional

Do you count among acquaintances a Dink* or two?
know any you would value as a friend?

Is it scorn for all those things
that their double income brings
or the view that all they do is work to spend?

*Dink — Double income,
no kids

All such philosophic matters are too deep for me
relating to life's meaning and all that.

But if I were young and rich
I'd have less a jealous itch!

I speak now as an unrepentant MAC*.

*MAC — Middle Aged
Cynic

*Terry Jones has served in Sydney, Port of Spain, Accra and
Copenhagen. He is currently Deputy Director, South America Rela-
tions Division, External Affairs.*

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Spousal Employment

Carol Markham has been a member of the Executive Committee of PAFSO since 1987 and chairs the sub-committee responsible for the elaboration of a PAFSO policy on spousal employment. This policy, reprinted below, has been endorsed by PAFSO and was presented to the Special Advisor to the Assistant Deputy Minister of Personnel on the question of Spousal Employment, Mr. W. Sinclair. Carol Markham has served in Bangkok and is now assigned to the Energy and Environment Division of the Department of External Affairs.

Spousal Employment is rapidly becoming a sensitive issue for the majority of rotational employees at External Affairs (DEA) and CIDA. A widespread perception exists that DEA and CIDA either are failing to address the spousal employment interests and concerns of their employees' spouses, or at best, are not addressing the issue adequately. This has serious implications for employee morale and for human resource management in both organizations.

The two-career family is the norm in Canadian society today. Public sector employees are no exception to this trend; nor is the Foreign Service immune. We do not foresee any decrease in this trend; on the contrary, prognoses are for an increase, particularly as long as public sector salaries are depressed and annual increases continue to be well below the annual rate of inflation. Just as the traditional, non-working female spouse is no longer a universal reality, significantly different in today's situation is the fact that spouses (whether male or female) tend to have established careers of their own. The result is that many spouses today are no longer willing to accept the notion that simply "working at a job" (whether volunteer or paid labour) is an adequate substitute for having a personal career.

The working spouse is a permanent reality of the foreign service.

It is essential, therefore, that both DEA and CIDA acknowledge the fact that the working spouse (and as DEA's own survey shows, most are professionals) is a permanent reality of the foreign service and as such requires immediate, active, practical, and transparent policies and practices.

Spouses recognize fully the imperatives of rotationality and the majority try to be flexible and attempt to adapt their particular career to that of the foreign service. They recognize that adaptability demands they be willing to accept employment abroad which may very well be outside their own area of interest or specialization, and at a salary below that which they could rightly expect to obtain were they in Canada. Rotationality, with the ongoing stress and uncertainty of the spouse's career generally coming second to that of the employee, creates very difficult situations for the family, with inescapable repercussions for the employer (and in the case of the two-career family — two employers). The economic realities of modern life make it virtually impossible for many families to forego spousal income should alternative, paid employment for the spouse be non-existent either at post or at headquarters. There is a responsibility, therefore, on the part of both DEA and CIDA to facilitate substantively the finding and obtaining of employment for spouses of rotational employees, whether at post or at headquarters in order to alleviate unnecessary hardship.

Foreign service spouses are an asset to DEA and CIDA.

Difficulties in identifying realistic spousal employment will lead to significantly higher attrition rates should DEA and CIDA not take stronger steps in the concrete assistance provided to spouses. Monies spent by DEA and CIDA in recruiting, training and posting highly competent and motivated employees may be wasted due to failure to recognize that working couples are now an accepted part of the Canadian reality and that this issue must be dealt with effectively and expeditiously. DEA has already taken some steps to ensure spousal employment be increased both at post and at headquarters; unfortunately these have not been applied universally and have not proven sufficient. A pro-active stance on the part of both organizations is definitely a necessity.

Foreign service spouses are an asset to DEA and CIDA; their academic backgrounds, international experience and expertise (whether general or specialized) constitute an invaluable pool of resources which, if properly managed, could contribute significantly to the operations of both organizations. In addition, spouses constitute a stable, reliable and dedicated work force because their length of stay at a location is largely pre-determined, their commitment is

to the foreign service, and their specialized knowledge of the milieu outranks that of many outsiders.

There are several factors which PAFSO considers must be addressed substantively, transparently and expeditiously by both DEA and CIDA:

- a) *Change of Corporate Attitude:* Negativism is the single, most significant stumbling block which affects adversely all spouses of rotational employees and all employees themselves. In spite of whatever attempts may have been made nominally in the past by the employer, both DEA and CIDA have failed to establish a corporate atmosphere which universally demonstrates anything other than that working spouses have the lowest priority, and that employees with working spouses are complainers or nuisances. This attitude has got to be changed throughout the organization without exception for there to be any meaningful progress on this issue.
- b) *Facilitation:* In many instances, the lack of facilitation is simply the concrete manifestation of the lack of interest in working spouses which exists in DEA and CIDA. Many spouses are ready and eager to help themselves but require assistance and guidance to do so. The kinds of facilitation *inter alia* which are required include:
 - money to assist in job-searches, resumes, courses on interview techniques, proposal preparation and presentation, relocation, re-training, etc.;
 - greater access to more specialized language training;
 - cross-cultural training geared to the reality of working abroad in a foreign enterprise (as opposed to at a Canadian mission abroad);
 - job search consultants/specialist services;
 - information on employment possibilities; and
 - assistance in procuring employment.
- c) *Roster of Spousal Resumes:* Spouses should be encouraged to file and maintain current resumes jointly with both CIDA and DEA. For the system to work properly, both organizations must have an obligation to consult this roster first before going to outsiders, and must ensure that the roster is cross-referenced to the Public Service Commission, the CIDA Consultants Register (if applicable), and the COSICS system. There should be no occasion which occurs where a qualified spouse has not been notified in a timely fashion of an employment opportunity which exists or is coming vacant.
- d) *Post Briefing Centre:* This centre should

demonstrate a more cooperative and friendly atmosphere conducive to the needs of working spouses. In addition, the facility lacks qualified personnel who can assist professional spouses and seems capable at best of dealing with only those spouses who are thinking notionally about returning to the workforce after a lengthy absence.

e) *Security Clearances*: These should be conducted on spouses at the same time as the employee's clearance is being carried out, and maintained for the duration of the employees' career. This initially is an expensive cost, but the benefit over the long-run is cost effective and the incremental cost of doing a clearance on a second family member will not be high in most cases. In addition, for those employees who are already federal government employees, both DEA and CIDA should ensure that their security clearances are maintained while abroad, especially while on a leave of absence without pay.

f) *Superannuation*: DEA, CIDA, DND, and HWC must join together to repeal the legislation which either does not give spouses an option of foregoing the coverage which would have accrued while on LWOP, or which does not obviate spouses from paying both their individual share and that of the employer for the period of the LWOP. This is particularly unfair and onerous for the employee who was unable to find employment while on the LWOP and yet on return must pay for the privilege of not working.

g) *Unemployment Insurance*: Spouses who have paid into it should be able to benefit from their contributions like any other Canadian who has made contributions. Spouses should be entitled to draw on it either when abroad or on their return to Canada while looking for employment. DEA, CIDA, DND, and HWC must join together in effecting a change in policy on this by CEIC.

h) *Personnel Policies*: It should be a matter of personnel policy for both DEA and CIDA in posting the employee that the interests of the working spouse are also taken into consideration. Great efforts should also be made to assign the employee to post where the particular skills or experience or employment opportunity of the spouse could be realized. If the spouse intends to work, then Personnel should direct the mission to attempt to assist the spouse. This would include assistance in obtaining the appropriate documentation from the host government to allow for the necessary visas and work permits, providing a letter

of introduction, and making telephone calls to appropriate officials if required, to confirm the identity of the spouse. Personnel should also insist on regular updates by the post on activities undertaken in this area.

i) *Reciprocal Employment Agreement (REA)*: The perception is that REAs have the lowest priority for most posts. This attitude needs to change. REAs permit family members of a diplomat to work, not just the spouse (i.e. the university student who requires work experience, or a period of internship before being granted a degree, also benefits). Canada ties much of its foreign development assistance; if no progress is being made on REAs, then we should consider "sweetening" the incentive if necessary. It is pointless to hold out for a straight quid-pro-quo in many countries because their spouses of diplomats frequently are expressly prohibited by their domestic legislation from working abroad. Posts must be expected to factor this into their annual post plans with a requirement for regular reporting back to headquarters.

j) *Elimination of all FSDs that Specifically Discriminate against Working Spouses*: It is contrary to the spirit of the spousal employment policy to allow FSDs which either specifically discriminate, or are interpreted in a manner which discriminates against the rights of a spouse. Spousal employment considerations are as important to some employees as the educational needs of children are to other employees. Examples are:

- family separation expense (employment reasons specifically excluded; educational reasons permit the expense) (34);
- shelter cost waiver (25);
- number of days at a post — if the household/residence is at a post, verification of the number of days a spouse is at post is an inexcusable intrusion into personal lifestyles, and discriminates against the spouse who may be a consultant and required to travel frequently. (25)

k) *Job-Sharing*: There are many positions in posts abroad which would be amenable either to job-sharing by employee couples or which could be designated LES positions available to qualified spouses:

- public affairs officer
- commercial officer
- aid officer
- consular officer
- administrative officer
- tourism officer

DEA and CIDA should be looking at more creative ways of approaching job-

sharing. Certain jobs could be either specifically designated, or targeted for spouses simply by having a criterion such as "previous experience at post abroad".

l) *CIDA Decentralization*: The MOU on Human Resources Management should be amended to include specific mention of qualified spouses as one of the selection categories when seeking "additional sources", and such a spouse should have priority over all non-departmental employees.

m) *Access to Facilities*: The corporate atmosphere must be changed so as to enable working spouses better access to the use of departmental facilities, especially when seeking employment. This is particularly a problem at post, where significant variations exist from post to post.

n) *Conflict of Interest*: The perception exists that this is raised frequently as a pretext for not facilitating spousal employment. If this is the case, (i.e. that a conflict of interest situation exists), then DEA and CIDA should be prepared to pay the cost of the foregone salary.

o) *Area of Competition*: Rotationality as a condition of employment imposes costs on working spouses of rotational employees by making it more difficult to begin or maintain a career. It is essential that DEA, CIDA and other federal government departments and agencies with rotational employees under the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission, consider measures which would expand the area of competition to include qualified spouses of rotational employees. The usual practice is to limit the area of competition to the employees of a particular department or to employees in the National Capital Region appointed pursuant to the *Public Service Employment Act*. Spouses of rotational employees, some of whom either are working abroad for the federal government or are federal government employees on unpaid leave of absence, are prevented from applying as are other spouses who are not already federal government employees but whose experience and educational qualifications suit them for positions.

p) *Employee Couples*: There are two types of employee couples. One is where both are rotational employees; the other where only one employee is rotational as a condition of employment and the spouse is a federal government employee. Insufficient recognition has been given to the benefits that accrue from both types of employee couples and their special needs. The employee couple represents a double investment for the government at less cost than other family configurations. The

couple's commitment to public service is mutually supportive and of long-term duration as long as appropriate joint assignments are provided. However, efforts by DEA and CIDA to meet the special requirements of these employees have fallen short. Within existing constraints, greater attention must be given to harmonizing the timing of assignments and permitting the rational career progression of each to be realized through meaningful assignments. Better efforts in this direction also will enhance the retention of women at progressively more senior levels.

- q) *Lost Income Adjustment*: A growing and increasingly accepted approach to the fluctuating income due to employment disruption suffered by the spouse as a result of the employee's rotationality is to develop a compensation program which accurately reflects the income lost to the family as a result of the posting. Such calculations typically would take into account the spouse's income on an average of 3 to 5 years prior to the posting.

Négociations 1989

par Christine Manseau, directeur exécutif

Cette année les négociations avec le Conseil du Trésor et le Ministère des Affaires extérieures ont débuté plus tôt que de coutume. C'est à la requête de l'APASE que l'échange des propositions patronales et syndicales a eu lieu le 23 février lors de la première rencontre formelle des deux parties. Cinq rencontres ont eu lieu depuis.

L'équipe de l'APASE est composée de Amos Donohue, chef négociateur, Dick Ballhorn, Moin Ansari, Doug Fraser, Doug George et Christine Manseau. Le président, Rodney Briggs, est membre ex officio de l'équipe. L'APASE a aussi retenu les services d'un consultant chargé d'appuyer nos revendications salariales avec des données pertinentes que ce soit du secteur public ou du secteur privé. L'équipe patronale est composée de Marc Gagnon, négociateur du Conseil du Trésor, Ben Pflanz, Directeur général d'ABD, Richard Gagné, analyste de paye, et June Martin de ABKR. Nous sommes encouragés par l'ouverture d'esprit et la volonté de trouver une solution aux problèmes identifiés démontrées par les

membres de l'équipe patronale au cours de nos discussions.

Les propositions mises de l'avant par l'APASE sont directement reliées aux renseignements recueillis par le questionnaire distribué aux membres en novembre dernier. Elles traitent autant des moyens de communications de l'APASE avec ses membres que de congé d'éducation, de congé annuel, de congés pour autres motifs tels le congé de maternité et, bien entendu des questions de rémunération que ce soit la prime au rendement ou l'augmentation salariale.

Les propositions de la partie patronale relèvent des politiques générales de l'employeur dans son effort d'homogénéisation des conventions collectives et, traitent tout spécialement des moyens de communications, du temps supplémentaire et de l'accumulation des congés annuels, fardeau toujours lourd à porter.

Si, comme nous le croyons, la volonté des deux parties d'obtenir un règlement à la table de négociations est réelle, nous espérons en arriver à une entente provisoire à temps pour être en mesure, une fois le processus de ratification par les membres complété, de signer une nouvelle convention collective le jour de la date d'échéance de la précédente.

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No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defence, 1945-1958 by Joseph T. Jockel, University of British Columbia Press, 1987, 160pp. \$25.00

Reviewed by R.A. Rutherford

The NORAD agreement, Canadian diplomat and scholar John Holmes has written, "was the logical culmination of defence arrangements on which both countries had been working for a decade, a compromise, acceptable to the times, between the logic of efficiency and political caution." Based on an exhaustive examination of an extensive collection of military and diplomatic documentation, much of which has only been recently declassified, historian Joseph T. Jockel's new account of the evolution of Canada-U.S. air defence co-operation ultimately leaves us with the same broad interpretation. As Jockel states in his conclusion, for both Canada and the United States "NORAD arose out of a specific, functional, military interest," though during the planning sessions which led up to its creation, American military and diplomatic negotiators were keenly aware of "how sensitive the issue of command and control" over Canada's defences was for Canadians. But while the question of why NORAD was formed presents little mystery, precisely how it was created has long remained unclear. What this new book provides is a detailed study of the incremental moves taken by the Canadian and American military establishments, which were both keenly aware of the "sensitive issue of command and control," as both countries inched towards establishing a strategic arrangement of often underestimated significance.

Concerns about national autonomy invariably arise in debates over major bilateral issues between Canada and its superpower to the south. *No Boundaries Upstairs* offers readers an historical case study of how the sovereignty issue was dealt with in an important and sensitive aspect of Canadian-American relations. Did the Canadian government, Jockel asks, "freely enter into air defence arrangements with the United States? Or was it pressured by its ally to the south into erecting air defences, into allowing U.S. installations on its soil, and into placing the air defences of the RCAF under the operational control of an American general, all regardless of Canadian interests and desires?" Pragmatism, Jockel demonstrates, guided strategic planning; while the Soviet threat was jointly considered, no major decisions were made without reference to both political and military objectives on both sides of the border.

With little understanding of its significance, newly-elected Prime Minister John Diefenbaker hastily approved the continental air defence proposal under pressure from General Charles Foulkes, then Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff. Nonetheless, the NORAD agreement reflected the practical limits of Canada's sovereignty within a shared military arrangement with the United States. The impetus for NORAD, had come from both sides. Canadian as well as American military analysts had long been aware of the growing nuclear strength of the Soviet Union and clearly recognized, by early 1950's, their shared interest in continental defence. Consequently, as Jockel points out, the groundwork for the formation of a joint command center was laid in the years preceeding NORAD's formal creation with the installation of radar-warning systems in both countries and the drawing up of specific standing orders which authorized border crossings for both air forces. These mutual defence measures were carried out as joint tasks involving a high degree of bilateral military collaboration.

Jockel clearly demonstrates two broad patterns which emerged in the evolution of Canadian-American continental air defence arrangements. First, continental air defence integration, from the formation of the Military Co-Operation Committee in 1946 to the completion of the Mid-Canada and Distant Early Warning Lines in the mid-1950's, developed as a series of small steps rather than giant leaps toward shared defence arrangements. The exchange of diplomatic notes in 1958, which gave NORAD's inception formal recognition, marked the end of a gradual convergence of air defence forces on both sides of the border, not a new beginning. The second pattern Jockel reveals is that the individual proposals which led up to NORAD were initiated and first approved by both the American and Canadian military establishments, not by their diplomatic representatives nor by their respective political overseers. The "RCAF and USAF together," Jockel states, "constituted the driving force behind the incremental integration of the two national air defence efforts into a single operating system. They initiated all of the proposals for cross-border tactical co-operation and shepherded them all through the process of obtaining approval from the national political authorities."

But it was not always smooth sailing within each of the military hierarchies as they made adjustments for increased emphasis on air defence in the nuclear age. Technological advances had removed an effective first strike capability from both sides of the Cold War standoff. Canada simply had to accept that fact, or adopt a

radical and highly provocative course of non-cooperation with the United States, a policy which was never seriously considered.

Throughout the intensification of the Cold War, Canadian and American military officials maintained strong co-operative ties without direct political encouragement or interference. They viewed military problems from similar perspectives and conflicts which did take place, as noted, were more often internally-based than between the two countries. In fact, as soon as Diefenbaker approved the proposed joint air defence command system, a prolonged and difficult struggle developed between the Department of External Affairs, which wanted the agreement formalized in writing, and General Foulkes, who resisted efforts to codify in diplomatic terms what the military establishments of both countries had already formulated as strategic doctrine. Foulkes did not want the agreement formalized in a manner which would likely reveal the clear distinction which existed between NORAD and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a distinction Foulkes had deliberately blurred when presenting the proposal to George Pearkes, the new Minister of National Defence.

But External Affairs remained annoyed at the lack of formality and even its new minister, Sidney Smith, as Jockel states, "gently admonished" Pearkes by pointing out that important decisions affecting Canadian-American relations were usually recorded by diplomatic note exchanges. It would take almost a year, until 12 May 1958 to be precise, before the disputed note exchange took place. Meanwhile, much bickering and confusion reigned in the House of Commons during debates on NORAD as the facade of a NORAD-NATO connection, which Foulkes was the first to seize upon, became part of Diefenbaker's rhetoric. NORAD, Diefenbaker stated in the Commons, was "a further step in achieving the agreed NATO objectives." But obviously, and Pearson saw this plainly, it did not follow that shared objectives between NORAD and NATO created a shared entity.

Foulkes and Diefenbaker continued to flog this regional planning group as the key to understanding the supposed connection between NORAD and NATO. The strategic objectives of these two official bodies were the same, so the argument went; therefore — *voilà!* they were the same. But, as we might expect, the American military establishment would have balked at any scheme which linked continental air defence with the defence of western Europe. It was one thing for the United States to have to integrate Canadian participation in continental air defence in recognition of Canada's territorial

sovereignty, but quite another to have to bring in the prying eyes, and maybe the alleged loose tongues of all other NATO allies. As Jules Léger, then Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, informed Smith, "it would not be possible for Canada unilaterally to declare that NORAD is a NATO command; United States agreement to this concept would be essential and ... the United States military are not prepared to implement such a concept at the moment."

While Jockel's descriptions of the actions taken by key individuals in creating NORAD are accurate and clearly presented, the interplay of individual personalities and private motivations is seldom explored. The story behind General Foulkes, for example, as a pivotal figure on the Canadian side who persisted in carrying this agreement through to completion is never fully brought to life. The reader is left wondering why Foulkes believed so strongly and pushed so hard for the NORAD concept. Nevertheless, *No Boundaries Upstairs* remains a useful study of how Canada, as a small power, entered into a controversial strategic partnership with the United States. Many critics of the NORAD agreement charged that sovereignty had been lost; at the same time, supporters replied that, in fact, it had been preserved. Jockel concludes by observing that the "consultative relationship" on which NORAD was originally based was "both unhappy and shortlived." This was most apparent during the Cuban missile crisis when the Canadian government was afforded no special treatment by the Kennedy administration. "The United States," Jockel sums up, "had indeed always seen Canada as a small power, and it had conducted its defence relationship with Ottawa accordingly." NORAD represented nothing more than a strategic relationship based on shared interests. It did not change Canadian-American relations — it reflected them. Jockel demonstrates this with care and precision. And, on that basis, his efforts succeed admirably.

Robert Rutherford is a doctoral candidate in history at York University where his research has focused on defense issues.

Spoils of Power: The Politics of Patronage
by Jeffrey Simpson, Toronto: Collins, 1988,
413 pp., \$27.95.

Reviewed by J.L. Granatstein

Canadian journalists are unquestionably better on the average today than used to be the case: better educated, better trained, and less likely to be party-lining hacks. But it is a rare journalist in Canada now or ever who

has a genuine scholarly bent and the capacity to dig into the past to better illumine the present. The *Globe and Mail's* columnist, Jeffrey Simpson, is one of those rare ones, and his *Spoils of Power* shows him at his best.

This book is not a full-blown attack on the patronage sins of Brian Mulroney, though those are mentioned at the beginning and end of the book. Instead, what we have here is a dispassionate academic treatise on the evolution of patronage from the struggle for Responsible Government down to yesterday. Moreover, each province has its own patronage peculiarities noted and examined. In other words, however the book may be sold and however much the publisher may have wished it, this is research and scholarship, not sensationalism.

All the better for it too. Simpson understands that patronage historically has been used to bind men not just to the machine but to the country. In the first years after Confederation when provincial loyalties far outweighed any links to the new Dominion, Sir John A. Macdonald employed patronage with great skill to tie his friends and even some enemies to the federal government. Postmasterships, work in the Customs posts or on the locks were prizes that rewarded the faithful, to be sure, but they were also the necessary grease to keep the political wheels turning. Patronage, in other words, was not all bad.

Over time, patronage grew less attractive. In the 1930s, Mackenzie King's Government ran an efficient tollgate system on contracts. For all practical purposes, no construction or supply contracts were let without a standard percentage fee going directly to the Liberal Party. Senator Norman Lambert, whose diaries at Queen's University's Archives are one of the most important sources on patronage (and electoral fundraising), collected the money and banked it away for future needs. No one blew the whistle, likely because the other parties had the same intentions if and when they made it to power. Certainly they tended to act as if they did.

Some appointments were especially prized. The bench used to be a party reward, though the Canadian Bar Association has recently horned in to spoil the unfettered exercise of patronage. The Senate was the traditional resting place for bagmen and key party organizers, and Simpson has some good sport here. But even the Senate has now been ruined, yet another good thing (along with our system of government) destroyed by the Meech Lake Accord.

About all that is left is the foreign service, a subject of especial concern to PAFSO and its members. Simpson notes that the diplo-

matic service has been a party tool from the first days. High Commissioners to Britain and representatives in Paris were party appointments from the days of Macdonald and Laurier, and when Mackenzie King and O.D. Skelton began to create a true foreign service in the 1920s, the ministerial appointments almost always went to party-lining friends. The result, as the acerbic Hume Wrong noted bitterly in the 1930s, was that Canada was represented abroad by the deaf, the dumb and the blind. The deaf was Philippe Roy in Paris, the blind was Randolph Bruce in Tokyo, and the dumb was Sir Herbert Marler under whom Wrong has been condemned to serve in Washington. In other words, (and I explicitly include Vincent Massey in this general comment) the earliest patronage appointments abroad were pathetic. Thank heavens there was usually little business of importance.

As Simpson points out, matters grew somewhat better as the Department of External Affairs developed. King made 18 patronage appointments in 22 years of power, Bennett two, St. Laurent four, Diefenbaker four, and Pearson three. Trudeau, in power for almost 16 years, reverted to the old style by appointing 18, including four members of his personal staff and seven former ministers. Brian Mulroney promised to do better, and this was one promise kept. In his first year and a quar-

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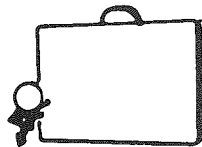
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ter in power, the Conservatives named nine party supporters to diplomatic posts, as Simpson notes, sometimes over Joe Clark's objections. More would follow. Curiously, however, Simpson says that PAFSO's complaints about these appointments exaggerated the effect on foreign service morale, and he cites the naming of Jean Drapeau to UNESCO. That to Simpson was a poor appointment, but not a party reward: "Drapeau had never tendered service to the Conservative party, nor would he in recompense for the Paris post." And the appointment of Lucien Bouchard, Mulroney's law school friend, as Ambassador to France Simpson describes as "inspired".

Whether that is true or not, the foreign service officers who served in France had best decide. The one certainty is that the foreign service is going to be used for patronage more in the current Mulroney term of office than in the first. If Senate posts are now in provincial hands, if the press is watching the boards and commissions, where else can a struggling prime minister turn to reward his friends and get rid of his party enemies? Jeffrey Simpson's book, calm and judicious as it is, explains how this all came about, and undoubtedly there will be ample justification for a new chapter before the election of 1992.

J.L. Granatstein teaches Canadian history at York University. With Robert Bothwell, he is completing a book on Canadian foreign and defence policy under Pierre Trudeau.

Spearhead To Victory: Canada And the Great War by Daniel G. Dancocks, Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1987, 240 pp. \$29.95

Reviewed by Bill Dymond

Modern Canadians are uncomfortable with the thought that a warrior spirit lurks in their history and heritage. The Canadian shock trooper, armed to the teeth, bayonet fixed, equipped with a sometime "no-prisoners approach" to the grim business of war, striking fear and foreboding into the hearts of enemy soldiers is an alien image.

Canadians are peacemakers or peacemongers as George Ignatieff's memoirs would have us be. Pearson won the Nobel Peace Prize; Canadian soldiers man the ramparts of peacekeeping in Afghanistan, Cyprus, the Middle East; our retired generals and admirals denounce the Government's program to re-equip the forces; politicians weep when they talk of peace.

In 1918, this self-flattery would have struck Canadians and German troops in the trenches as bizarre. The Canadian Corps, one

hundred thousand strong, victors at Vimy and Passchendaele in 1917, was the elite formation of British forces in France and Flanders. Sir Douglas Haig, British commander, regarded the Canadians as "matchless attacking troops." The arrival of the Corps in any sector alerted the German troops in the trenches opposite to impending attack. By 1918 in this tired old war, the Canadians had become masters of the battlefield. The Corps was commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Currie, sometime real estate promoter and part-time militia officer from Victoria.

Spearhead To Victory is Dancocks' third book on Canada and the Great War. The first was *Currie*, a biography of the Canadian Corps commander (*bout de papier*, Winter, 1986) and the second, *Legacy of Valour, the Canadians at Passchendaele* (*bout de papier*, Fall, 1987).

At the beginning of 1918, trench warfare stalemate reigned on the Western Front. Although the Americans had joined the Allies, their strength in material and manpower would take many more months to make an impact. The exhaustion of the British and French forces after the bloody battles of 1917 made them ripe for attack by the German army reinforced by a million troops released by the Russian collapse in the east. Great events were imminent; the end of trench warfare was nigh.



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In a last gamble to win, the Germans launched three massive attacks in March, April and May, in an operation labelled the "Kaiserschlacht," the Kaiser's battle. At tremendous cost in casualties and considerable loss in territory, the allied lines held. After nearly four years of war, the German army lacked the strength for the final push; it could only hold on; its days were numbered.

Spearhead To Victory begins with the preparations for the great Allied counter-attack at Amiens on August 8, 1918. The Canadians would lead, flanked by the Australians. To conceal the arrival of the Corps in the Amiens sector, two Canadian battalions were sent north to Flanders with instructions to maintain a lively chatter to entertain and mislead enemy listening posts.

"God help the Bosche," Currie remarked as he watched his troops march into battle. In three days, the Corps advanced ten miles taking over 5,000 prisoners. August 8th was labelled "the black day of the German army in the history of the war" by Ludendorff, the German commander. The Kaiser drew the obvious conclusion, telling Ludendorff that "the war could no longer be won."

Beginning with Amiens through to the German surrender in November, the Canadian Corps was the sharp end of continuous Allied attacks which broke the enemy lines and brought the Great War to a close. Three weeks after Amiens, the Canadian Corps attacked at Arras, towards Cambrai breaking the toughest part of the last major German defence system. A future Governor General, Georges Vanier, then a major with the 22nd battalion (the famous Van-doo's) lost his leg in that battle. By November 9, the Corps had liberated Mons in Belgium. At 10.58 on November 11, two minutes before peace, Private George Price of the 28th battalion became the last Canadian killed in the Great War.

In the last chapter of *Spearhead To Victory*, Dancocks traces the story of the patient diplomacy of Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden to win a voice for Canada in the conduct of the war and the negotiation of peace. Beginning in 1915, Borden, the unprepossessing, dour, Halifax lawyer made it abundantly clear to London that there would be a price for the sacrifice and contribution of Canada to the war effort. The steadily increasing war effort of Canada and the other Dominions made it impossible to rely on their continued support without providing them with a direct role in the conduct of the war and the preparations for peace.

By 1917, Sir Robert had led his New Zealand, South African and Australian counterparts to seats in the Imperial War Council. When an inter-allied conference in December 1918 denied separate represent-

ation to the Dominions at the Versailles Peace Conference, Borden told Lloyd George that he had not come to Europe "to take part in any light comedy." The point was won.

Several more battles were fought by Borden and the other Dominion leaders to gain separate signatures on the Peace Treaty and separate memberships in the League of Nations and the ILO.

In 1914, the British Declaration of War automatically brought Canada into the war. In 1919, Borden, enraged at a proposed British-American guarantee to France against future German aggression informed Lloyd George that the "submission of such a proposal to our Parliament would . . . be wholly futile. Indeed, I am convinced that it would be bitterly resented not only by Parliament but by the vast majority of the Canadian people." It could no longer be assumed that Canada would follow where Britain led.

*While the Great War brought
young lives and old empires
to a violent end, Canada
the nation emerged.*

The Great War was the crucible of the 20th century. It ended three empires. It made the earth tremble. The seeds for another more destructive war were laid. Dancocks reports the prescient remark of General Andy McNaughton, a future Canadian army commander on the announcement of armistice, "Bloody fools . . . that means that we shall have to do it all over again in another 25 years."

It is as commonplace as untrue to say that wars do not change anything. Wars change a great deal. Sixty thousand Canadians perished in France and Flanders in the Great War. While it brought young lives and old empires to a violent end, Canada the nation emerged.

Dancocks is an accomplished historian of Canada in the Great War. It is to be hoped that he will continue. Many battles fought and won by the Canadian Corps and diplomatic struggles fought and won by Borden deserve his sensitive, readable and informative treatment.

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.

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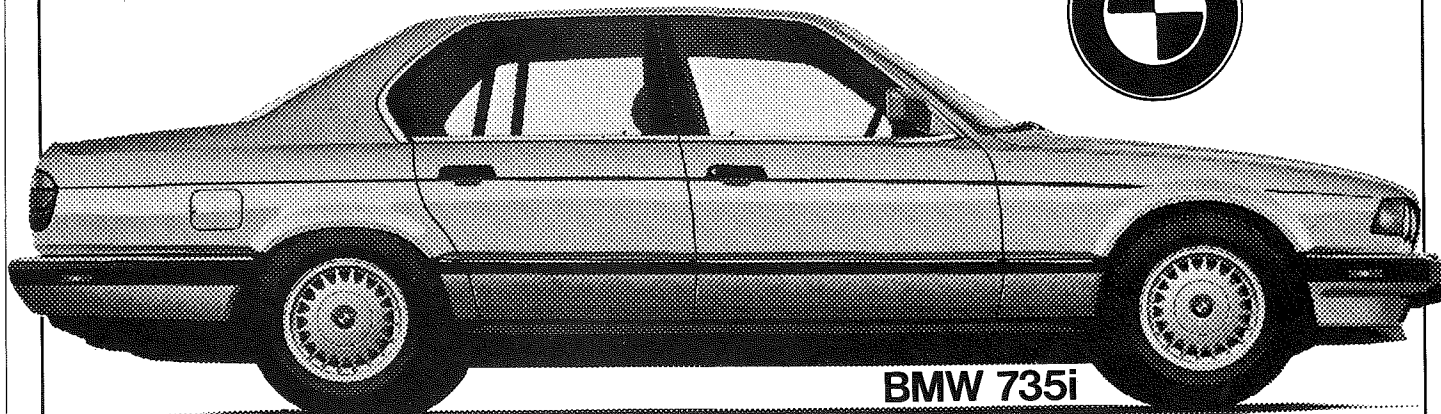
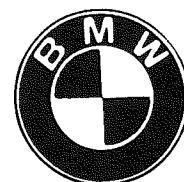
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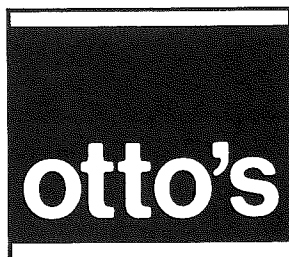
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Another puzzle by that old cabinet-maker, A Aalto

"It was awful, Liebnitz!!" said the Privy Clerk. "There I was. It was about fifty years from now, and seven parties had won seats in the federal elections. After repeated failures by the party leaders to cobble together a majority, the Governor General had called them

all together in a big dark room. I was seated away from the table on a high stool. I had no real idea what was going on. The GG tried to explain the situation to me, but all the leaders were shouting their demands and conditions at the same time, and I was getting horribly confused. Then suddenly all fell quiet, and they just looked at me. I didn't know what to do. Then the GG coughed and said, "Well, perhaps we'd better give you some time to solve our little problem. What say we get in touch with you again tomorrow night and you tell us how to assemble our majority?" Then they all vanished, leaving me staring at the table in a cold sweat until I woke up. I haven't slept a wink in three nights, Liebnitz. I know it was just a dream, but I'm terrified to doze off in case I wind up back in that room — because I haven't the faintest idea how to set up the coalition. You're my last hope."

Replied the ace logician, "Well, let's see. What's exactly do you remember?" The Clerk handed Liebnitz a memo, saying "I've noted down all I can recall of what I saw and heard. The table was round. The GG and the seven party leaders sat evenly-spaced about it. The chair numbers go clockwise from the GG's left, with him in #8. Each of the leaders had a different riding and party. Each demanded one out of a different list of cabinet posts as a pre-condition for joining the coalition. Each party had won a different total number of seats in a different combination of provinces." The Clerk's memo added the following:

(1) The leader directly opposite the GG is Jeanne la Tournante from Muskoka-Mariposa riding; her party's seats (an even number) are all in the North and Ontario. She will enter a coalition only as PM or Deputy PM.

(2) Beside her is a man named Growlton Gnash, head of the Committee for Bemused Canadians, which had won 40 seats, all in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland.

(3) The two largest parties are the Radical Conservative Centrists ("We Serve You Right") and the Moderate Conservative Libertarians ("A National Governing Party"). They won 83 and 78 seats respectively. Their leaders hate each other and will under no circumstances serve together.

(4) The member for Autremont leads a party with exactly 5 times

the number of seats as the Sons of the Soil, whose leader sits just to his right.

(5) Billy van Tulip, head of the Ralliement des Arrivistes, sits for Goatsnest. He will enter a coalition only as PM or Minister of Finance.

(6) Louis Réalité will take his party into a coalition only as DPM or Minister of Finance; Mr. Edgeworthy Broadbeam, whose party carried 50 seats (all in Ontario and Quebec), will not serve in any coalition that also includes Réalité.

(7) The member for Crepe Breton will bring his party into a coalition only as SSEA or Minister of Finance; the man directly across the table will come in only as PM or SSEA.

(8) The leader of the Rassemblement des Gaufres ("Free Love not Trade") is in an odd-numbered chair; her party took 42 seats, all in Alberta and Manitoba.

(9) Myron Balogna, the ineffable MP from Charlottetown-Green Gables, will serve in a coalition only as PM; his party's seats are all in PEI and Quebec.

(10) Carmella (Mel) Lustig, MP for Drumheller-Tarbits, will enter a coalition only as DPM or SSEA; she will not serve if the party leader two seats to her right is Minister of Finance or if the leader two seats to her left is SSEA.

(11) The party led by the member from Medicine Jaw is the smallest at 10 seats, i.e. every riding in Saskatchewan.

(12) The leader of the OHSO Responsible Socialists ("Neither Gauche nor Sinister") sits beside the GG on one side; the leader of the party that took 45 seats (all in BC) sits beside the GG on the other Side.

"One more thing you'll need to know," said the Privy Clerk when Liebnitz looked up. Their House is made up of 348 Members, so the minimum for a majority is 175. And it is a rule that any coalition must include representation from each of five regions: BC and the North; the Prairies; Ontario; Quebec; and Maritimes."

"Lots of information there," said the logician. "Let's do a chart to get it organized." Pause. "Yes, that comes out quite well. Now let's look at the rules and personal pre-conditions for building the coalition." Silence. "Hrumpf! Well, I can certainly see why they were having problems. There's only one combination that works at all. Here you are — sweet dreams."

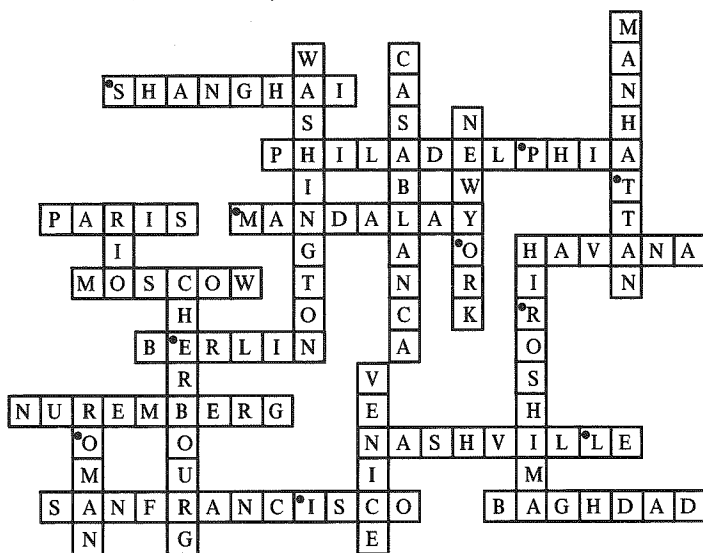
Can you duplicate Liebnitz' feat by (a) filling in the chart and (b) indicating the parties in the coalition, the total number of seats held by the new government and the names of the PM, DPM, SSEA and Minister of Finance? Send in your answer to **bout de papier** and win a book prize!! If you only get the chart, send it in anyway — if no-one else gets part (b) either, you could still win. (To say nothing of getting the Privy Clerk to sleep.)

Born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva... Eternity (Quebec). Mr. Aalto knows of no-one who even remotely resembles the political figures in the Clerk's dream. Any connections are thus your own.

CHAIR #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Name of Leader							
Name of Party							
Leader's Riding							
Number of Seats							
Provinces with Members							
Cabinet Post(s) Demanded							

Cities of the Silver Screen

A skeleton from A Aalto's closet



The movie titles: (1) Thief of BAGHDAD, (2) Funeral in BERLIN, (3) CASABLANCA, (4) The Umbrellas of CHERBOURG, (5) Our Man in HAVANA, (6) HIROSHIMA Mon Amour, (7) Road to MANDALAY, (8) MANHATTAN, (9) MOSCOW on the Hudson, (10) NASHVILLE, (11) NEW YORK New York, (12) Judgment in NUREMBERG, (13) Last Tango in PARIS, (14) The PHILADELPHIA Story, (15) Flying Down to RIO, (16) ROMAN Holiday, (17) SAN FRANCISCO, (18) SHANGHAI Express, (19) Death in VENICE, (20) Mr. Smith Goes to WASHINGTON. The unscrambled anagram reads METROPOLIS, the title of the path-breaking 1926 science fiction movie by the German director Fritz Lang.

Letters to A Aalto:

Dear A Aalto,

I like the mixture of word and logic puzzles, but would prefer more and harder word puzzles. Rogues was too easy. But I always enjoy and work on your puzzle.

Robert Logie, Canadian Embassy, New Delhi

Dear A Aalto,

Word puzzles, such as The Name of the Rogues and Cities of the Silver Screen, can be done on a "pick it up and put it down", basis, making them much easier to deal with purely from the standpoint of logistics.

I await the next A Aalto puzzle with breathless anticipation.

Alan Bones, Canadian Embassy, Kuala Lumpur

Dear A Aalto,

Just a short note to say how much we enjoy the last page in "bout". Keep those brain cells spinning.

T. Tenor, Ottawa

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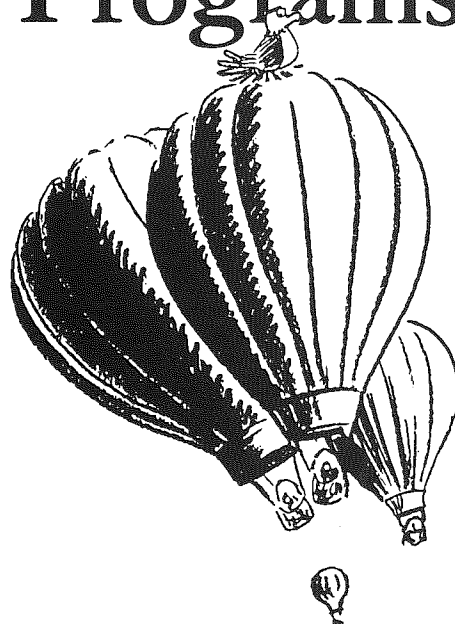
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