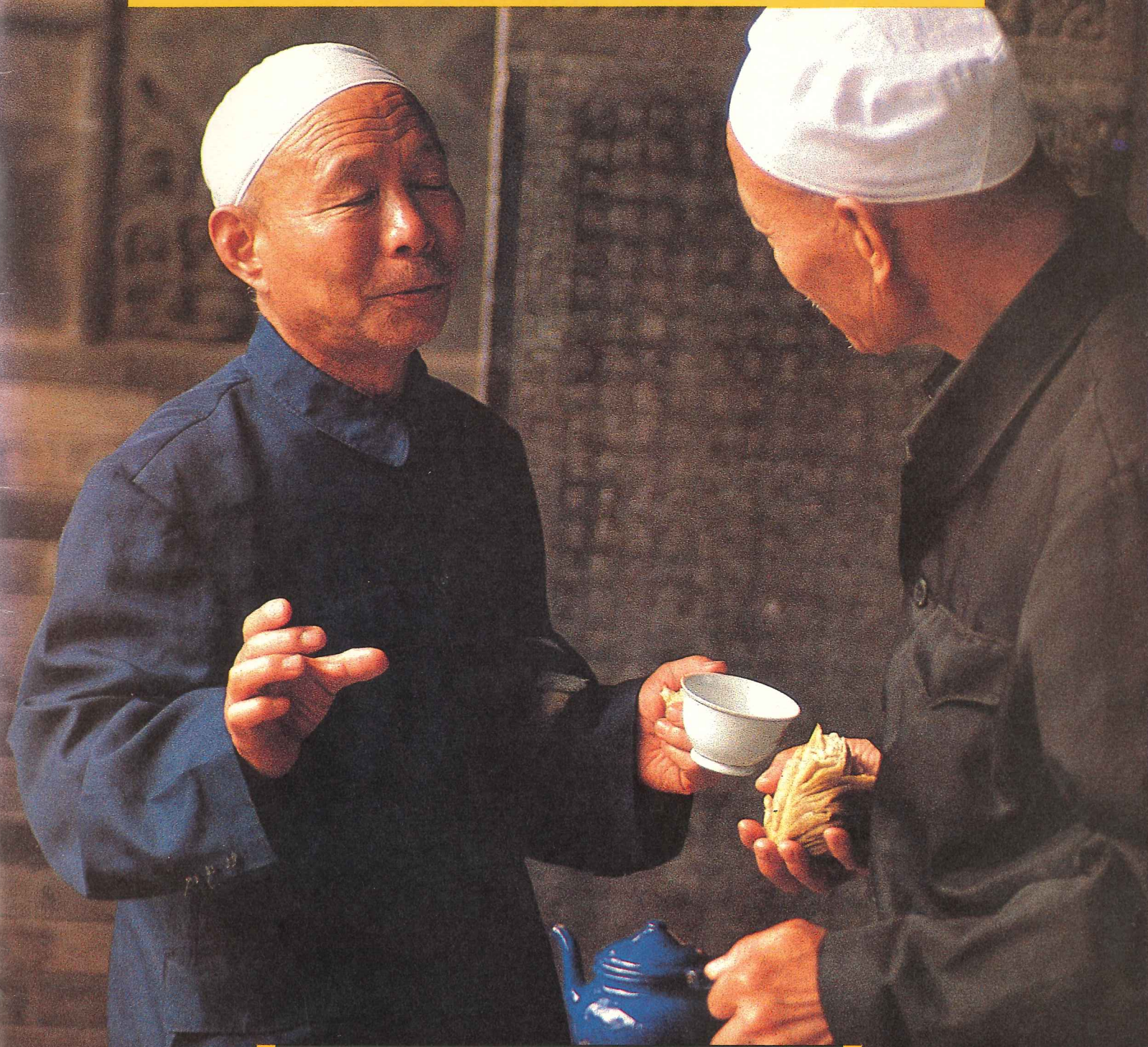


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Shades of Howard Green
On Learning Chinese
Europe 1992

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Lors d'une récente réunion, un de nos collègues, pince-sans-rire, a déclaré que la crise qui secoue à l'heure actuelle le Ministère peut se résumer par « P et P ». Non, il ne parlait des Priorités et de la Planification, quoique l'on aurait sans aucun doute beaucoup à dire sur les problèmes dans ce secteur, à tous les paliers du Ministère. Ce dont notre éloquent collègue voulait parler, c'était plutôt d'une crise de Papier et de Personnes.

Papier est le terme qu'il a utilisé par euphémisme pour englober le malaise administratif qui s'est traduit par des photocopies et des salles de bains sans papier, par le nonremplacement de tapis si taché et si usé à la corde que même l'Armée du Salut l'aurait refusé, par des ascenseurs fonctionnant à la vitesse de chauffards du dimanche dans la Gatineau, et qui semble tenir mordicus à découvrir précisément combien de personnes peuvent être entassées comme des sardines dans l'immeuble Pearson. On semble s'attendre à ce que les installations physiques du Ministère fonctionnent avec très peu de maintenance ou de perfectionnement. De telles questions revêtent beaucoup d'importance pour ceux et celles d'entre nous qui travaillent à l'immeuble Pearson, mais elles ne sont manifestement pas du genre de celles sur lesquelles se fonde la politique extérieure.

Les personnes sont la principale ressource du ministère des Affaires extérieures. Pourtant, tout comme les installations physiques du Ministère, on s'attend à ce que les personnes fonctionnent avec peu de maintenance et de perfectionnement.

La question n'a jamais été si intensément illustrée que lors du récent concours de recrutement de nouveaux agents du Service extérieur au niveau FS1 et FS2, plutôt qu'au niveau d'accès FS1-P. Ce recrutement avait pour prémisses que les agents déjà *au sein* du Ministère n'ont pas les compétences ou l'expérience voulues pour doter les postes créés. Le Ministère avait besoin d'attirer les « bonnes » personnes en offrant des traitements et un échelon plus élevés dans l'échelle de l'avancement. Bien qu'il s'agisse là d'une prérogative de la direction, le message que cette dernière a ainsi passé à ceux et celles qui oeuvrent déjà dans le service est particulièrement démoralisant. Pourquoi?

Le concours au niveau d'accès au Service extérieur, malgré tous les problèmes qu'il entraîne au chapitre de la permutabilité, de l'emploi des conjoints et des faibles taux d'avancement, n'en continue pas moins d'attirer un très grand nombre de postulants de fort calibre. Quelque 3400 ont subi l'examen, l'année dernière. Un grand nombre des personnes qui ont accepté des offres au fil des ans menaient d'autres carrières — avocats, fonctionnaires ou académiciens; la

plupart y ont accédé vers la fin de la vingtaine et le début de la trentaine; et nombre d'entre eux ont accepté d'importantes diminutions salariales pour y accéder parce que, à ce qu'on leur avait dit, le seul moyen était de commencer au bas de l'échelle. Il est peu probable que cette perte soit jamais recouverte dans les gains pour l'ensemble de la carrière, mais l'intérêt pour la politique extérieure du Canada et le travail en milieu international l'ont emporté pour la plupart d'entre eux sur les considérations financières.

Le recrutement d'un groupe de généralistes au sein de la filière Commerce aux niveaux FS1 et FS2 tourne en risée le prix qu'ont payé la plupart des agents actuels pour faire partie intégrante du Service extérieur. En outre, il ne tient pas compte de la « formation » que vaut des années de travail au sein du Service extérieur et de la valeur de cette expérience. Ces recrues devront passer par une courbe d'apprentissage semblable à ceux et celles qui accèdent au Service au bas de l'échelle — apprendre comment le Ministère fonctionne, apprendre comment acheminer des propositions à travers le mécanisme de l'État, obtenir de l'expérience dans le contexte général de la politique extérieure afin d'acquérir du discernement, apprendre de quelle manière les autres pays réagissent aux événements et aux propositions et comment obtenir leur appui, obtenir de l'expérience de première main pour ce qui est de faire affaires avec un autre pays, etc. C'est principalement à cause de la formation pratique que le Service extérieur est, depuis ses tout débuts, un atelier protégé auquel on n'accède qu'au bas de l'échelle. Il est difficile de comprendre ce que ces recrues apporteront de plus au Service extérieur que les recrues de fort calibre au niveau d'accès. De même, il est difficile de comprendre pourquoi le Ministère a fermé les yeux sur les nombreuses personnes d'expérience au sein du Service qui sont mûres pour de l'avancement ou qui pourraient facilement occuper un poste à « un niveau inférieur à celui du poste ».

Cet exercice d'entrée latérale n'est qu'un exemple du manque de « soins et de motivation » que l'on donne aux personnes qui composent le Service extérieur. On nous a récemment tant rebattu les oreilles au sujet des nouvelles compétences dont on a besoin pour relever les nouveaux défis de la politique extérieure. Les personnes versées dans les questions environnementales, les questions macro-économiques, le droit commercial, le GATT, les droits de la personne, le commerce international de drogues et le blanchissage d'argent sont en forte demande. Pour y satisfaire, le Ministère s'est tourné vers les entrées latérales, les contractuels et les détachements. Les contractuels et les employés détachés apportent avec eux l'expertise

requis à bref préavis et ils ne bouleversent pas l'intégrité du Service extérieur comme le font les entrées latérales. Toutefois, le Ministère ne déploie presque pas d'efforts valables pour garder son bassin de professionnels à jour et parfaitement apte à réagir aux priorités internationales qui ne cessent d'évoluer. Depuis plusieurs années maintenant, aucun budget n'est consacré aux congés de formation ou de perfectionnement. La conséquence de tout cela, c'est que le Ministère n'est plus au fait des courants actuels de pensée en matière de politique extérieure, de politique économique, de politique d'expansion et de politique commerciale dans les établissements d'enseignement et qu'il est incapable d'entamer avec les penseurs de l'heure un dialogue valable qui pourrait aboutir à des solutions ingénieuses à de difficiles questions de politique. C'est un fait que le Ministère encourage les agents à suivre des cours intensifs d'un ou deux jours en économie ou droits de la personne, ou l'art des comptes rendus ou de la négociation. Toutefois, cela ne satisfait d'aucune façon la nécessité de disposer de connaissances spécialisées ou de tenir compte du contexte universitaire au sujet des nouvelles questions de politique extérieure. Si le Ministère désire évoluer au même rythme que le calendrier de la politique extérieure, il doit adopter une perspective à plus long terme et intégrer les congés de formation et de perfectionnement dans ses stratégies et son budget de gestion. Les ressources humaines du ministère des Affaires extérieures sont précieuses. C'est de ce bois que se chauffe la politique extérieure. Il y va de l'intérêt du Ministère de promouvoir et d'appuyer leur épanouissement professionnel.

Babs Mc L

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FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

Like most foreign service officers, I had perceived PAFSO as a rather ineffectual bargaining agent and professional association that occasionally came up with interesting speakers, coffee and donuts for breakfast.

When I returned to Ottawa in the summer of 1988, I visited the office to find out what the Association could do for me. Lo and behold the auto, life and home insurance plans were extremely competitive and I cheerfully signed on. In passing, I enquired about the collective agreement that was due to expire in 1989 and was informed that a negotiating committee was to be constituted in the fall.

I had been quite disappointed in the two previous collective agreements and secretly thought that given the chance I could do better. I decided to put my mouth where my money was. I ran in the elections for the Executive and squeaked in. Somehow, I found myself Chief Negotiator and soon, face to face with the dreaded TREASURY BOARD. The reality of the negotiating environment PAFSO finds itself in is stark. We have no negotiating leverage. Our only tools are thorough preparations, and moral suasion.

It makes all the difference to the process and the outcome to have a receptive, dedicated and hard working negotiator on the other side. It was our good fortune to have such a person in Marc Gagnon, a Treasury Board negotiator who had worked in the personnel bureau of External and understood the unique circumstances of the foreign service. His willingness to go that extra mile with his stubborn colleagues at the Board made all the difference.

Not everyone was thrilled with the final result. I believe, however, that the current collective agreement is in the overall best interests of the foreign service. In the unlikely event that in the future promotions become more plentiful or the FS salary bands are adequately restructured to overcome the bunching and stagnation at the top of the two bands, future negotiations can recapture the lost portion of the salary increment in exchange for the then presumably unnecessary performance bonus. In the meantime, PAFSO can take pride in having negotiated a benefit hitherto available only to the EX ranks.

No sooner were the collective agreement negotiations concluded, than I was called upon once again to give to my Association. After what seemed a very short stint, our President was on his way to China and a new leader was needed. My colleagues on the Executive seemed to think that the contract negotiations were the ideal boot camp for the



office of President — the unrewarded front person for the Association. Thinking that this could be an ideal opportunity for righting the wrongs of the foreign service, I reluctantly accepted, all the while dreading the potential demands on that scarcest of commodities, time.

So what wrongs need righting?

One of the most fundamental threats to the foreign service as a career and a principle cause of morale problems is the Department's resort to lateral entries. At the time of writing, a controversy is raging around the Department's efforts to staff thirty-five positions lent to it by DIST. PAFSO reluctantly agreed to negotiate the structure for the recruitment of the needed bodies and concluded what the Executive Committee thought was the best deal obtainable. The Department insists that it faces personnel shortages at all levels, irremediable through the normal recruiting and promotion processes. That is perhaps an undeniable fact. It seems to me, however, that the Department is constrained by outdated concepts of personnel management and fails to make the best use of its own dedicated officer corps and a more imaginative approach to recruiting. I hope the Department will use the consultation process called for in the new collective agreement to discuss with PAFSO workable solutions to this and other deep rooted problems facing us.

Another such structural problem is the perceived arbitrariness and unfairness of the promotion system. PAFSO has provided the Department with a copy of a discussion paper on an innovative approach to promotions that would rid the process of most if not all of the perceived iniquity. I hope the Department is ready to give the ideas it contains serious consideration.

Closely related to these, is a third structural problem — that of the current unwieldy structure of the FS bands. PAFSO is prepared to make a concrete proposal to management on an approach that will stimulate morale rather than depress it and open up career prospects for specialists that are currently underutilised in the foreign service.

Space does not permit me to enumerate the other important issues that face us over the coming months. Many of these have in any case been referred to by Rodney Briggs in his parting message. If in the time remaining to me as President real progress is made on the three I discussed here, my term will have been well spent and the prospects of the foreign service as a career considerably enhanced.

I think PAFSO can make a difference, but only to the extent of the time and devotion that its members are prepared to invest. PAFSO is a valuable tool and it is the responsibility of all of us to make it work for us. I welcome the newly elected members of the Executive Committee and wish you a productive term. To those who ran but were not elected, thank you for making the effort and please try again next year — we need you. To those of our members that don't have the time to donate or the inclination to serve — please let us have your ideas and suggestions for improving our collective lot. I call on every foreign service officer that cares, to ask not only what PAFSO can do for you, but what you can do for all of us through PAFSO.

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Dear Editor,

Your readers might enjoy this postscript to Sidney Freifeld's excellent article on "The Poets of External" in the most recent issue of *bout de papier*.

While examining an old file in our Embassy in Dublin in the course of my posting there, I came across a letter to Alfred Rive confirming that Stuart Hemsley had won the prize. It went on to add that honourable mention should perhaps have gone to an outsider — "Joe" Garner who then (or perhaps later — my memory fails me) was British High Commissioner in Ottawa.

He submitted the following gem:

"Away with cocked hats, plumes and swords

In proof of high endeavour,

We'll wear where Adam wore the fig
The Maple Leaf forever!"

I must confess that I used this bit of doggerel in later years without proper attribution to illustrate that not all diplomats were as colourless as critics often assert.

James J. McCordle

* * *

Dear Editor,

Re: Howard Green

With the death of one of our very special Ministers (to whom Blair Fraser referred once as "The Lone Pine of Parliament Hill"), your readers may be interested to know that I managed to have a brief word with Mr. Green on the telephone on my way through Vancouver in mid-May. When I eventually made myself heard, I told him how much we all missed him from Ottawa these days. He replied that he still had good memories of his friends in External Affairs.

He was a good Minister who left his imprint on many issues and policies and on the personnel of the Department.

Congratulations again on your excellent product. Keep up the good work.

A.E. Ritchie

* * *

Dear Editor,

Those of us who have been retired for half-a-dozen years or so are perhaps not the best placed to comment on William Warden's article: "Reflections on Leaving the Foreign Service," but I must confess that it vibrated many sympathetic chords in my own memory. Mr. Warden's strictures against the self-serving nature of recent departmental

senior management derive added force from his own record of service. That record speaks for itself and it does not permit anyone to dismiss his article as being sour grapes from a failure.

However, I do not totally agree with Mr. Warden. For the foreign service's current morale problems I would lay greater emphasis than he does on the heavy-handed political interference in departmental administration of the past 15 years — particularly in the wholesale appointment of non-career heads of mission. Yet in the main, I thought his argument was highly convincing.

This is not a new story. As a member of the "Class of '45" I frequently experienced much the same feelings about senior management as did Mr. Warden later on. Even in those years, there was a tendency for the departmental hierarchy to be composed of people who had rotated among the larger posts — London, Paris, Washington, etc. — and who thus lacked first-hand experience of the heavy problems of administration of a small post in a third world country.

There never were, in my opinion, enough people on Killers' Row (as we then called it) with first-hand experience of Asia or Africa. And, too often, they tended to be something of a self-perpetuating clique, as their natural inclination was to promote and select promising people whom they had known and admired in these large posts where they had served. This process seemed to me to continue throughout the 38 year period of my service (1945-1983) — to the detriment of morale among the majority of personnel serving in our small posts abroad.

Like Mr. Warden, I left with no encumbrance of personal bitterness. Indeed I was generally well-treated and in fact stayed on eight months beyond the (then) normal retirement date of the 65th birthday.

However, I believed then, and I continue to believe, that the system would be improved if, in selecting senior departmental management, much greater emphasis were placed on choosing those with years of first-hand experience in Asia, Africa and Latin America, preferably including the management of at least one hardship post.

Harry Carter

* * *

Dear Editor,

The transmission belt from France to Canada seems to have slipped when it brought to you the letter from my old friend Robert Ford that appeared in *bout de papier* Vol. 6, No. 4. The Russian for "peaceful coexistence" was printed as "MIRNOYE COSKSHESTVOVANYE",

whereas, using the same convention of transliteration, it should have been "MIRNOYE SOSUSHCHESTVOVANYE". Here is another good one to try out for size: "SAMOZASHCHISHCHAYUSHCHEMU": "self-defending" in the dative case, singular, masculine.

John A. McCordick

* * *

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Reflections on a First Year in the Department

*by Michael Boekhoven, Alison LeClaire,
Ted MacKay, Gary Miller, and
Benoit Prefontaine*

The first year as a Foreign Service Officer is in many ways a year of listening — absorbing everything that one hears, without always believing it. It is a time of gradual adjustment of perceptions and expectations — however hazily defined — to the reality of the work. While this process is ongoing, we would like to share some early impressions of our entrance and first year.

It is difficult to sum-up our training — since in some cases it was non-existent. Only Social Affairs officers received structured training, and that focused exclusively on the technical aspects of their work. As a generalization, there was no training in “foreign service” work, but we eventually concluded that while structured orientation (which we did have) was possible, structured training was not only difficult to provide, but perhaps even impossible given the limited resources of the Department. ‘Baptism by fire’ and, of course, the never tedious tales of senior officers have been our main sources of instruction.

One problem arises because not all divisions are created equal. The nature and utility of our first assignments varied widely from officer to officer. Some faced expectations of immediate transformation into a fully functioning member of the division, often with unfamiliar work and unstated responsibilities, while others were left to wander aimlessly amongst rushing bodies too busy to integrate the newcomer into the division’s work. Some assignments, therefore, provided little in the way of meaningful experience outside of exposure to different styles of management.

The “hands-on” training philosophy, with its day-to-day administrative, job-specific exigencies, also conflicted periodically with the very real need for a global, career-oriented approach to training. Temporary assignments to special events such as the Toronto Economic Summit gave some of us an early glimpse of a high level conference; others missed the opportunity due to their division’s inability to release them for a short period of time. In an effort to take advantage of such

high profile and intense events and to reduce the conflict between divisional needs and officer training, personnel and training divisions should annually design and maintain a set of priorities for training new recruits.

Beginning in 1987, new officers must achieve a ‘C’ level (fluently bilingual) in the ‘other’ official language before being posted. However, due to staff shortages, some recruits were posted without the required level of ability in both languages, while others were exiled to the language school at Carson Road for six to ten months. If the new language requirement is to have meaning, programmes for shorter, more intensive training should be developed. Currently the probation period is extended by the time spent in full-time language training if that time exceeds six weeks. While this policy is not consistently articulated or applied (some received their salary increase but remained on probation, while others were not affected at all), it remains that unilingual officers may face an effective probation period (salary and status) of up to two years; even if these officers wait out their probation year to begin training, they will still lose up to a year in performance assessments. The implications for promotion are obvious.

A “Mentor Programme” was reintroduced in 1987. While views on the utility of the programme differ, we believe that mentors could have been assigned much earlier. In most cases, new officers had already developed their own departmental contacts by the time their mentors were assigned, or met them only shortly before their departure abroad. Furthermore, some mentors were fairly inattentive to their “mentees”, either out of a lack of interest or perhaps a lack of understanding as to what the programme was all about. For maximum benefit, the mentor should be assigned and introduced soon after the recruit arrives when the chances of creating a rapport, and the need to seek advice, are much greater. The Development Assistance stream, however, does not have mentors.

We began with sense of group identity as ‘the FS1(D)s’ but have noticed a growing tendency to categorize one another by stream. Having become aware of that tendency, we hope to reverse it, preferring to see

ourselves first as foreign service officers and second as divided into streams. Interminable shop talk at social occasions has helped us understand a little about the work of other streams, but we think there ought to be greater opportunity to develop a real sense of professional unity in a professional milieu. FS-1(D)s in the Development Assistance stream have almost no interaction with other streams, and the Trade Commissioner stream as a whole tends to display a certain xenophobia. For new officers to enter the Department after a long and rigorous hiring process with the sense that they are joining “the Department of External Affairs”/“the Canadian Foreign Service”, and yet to end up in “stream-ghettos” without a strong overall sense of corporate identity, bodes ill for the Department as a whole. At a minimum, we would recommend mixed and cross-stream seminars and courses in the nature of the work faced by other streams. This would help us deal with problems abroad, when we will have to handle a variety of responsibilities that transcend stream lines.

Some of us joined the Department clinging steadfastly to a perhaps mythical image of the Foreign Service: intellectual stimulation, variety, exotic locales, important people and even (not now certainly, but at some distant date) a decent salary. The romantic in us assumed that we would not be mere bureaucrats.

To an unfortunate degree, senior officers greeted us with a host of attitudes not in keeping with this perception; they ranged from active resentment and frustration to discouragement and resignation. We are warned to expect at best one promotion in thirty years of work. Any enthusiasm we display is regarded a little indulgently because, as we are constantly told, disillusionment will soon set in, particularly during assignment in Ottawa. At least at post we will have more responsibility and the opportunity to enjoy a different culture. At each return, however, we will be faced with the realization that notwithstanding our discontent, we are unlikely to search for greener pastures.

Is it too soon to think about leaving? We have lost two colleagues already, due to the “multiple layers of decision-making,...

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bureaucratic rigidity, inadequate funding of initiatives, a cumbersome promotion apparatus, low pay, time-wasting turf fights with other Departments and a sense of non-accomplishment". For those of us who remain, this might be too extreme a view; still it is difficult to imagine that the "best and the brightest" will remain to face a crisis of morale and limited opportunities for the future.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, we must admit that we are still enthusiastic about our new careers and the lives we see ahead of us. Even after a year of hearing about poor promotion prospects, intellectual frustration, the horrors of affirmative action, etc. we remain relatively content about what we see as our future. Nevertheless, most have undergone some rite of cynicization that has dampened our innocent sanguinity and forced us to a more realistic approach to life as a foreign service officer.

Joining the Foreign Service in 1987, Michael Boekhoven is a member of the Social Affairs Stream, Ted MacKay and Alison LeClaire of the Political Economic Stream, Gary Miller of the Development Assistance Stream and Benoit Prefontaine of the Trade Commissioner Stream.

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Diefenbaker's World: A Review Article

by Ivan Head

Diefenbaker's World — A Populist in Foreign Affairs by H. Basil Robinson, University of Toronto Press, 1989, 384 pp., \$29.95.

Should, heaven help us, there remain any Canadians not convinced of the turbulence of our times, or the speed with which events and issues pass and change, a contemporary retrospective of the era of John Diefenbaker's stewardship of this country is a bracing tonic. His 1963 defeat is little more than a quarter of a century behind us, yet many of the compelling and crucial foreign policy issues of his day appear now so indistinct as to be of interest only to the devotees of crossword puzzles and Trivial Pursuit: Quemoy and Matsu, the EEC odyssey of Edward Heath and Duncan Sandys, the Christmas Island termination of the atmospheric nuclear test moratorium, the Columbia River negotiations, Patrice Lumumba and the Congo agony, the Berlin stand-off, the labyrinthine struggle of Souvanna Phouma with Souphanouvong and the Pathet Lao. Even the recent re-visiting of the Cuban missile crisis by the original Soviet and American participants somehow failed to impress today's population with the atmosphere of imminent peril and deep fear that marked those dramatic days.

Why is this? Twenty-five years, after all, is not long even in the lives of young men and women. Previous generations, surely, were able to hold on to the recent past with a more certain grip. Are we the products of a television age of image-overload, has the nuclear spectre converted us into fatalists with a day-to-day attention span, or is the momentum of events really such that the recent past rapidly loses both focus and relevance? Whatever the reason, our peril is the greater if Canadians assume either that a serendipitous attitude is adequate or that we are doomed to be ineffective players whatever our effort. Cynicism is not the noblest of qualities, nor is it even marginally effective as an agent of change.

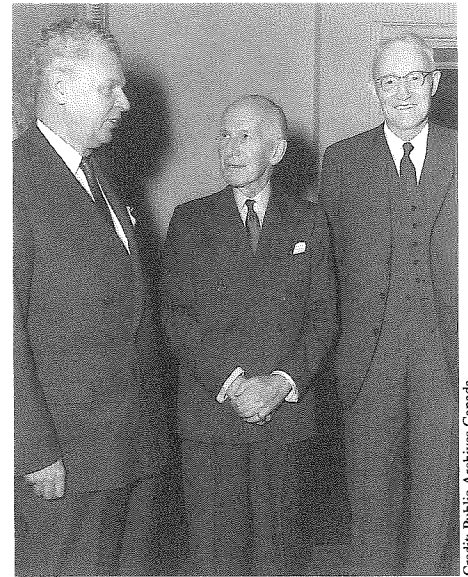
Those were important events then and many remain important still. They were events which were part of Prime Minister

Diefenbaker's world and they proved, in sum, to be more than he could handle. That John Diefenbaker was an enigma is well accepted; that his record should be disregarded as a result is surely unreasonable. His period in office deserves much more careful scrutiny than it has received thus far. One of the obstacles to that scrutiny is surely Mr. Diefenbaker himself. It is difficult to measure his record partly because of the intemperate and indefensibly selective nature of his own personal memoirs. Accounts much more balanced and much more dispassionate have been badly needed. It is to this end that Basil Robinson has painstakingly produced his valuable book. In the result, not only journeymen in the foreign affairs trades should be grateful, so should John George Diefenbaker, for here his heroic pretensions are reduced, and sympathetically, to human proportions. In the result, he is a more understandable, perhaps even a less controversial person.

Diplomats must be more understanding of the domestic elements in foreign policy.

The reader should be forewarned, however, that the author does not presume to assess in global terms the Diefenbaker performance. That, after all, is the role of the historian. What Robinson has done, and done superbly, is to chronicle this period from the perspective of a wise and attentive professional diplomat. While Mr. Diefenbaker dominates every page, as was characteristic of this extraordinary individual, the book's sub-theme is clearly that of the travails of the Department of External Affairs. One becomes as much acquainted with the Department's efforts to adjust (virtually for the first time in its history) to an "outsider" Prime Minister, as with the education of a Prime Minister broadly unrehearsed for an international role. Only the most casual observer of the period will be surprised to find that the leaving curve was not particularly steep on either side.

The principal reason, of course, was the extraordinary egotism of a man who consistently refused to acknowledge — seemingly even to himself — his own lack of prepared-



John Diefenbaker (left) with Vincent Massey (centre) at swearing in of Howard Green (right) as Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, 1959.

ness, his deep personal insecurity, his inability to function as a member of a team with all the necessary delegations of authority and expressions of trust that this entailed. Much more than any Prime Minister in Canadian history, Diefenbaker was a solo performer. As Professor Denis Smith has observed "If John Diefenbaker had had more control of the character he created, he might have been a better Prime Minister. But then, of course, he might never have come to power at all. That was a romantic triumph which probably required...concentration of ambition,...narrowness of interest [and]...self-centredness..."

It was the fate of Basil Robinson to have been thrust onto this inhospitable scene as the Department of External Affairs liaison officer in the Prime Minister's Office. It was a daunting assignment. He found that Foreign Service Officers were suspected of being either Pearson co-conspirators or Cold War wimps, or both. In addition, he was expected to serve the Prime Minister yet be answerable to the Department. In retrospect, I remain convinced that no one could possibly have discharged those responsibilities more professionally or more constructively. For a brief interlude in this drama, I played a minor, but intimate role. It seemed

Credit: Public Archives Canada

to me then, and still, almost impossible that one could act with such genuine and (to me) consistent courtesy as did Basil Robinson, whatever the pressures bearing upon him from either or both of his two masters. I had come to Ottawa from Alberta as an admirer of John Diefenbaker; I left on posting as a devotee of Basil Robinson.

Anyone not personally exposed to the forcefulness of Mr. Diefenbaker in full fury might be tempted to belittle the quandary in which Basil Robinson found himself on a daily basis, or to be less than aware of the Prime Minister's disdain of the Department. Such persons need look no further than the Diefenbaker memoirs to realize their error. Speaking of Department officials, he wrote: "Their general attitude was that the only course worth following internationally had already been established. Most of the personalities in External Affairs fit Churchill's description: 'There but for the Grace of God goes God.'" Again, referring this time to speech preparation, he described his frustration at successive texts and, finally, his instructions: "This is what I'm going to say. I am not going to accept your version of what I should or should not say. Now get to work. I do not want any more of the pussyfooting or dilly-dallying that has characterized Canadian external affairs in recent years. You will prepare what I want."

This insistent tirade is touched upon in several instances by Mr. Robinson, and one cannot but be infected with the frustrations he felt from a succession of abuses: continuing references to officials as "Personalities"; accusations that the Department was passing to Mr. Pearson classified materials including accounts of the Prime Minister's discussions with other leaders, allegations of naivety and absence of backbone in representing Canadian interests; and more. Partisanship and inexperience notwithstanding, these delusions were surely self-destructive. One can only question Mr. Diefenbaker's common sense in his refusal to seek or to entertain the advice of such wise individuals as Norman Robertson (Peter Newman wrote that the Prime Minister consulted with him only twice between 1957 and 1963) or John Holmes (a superb example of Holmes' intellect is quoted by Robinson at p. 28).

Not unexpectedly, these attitudes of the Prime Minister, compounded by indecisiveness and an almost demonic dedication to personalities at the expense of issues, literally guaranteed the policy confusions which came to dominate, and finally to defeat, the Diefenbaker Government. The volume is full of candid illustrations. A Canadian reader is spellbound, for example, by Diefenbaker's paranoia over such an inconsequential

matter as the infamous Rostow briefing note for President Kennedy, yet instinctively understands the Prime Minister's fury during the Cuban missile crisis when not consulted by the Americans before they altered significantly the U.S. air defence forces DEFCON (which increased dramatically the war preparedness of Canada's NORAD partner and sent strong signals to the Soviet Union). One learns more of Diefenbaker's unquestioning acceptance of the perspective of Canada's ethnic communities and is tempted to assume that in his own behaviour he often confused theatrics for courage. (As fascinating as any single incident recounted in the book is the Prime Minister's conscious avoidance of an opportunity to confront General Secretary Khrushchev in the delegates' lounge in the U.N., an incident described in totally different fashion in the Diefenbaker memoirs.)

A Department long-accustomed to a relationship with incumbent governments based on mutual confidence understandably found this Prime Minister a hard study. He seemed incapable of reading his briefing materials, chose not to share with the Department undertakings he had given to other heads of government, dithered interminably over the content of public statements, and insisted that his cultural background and his political instincts were more than adequate preparation for negotiations with even the most experienced and powerful of world leaders. As Robinson summed up in the autumn of 1959, the Prime Minister "had very little inclination or talent for negotiation in the substance of foreign policy. He did not appreciate the environment in which others were operating, and was not willing to give in search of compromise...for those who wanted a creative, resourceful role for Canada in the world, Diefenbaker was not the answer."

*Politicians must become
aware of the domestic
consequences of virtually
every off-shore event.*

Notwithstanding disappointment and annoyance, the hubris of the Department was not about to self-adjust and must, on occasion, have appeared to the Prime Minister to have been deliberate defiance or, at best, a less than enthusiastic willingness to serve him. As one example, Diefenbaker regarded his speech to the General Assembly on September 26, 1960 as the most important of his international career. The Department thought otherwise. "From the point of view of the Department of External

Affairs, the speech disposed entirely of any surviving naive hopes that Canada under Diefenbaker might still play a role of peacemaker in East-West or UN affairs." The "prevailing view" in the Department in late 1961 "was impatience with the absence of substance in the Prime Minister's speeches.... The Department had not fully adjusted itself to the realities of serving a Prime Minister whose priorities were so different — so much, as it were, closer to home." The Department was resigned to "doing the best we could with the current management." To be regretted more than anything else, perhaps, was the early retirement from the foreign service in this period of a number of senior careerists. Their brilliance should have made their retention an issue of considerable concern to both the government of the day and the public service; instead they were adopted as totems by the Diefenbaker loyalists on the one hand, and the foreign policy establishment on the other.

To even the most experienced and competent practitioners of international relations, the period 1957-1963 was one that presented challenges of immense importance and unprecedented complication. It was a period dominated by giant figures who surely must have inhibited Diefenbaker (as, we now know, they inhibited one another): Macmillan, de Gaulle, Adenauer, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nasser, Nehru, Mao, Khrushchev, Hammarskjöld, Spaak. The Cold War was at its most ominous, Western Europe was endeavouring to broaden its institutional base, the tragedy of Indo-China was beginning to unfold, the decolonization process was picking up steam, the People's Republic of China remained beyond the pale, the theology of disarmament was as yet no match for the grand designs of the nuclear strategists, the role and function of NORAD were both in their infancy, the evolution of the Commonwealth was far from understood, and the reputation of the United Nations was far from secure. Circumstances of this complexity would have proved challenging to a Canadian government of any stripe. In the face of all this, one is tempted to write off as simplistic most of the Diefenbaker responses. That would be an error, however, and Robinson is not guilty of following that course. After all, some of Diefenbaker's concepts — food banks, open skies, and declarations of principle — possess enduring merit and continue today to be of value.

It is all the more tragic, therefore, that Canada's 13th Prime Minister was so totally incapable of directing a team that could implement his ideas; that he was himself so egotistical to believe that opposition to his proposals from any source must be part of a

Central Canada/Liberal Party/Big Business conspiracy to deny him and his long-suffering followers their hard-won right to reverse the indignities and inequities to which they had so long been exposed.

Of the tragic result there can be little doubt. In measured language, Robinson recites account after account of the plummeting reputation of Canada in the eyes of its friends and allies. What was at the beginning questioning and confusion turned later to bitterness and consternation. Even as loyal a supporter as then Secretary of State for External Affairs Howard Green reported to Cabinet that "Canada now amounted to very little in the NATO picture."

There are hard lessons in Basil Robinson's study, and they deserve attention well beyond the Diefenbaker persona. One is that diplomats must be more understanding of the domestic elements in foreign policy and prepared fully to deal with them, not simply either to ignore them or to cave in to them. A second, and equally important, is that politicians must become aware of the domestic consequences of virtually every off-shore event and more prepared to explain these in clear and honest language to their Canadian constituents. The world is now too complicated and too perilous for either ministers or officials to engage in double-speak. One shudders at Diefenbaker's trumpeting of the quantum and untied "purity" of Canadian developmental assistance, while in parallel he was insisting on increased volumes of Canadian wheat and wheat-flour as a component. At the same time, one sympathizes with him in his quandary over the extraordinarily sensitive and complicated issue of nuclear warheads and the contradictory pressures being brought to bear upon him by both ministers and officials. I have not the slightest doubt that history will vindicate the correctness of John Diefenbaker's policy instinct, even as it vilifies — and properly — both his failure fully to understand those issues and the hopeless confusion of his endeavours to postpone decisions. Those led to negative consequences of long duration.

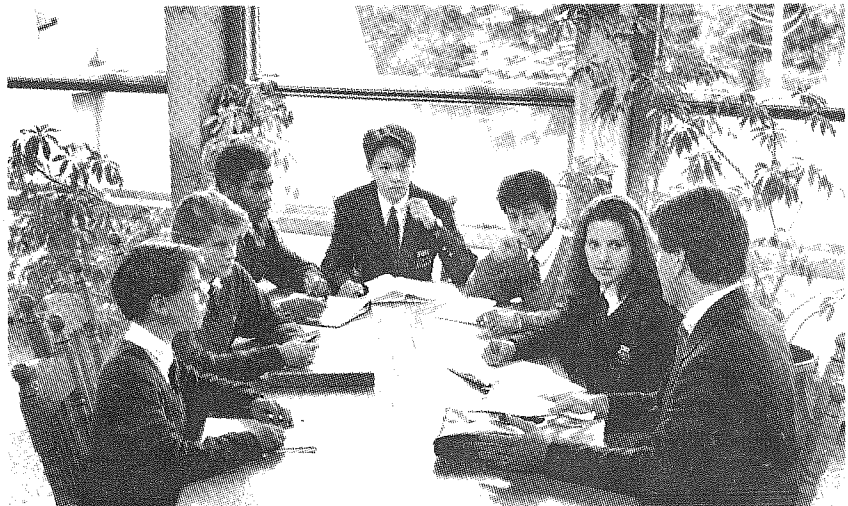
In the quarter-century since the defeat of John Diefenbaker's Government, the underlying tensions which threaten a peaceful and stable world may have changed somewhat in content, but certainly not in their potential for damage. If Canada, indeed if the industrialized countries generally, are to contribute constructively to a functioning international community, there must be greater evidence of humility, clearer acceptance of interdependence, and a surer dedication to problem-solving. Citizens of the democracies must demand that their leaders exhibit some minimum degree of competence and

intellectual honesty, and must assume more responsibility themselves to understand issues. In these respects, the Diefenbaker years can serve as a valuable learning experience for Canadian electors, for politicians and for the public service. Important as was his contribution 25 years ago, Basil Robinson's remarkable and insightful volume is of much greater value. It is an enduring contribution to students of Canadian governance, as well as the followers of international events. I earnestly hope that it

will be read and studied as widely and as carefully as it deserves to be.

Ivan Head, a former Foreign Service Officer, was assigned in 1961 by External Affairs to assist Basil Robinson in the Prime Minister's Office before his posting as Third Secretary to Kuala Lumpur. From 1968-1978, he served as foreign policy adviser to Prime Minister Trudeau. He is now President of the International Development Research Centre.

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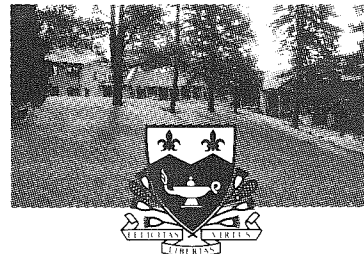


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1992

What it is and What it Means for Canada

by Daniel Molgat

This text has been edited and adapted for bout de papier from a speech that Ambassador Molgat delivered to the Canadian Exporters Association and the Business Council on National Issues.

One of the most significant, if not the most significant, happenings in Europe since the end of the second world war will be the completion of the single market within the twelve member states of the European Community. By 1992, this process should result in the complete elimination of all internal barriers to the free circulation of goods, people, capital and services. It is intended to cover all sectors and be without exception.

What the elimination of internal barriers means for Europeans in that post 1992 period is, for example that: a doctor, engineer, architect, accountant or other professional in Italy is free to set up shop in Germany; if a businessman does not like what his bank offers, he is free to deal with a bank from another member state; once a product has standards approval in one member state, it can be marketed freely within the other eleven member states of the Community; open competition for Government procurement contracts will now be on an equal footing in every member state; and transport companies are free to operate on a Community-wide basis.

The rationale for the program is economic growth and competitiveness. After trying protectionism and finding it not very satisfactory, some member states and the Community, led in significant measure by the private sector, concluded that the only way Europe could once again compete on an equal footing with the United States and Japan, would be to achieve the economies of scale, both for manufacturing and research purposes, offered by a single market comprising the 320 million people of the twelve member states.

The process is not new, which is why it is called "Completing the Single Market". The 1957 Treaty of Rome, establishing the

European Economic Community, in fact provided the legal basis for all of the measures contemplated in the current program. Progress was initially rapid in establishing a common customs tariff. Thereafter, however, economic recession slowed progress as did the accession of six new member states, all with differing priorities. In addition, by insisting on a complete harmonization of standards at the Community level, the process soon bogged down.

In the longer term, European companies may become more interesting to Canadian companies as partners or as a source of innovation and technology.

A strong political shot in the arm was required and came from the heads of government who, in 1985, asked the Commission to come forward with a white paper on completing the internal market. This white paper was formally endorsed by heads of government in Milan in June of that year, and has been strongly endorsed at every meeting of European heads of government since.

The white paper set the agenda by listing some 300 measures that, in the wisdom of the Commission, needed to be implemented in order to remove all the remaining internal barriers to trade. Some of these have since been dropped or amalgamated with other measures, so that at last count there are 279 measures comprising the internal market package. These can be grouped into 3 categories: PHYSICAL BARRIERS (customs, immigration controls); TECHNICAL BARRIERS (standards, health and safety requirements, lack of mobility of labour and professions, restrictions on the cross-border provision of financial and other services and restrictions on capital movements); and FISCAL BARRIERS (different levels of taxation in member states).

Of the 279, 135, or about half, have been agreed upon, and the remaining measures,

with the exception of about 25 still in the works, have been tabled by the Commission in the form of draft legislation (as of 13 February 1989).

To meet their target of 1992, they will need to agree on the remaining measures by the end of 1990 in order to allow at least two years for transposition into the laws of the member states. A new qualified majority voting procedure provided by the Single Act (December 1985) will speed things up, but the tough areas remain — fiscal harmonization, particularly the harmonization of VAT rates which impinges upon member states' sovereignty in the area of taxation, and the removal of all intracommunity frontier controls. Whether either of these are crucial to the realization of the single market in its economic sense is a question that remains to be answered since Mrs. Thatcher has publicly opposed both. There are, however, indications that the single market could operate reasonably efficiently even if these measures were not fully realized.

Although there has been a move away from "Euro this" and "Euro that", there must still be some Community-level standards, particularly where health and safety or environmental issues are at stake. What the Community has done in this area is to set out the "essential requirements" which, once met, guarantee free circulation throughout the 12 member states. Otherwise (i.e., where there are no health or safety concerns) the approach is mutual recognition of other member states' standards.

Other white paper measures deal with opening up government procurement to all companies within the Community on an equal footing, industrial property protection, European-level patents and copyrights, and allowing both worker and professional mobility within the Community.

There are also a number of other measures that were not part of the "official" white paper program that are generally moving with the same agenda. Particularly noteworthy among these are proposals to enhance the Commission's control over competition and merger policy.

A major study (the Cecchini Report) of the effects of 1992, providing all the white paper measures were implemented, predicts

that there will be an incremental benefit to the economy of between some 170 and 270 billion ECUS (230 to 365 billion Canadian dollars), representing a 4.5 to 6.5% growth in GDP, 2 to 5 million new jobs and a significant drop in prices — all of this to occur over a 4-5 year period following the completion of the single market.

What does all this mean to Canada? It is probably too early to make accurate predictions, but much will depend on how we position ourselves for the future. The Community remains a vitally important trading and economic partner for Canada, ranking as our second largest market after the United States. What is also striking is that this market has been growing rapidly for us ever since the currency realignment of the 1985 Plaza Hotel Accord. From a low of 5.7% of Canada's global exports in 1985, the community accounted for 7.6% of our exports in 1987 (16% and 17% growth in 1986 and 1987, respectively). In these years, imports from Europe have also continued to grow, although at a somewhat more modest pace.

If Europeans are successful in achieving their single market, and I have little doubt that they will be, European companies may well become more competitive than they have been. In the short and medium term, European companies will be focussing their capital and managerial expertise on consolidating their positions in the larger European single market. This will probably mean that they will have fewer resources to pursue business expansion in markets outside the Community. In the longer term, however, in addition to becoming more formidable and effective competitors, European companies may become more interesting to Canadian companies as partners or as a source of innovation and technology.

The single market should enable a Canadian company to operate at a Community level after having met just one set of standards, filed one patent or trademark application, and having set up one central distribution location. Thus, Canadian companies should be able to achieve greater economies of scale at lower cost. Not to be forgotten, however, will be the ever present requirement of catering to the cultural particularities of each of the member state markets.

Canadian companies with a manufacturing and research presence in the Community will likely have access to Community-funded R&D projects and will be able to form the necessary links with European companies to break into markets such as those provided by public procurement, such as telecommunications.

Fears that the 1992 Single Market might lead to a "Fortress Europe" were fuelled by

the reciprocity issue as raised in the new proposed banking directive. If this directive receives approval, a bank licenced in one member state will be able to operate Community-wide, regulated only by its home authorities. Third country banks would enjoy this enhanced access, however, only through reciprocal arrangements with their home governments. This caused immediate concern on the part of many third countries and gave rise to suspicions that the Single Market exercise was designed to exclude third countries from the market. The Community has since clarified, however, that foreign banks established in the Community before the banking directive comes into effect will be grandfathered — i.e., not subject to reciprocity — and that reciprocity, to the extent that it might be applied, will demand only national treatment in return.

The Community depends too heavily on international trade to risk a breakdown of the international trading system into closed regional trading blocs.

Similar reciprocity clauses have appeared in proposed directives dealing with life insurance and investment services, and it can be expected that the Community will seek to negotiate reciprocity in the area of government procurement and standards certification, probably in the context of the GATT codes. How they choose to use this negotiating coinage will be indicative of how committed they are to an open multilateral trading environment.

I remain reasonably optimistic that the market will turn out to be what it is billed to be — a major liberalization that will benefit not only European companies but companies from third countries as well. My optimism is based on the fact that the Community depends too heavily on international trade (10% of its GDP vs 5% in the US) to risk a breakdown of the international trading system into closed regional trading blocs, and because there are checks and balances within the system. Those calling for protectionism in a particular sector are usually in the minority in the Community as a whole.

As we prepare for 1992, we must not lose sight of the fact that what is happening in Europe has not escaped the European community's other trading partners. The EFTA countries (Norway, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Finland and Iceland), whose trading relationship with the Community is much

like Canada's with the United States, have a vital interest in maintaining their market access. Their response has been to work closely with the Community in defining industrial standards, in working out ways by which product liability can be dealt with, and by positioning themselves physically in the market. Thus Swedish companies, for example, have begun to invest more heavily within the Community at the expense of their earlier focus on third countries. Large American and Japanese firms are also positioning themselves with investments within the confines of the Community. Canadian firms have been less numerous, but are beginning now to position themselves as well.

The advantages of 1992 may well be felt mostly by those Canadian companies capable of servicing the larger market. While this will normally mean larger companies, smaller companies with niche products should also benefit by being able to access that niche more easily throughout the Community. Other companies, content to concentrate on a single member state market, may find fewer advantages in 1992.

Three major Canadian studies are currently underway that are designed to help Canadian businesses assess the implications of the single market. The first study, which should come out by March, will analyse the effects of the single market on the member-states of the European Community. It will be followed by a second study on the effects of the single market on our own trading interests and on our interests in investment and technology, and by a third on the response and reaction of other non-Community countries to the single market.

Once we as Canadians define our areas of interest, and know what questions to ask, there are mechanisms available to us under the 1976 CDA/EC Framework Agreement for Economic Cooperation or in the GATT, where we can pursue Canadian interests. Our success will clearly depend in no small measure on our being able to define our interests in a timely fashion.

Our ability to prepare, in either the defensive or offensive mode, for the single market depends very much on our understanding its elements and assessing their effects on our interests. One thing is certain, as we approach 1992, more of our attention in the foreign service will become focused on Europe. 

Daniel Molgat is Ambassador of Canada to the European Communities, Brussels, Belgium.

Editor's Note: Readers are referred to the book review of "La Grande illusion" in this issue for a further discussion of Europe in 1992.

“For Want of a (Wing) Collar...”

by Sidney Freifeld

Working in the Canadian Foreign Service may be occasionally enlivened by some crisis over clothing — more frequently over the clothing of your visiting Minister or Prime Minister than over your own. Clothing crises, of course, can overtake anyone, in any walk of life. But somehow they take on a more comical aspect if, for example, the locale is Buckingham Palace and the occasion is an Annual Reception given by Their Majesties for the Diplomatic Corps, when the wife of an External aide to High Commissioner George Drew, finding that her long dress was being trampled as the line of diplomats moved forward to be presented, gathered up what she thought was her hem only to find that she held in her hand the tails of the glowering Libyan Ambassador; or if the locale is Lutyns Palace, former residence of British Viceroys in New Delhi, and the occasion is the “White Tie and Decorations” dinner about to be offered by Prime Minister Nehru in honour of Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, who was making an around-the-world official tour in 1954.

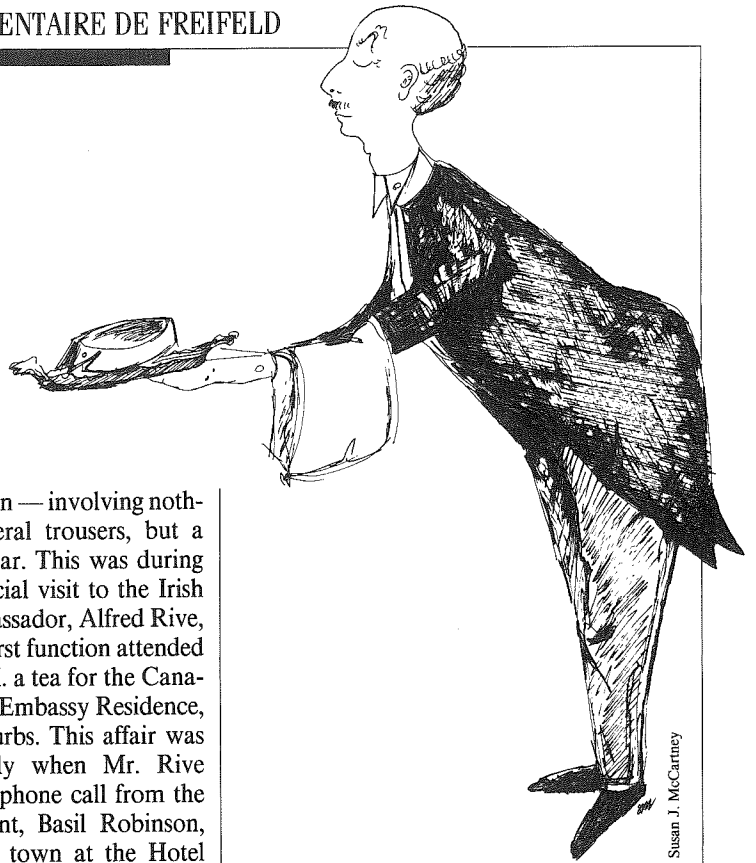
One of our Assistant Under-Secretaries, Charles Ritchie, who was accompanying Mr. St. Laurent, was called to the Prime Minister's bedroom and found him standing in full white tie regalia, but no trousers; they had been left on the plane. The State Dinner was to begin in less than one hour. As Ritchie relates in his wonderful Diaries: “Everyone else had his trousers, but the Prime Minister was trouserless. Like Sir Walter Raleigh throwing down his cloak for Queen Elizabeth to walk upon, I said ‘Take mine, Prime Minister,’ but a second look at his girth and mine showed that this was a physical impossibility.” The crisis was resolved, in a manner of speaking, by sending a servant to the nearest bazaar. He returned with “an extremely greasy pair of second or third-hand trousers of such circumference that they had to be fastened around the Prime Minister's waist with safety pins.”

When I was serving at our Embassy in Dublin, we had a little Prime Ministerial

clothing crisis of our own — involving nothing so crucial as Liberal trousers, but a Conservative wing collar. This was during Mr. Diefenbaker's official visit to the Irish capital when our Ambassador, Alfred Rive, contrived to have the first function attended by our teetotalling P.M. a tea for the Canadian community at the Embassy Residence, out in the Dublin suburbs. This affair was proceeding swimmingly when Mr. Rive received an urgent telephone call from the P.M.'s Special Assistant, Basil Robinson, who had remained in town at the Hotel Shelbourne to work on telegrams. Also at the hotel, the Prime Minister's Confidential Messenger, Gilbert Champagne, was laying out Mr. Diefenbaker's clothing for the “White Tie and Decorations” dinner that Irish Prime Minister Sean Lemass would be giving in his honour in a couple of hours.

To Basil's and Champagne's horror — no wing collars; they had been left behind in Belfast, and finding a haberdashery open in Dublin on a Sunday afternoon in 1959 was as improbable as finding one open in Toronto on a Sunday in the thirties.

Calling from the Shelbourne Hotel on the telephone, Basil asked Mr. Rive whether his collar size was the same as Mr. Diefenbaker's. It was not, nor was mine. At that moment Forman, the somewhat ancient waiter used at many functions in Dublin's small diplomatic community, hovered into view bearing a tray loaded with tea and sandwiches — and a slightly soiled wing collar around his neck! Mr. Rive, to Forman's astonishment, asked his collar size. Glory be — the same as Mr. Diefenbaker's. Mr. Rive asked Forman for the urgent loan of his collar and said he could stop serving immediately and go home. When Mr. Rive explained, in a whisper, the nature of the emergency, Forman coolly took a collar out of his pocket and handed it to the Ambassador. “I always carry a spare. My compliments to the Prime Minister of Canada.” At the gala dinner that evening Crenia and I noted that Forman's wing collar reposed comfortably on the Prime Ministerial neck — and Mr. Diefenbaker was none the wiser.



Less critical, perhaps, was what befell Jim Elliot, our Commercial Counsellor in Bogota, who was serving as *Chargé d'Affaires* while I was absent from the country. In the middle of the morning, he suddenly received a call from Colombian Protocol saying the Diplomatic Corps was being invited to attend a Requiem Mass at the Cathedral that noon. Jim used to rent formal clothing and for this occasion he sent our driver to pick up morning coat and striped trousers, of which his size was kept in the renting store's file along with the size of all other regular diplomatic clients. Making a last-minute change of clothes at the office before being driven to the Cathedral, Jim, a burly fellow, was shaken to discover that the sleeves of his morning coat came down barely to his elbows.

But there was no time to go to the store and change. Descending from his car at the Cathedral, Jim saw the miniscule Chinese Ambassador getting out of his car, with the sleeves of *his* jacket nearly reaching the ground. They laughed at what must have happened back in the store, quickly changed morning coats and, impeccably garbed, strode with appropriately sad mien to their seats for the Requiem Mass in Bogota's Cathedral.

*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.*

Shades of Green in Longer Shadows

by Geoffrey Murray

"Howard Green received little attention out here in his passing...He came to a reunion of External retirees (all ranks) on 12 Sept. '87 at the Uplands Golf Club in Victoria and though he rose to speak with some difficulty, he delivered himself of what we all recalled as standard Howard Green: pride in Canada and its unique role in the world, especially as evidenced in peacekeeping; pride in the people who served in External Affairs and represented the country 'so well' abroad; and pleasure that he had been associated with all of us and worked with us to further Canada's humanitarian and peaceful objectives".

Extract from a letter of mid-July 1989 to Jim Nutt from Gordon Brown in Victoria.

In mid-January 1960, after five years' absence at the United Nations in New York, I cut short a two-year official secondment with the Secretariat to take the helm of the UN Division, high in the East Block attic. At the outset, the Undersecretary made clear that our new Minister, Howard Green, was determined to show the world and the Canadian public that the Progressive Conservatives in power were just as capable as their Liberal predecessors of making Canada's influence fully effective in the world organization. Since Norman Robertson wanted to keep in close touch with this significant aspect of Departmental work, he arranged for the UN Division to report directly to him, an easy working arrangement which I naturally welcomed and benefited from.

That began three years of close encounters with Howard Green, and a series of intermittent arguments, which usually opened with his query, "Well, what do you think, Geoff?" Working from my own recent exposures at the United Nations, I was often on the dissenting side of group discussions chaired by the Minister in pursuit of "Canada's humanitarian and peaceful objectives", primarily at the General Assembly and its political offshoots. Regularly in Ottawa and all too often back in New York, that became an exacting experience that gave me my own perspectives on how Canada's policy and diplomacy unfolded in the Diefenbaker years. I should make clear that my dissent was not so much concerned with where the Minister wished to go with his foreign policy, but how he pro-

posed to get there. In External Affairs, we never had any professional doubts that it was the political leadership who decided the substance of policy, the public service who worked out formulations, strategies and tactics for carrying it out.

It soon became apparent that the UN Division's primary role was intended to be advice and assistance on strategy and tactics. Without too much ceremony, Departmental management began early in my tenure to strip away large chunks of our divisional turf. The appointment then of General Tommy Burns as Government Adviser on Disarmament required a separate division to support him, so our disarmament section was sheared off to form a nucleus. Since Tommy Burns and I were veterans of Suez and all that, our two divisions were soon soul mates on the ground floor of the East Block, darting across the hall through the green baize doors on a daily routine of keeping in touch. We both began to hear regularly the rumbling of ministerial thunder, from Sir John A's old office immediately overhead. For Howard Green, UN and disarmament affairs marched hand in hand, across a broad front of his foreign policy, for as long as he was Minister.



Howard Green, Ottawa, 1957.

Other UN subject matter resided elsewhere, either in the Department or in other departments around town. We were far from idle, however, as the custodians of UN philosophy and folklore, the purveyors of procedural precedents and institutional proprieties, the arbiters in interdepartmental and intradepartmental consultations. To keep up with ministerial requirements — in the House and elsewhere — we strove to

track and coordinate Canada's manifold UN activities, whether within the international family of UN organizations or among the interested national actors across the town and country. Our information was solicited, our advice sought and inevitably our rhetoric of chapter and verse requisitioned, from many quarters and often on very short notice. But the calls from overhead were our top priority and never so insistent as when the annual Assembly approached, and with it the need for Canadian "initiatives". The whole division was "brain-storming" furiously on that requirement, about a decade before that technocratic buzzword gained currency around Ottawa. I continue to marvel at the imaginative ways my troops responded.

* * *

Before his appointment in June 1959, all I knew about Howard Green was that he had been the most relentless critic on the Opposition benches in Parliament, against the Liberal Government's policy and performance in the Suez crisis of 1956-57. At the autumn Assembly in 1957, Wallace Nesbitt M.P. had informed me rather smugly that Pearson's role in that crisis may have won him the Nobel Peace Prize, but it had also helped the Progressive Conservatives to victory in some ridings. Yet by the autumn of 1959, at the fourteenth Assembly, Howard Green was firmly espousing wide-ranging proposals for disarmament and arms control, including the unconditional banning of nuclear tests and other measures to reduce the hazards of radiation in the atmosphere. And there were signs that Canada wanted to be active in other UN fields, where previously our profile had been relatively low.

While I was still an international bureaucrat, I was agreeably surprised when a tall and spare, austere and white-haired Canadian minister took his place at the First Committee's horse-shoe desk. He seemed to find his way quite quickly in the UN maelstrom, which often bewildered newcomers. While there was not the easy bonhomie and banter that accompanied Pearson whenever he strolled about UN precincts — by then he was a household god — Howard Green soon attracted favourable comment with his solemn speaking style, his ready smile and outstretched hand, his earnest engagement in corridor consultations. Clearly, there was a personal warmth in it all and something distinctly Canadian.

Mr. Green made a special point of wooing

the smaller member states and especially the new arrivals. It transpired a year or so later that Canada opened its first post in Yaounde, partly as a result of Howard Green's impromptu chatting with his immediate neighbour in the First Committee, the representative of Cameroun. It fitted neatly with Departmental concerns, even then, about improving Canada's bilingual image abroad, for Cameroun also used both our official languages. Expansion of Canadian representation in francophone Africa strained our departmental resources then stretched painfully thin. But the Minister believed, quite firmly in my view, that Canada had to win over the new UN members arriving increasingly from Africa, once the "winds of change" began to blow vigorously in that continent. He showed a similar attitude toward the states of Latin America, not only were they our hemispheric neighbours but that usually constituted a solid voting bloc at the United Nations, at least until the Castro regime turned Cuba into a client of the Soviet Union. Our continuing relations with Cuba, and the anguish these caused in Washington, complicated Green's position on joining the OAS, which he appeared to favour in spite of opposition in Cabinet and the country at large.

Eventually, when I got to know him better, I realized that the Minister's wooing of smaller states, his fatherly figure and plain talk speeches were rather skilful camouflage for shrewd political calculations, tinged with salty humour — comparable in some ways to Pearson's easy affability. He was determined to attract broad third world support to his crusade for disarmament in its several dimensions. His operational strategy and tactics at the UN were hinged on a fatal, false premise, however. He was fond of saying: "Your know, Geoff, it's just like the House down here, just the same". That meant to him that the UN members, like the Parliamentary members back home and their constituents, were susceptible to the brand of parish pump politics that Howard Green had mastered in the House of Commons, on the hustings and especially in the Tory landslide. In pursuing many of our "initiatives" at the UN, he seemed quite confident that he could win and carry support from a sizeable group of small and middle-sized members, most of whom were firmly associated with the rapidly enlarging non-aligned group, the emerging "third world bloc".

There seemed no way of convincing Mr. Green that Canada, as a "committed" member of NATO, clearly on one side of the cold war, could not hope to put itself somehow at the head of the non-aligned, no matter how appealing the cause Canada might be advocating. Nations just emerging

from one form of white domination, European colonialism, were not about to let their "initiatives" and priorities, as an emerging majority at the UN, be usurped by other powers, on either side of the cold war. At the same time, by adjusting Canada's positions on some of these complex disarmament questions in ways thought to have third world appeal, we risked losing the support of our traditional allies and friends in Western Europe, even the neutralists, who were acutely conscious of the security implications of many arms control measures. I have never forgotten the puzzled looks on the faces of some of our closest Nordic friends as they listened to Howard Green explain some of his more extreme shifts of Canadian position. My own close contacts were quite blunt in expressing their skepticism and concerns, which I of course passed on to our own delegation.

In his thinking about the Assembly, Howard Green tended to confuse its "democratic" forms and procedures with its political and diplomatic functions. In doing so, he overestimated what Canada could hope to accomplish through assumed past influence and friendly persuasion. He discounted the diplomatic exigencies for reaching political compromises and satisfactory balances of national interest. He failed to appreciate how much Canada's earlier middle-power "successes" had depended on support and assistance from like-minded states and especially our most powerful friends and allies in the United States. Beyond question, our known and respected position in the progressive wing of NATO had accounted for much of the political clout we had wielded earlier as a middle power in the United Nations. Green showed scant concern for all this and not much of the needed patience for the sophisticated manoeuvring that UN "successes" usually required.

Accordingly, success often proved elusive for him, notwithstanding exhausting efforts. His policy initiatives were not always inherently ill-advised — some made very good sense and a few did succeed — but his diplomatic tactics were too often heavy-handed, ill-timed or misdirected. Departmental representatives may have been partly to blame; occasionally, we were rattled by the erratic turn of events. But a much greater impairment was the tight rein which the Prime Minister held on Green's diplomatic moves. That put restraints on his officials too, check-mating most opportunities for creative diplomacy.

* * *

From the beginning, the Diefenbaker Government wanted to change the focus of Canada's foreign policy. In particular, they saw the Commonwealth evolving as a much

greater influence in world affairs and international relations than their predecessors had acknowledged. In the same vein, Diefenbaker ministers seemed determined to restore in significance Canada's relations with Britain, and especially economic relations. The Dief seemed confident that he had a close rapport with President Eisenhower. Yet it appeared quite soon that the newcomers had fallen into a pattern of "policies" that closely resembled those of their Liberal predecessors.

By 1960, it was conventional wisdom to assert that the Diefenbaker Government was pursuing the same foreign policy as the Liberals but with differences of "emphasis". Proponents would point to outward manifestations: the continuing support for the UN, the Commonwealth and NATO; the continuing participation in UNEF and other peacekeeping operations; the continuing commitment to multilateral programmes for development assistance and to other international institutions for economic cooperation; the continuing Canadian contribution to social causes for alleviating the plight of less fortunate peoples. Howard Green's tireless and earnest pursuit of disarmament and arms control, his consistent stands against nuclear tests, radiation hazards and nuclear proliferation; the Government's growing preoccupation with human rights, apartheid and international law...all these were hailed by commentators as the differences of "emphasis".

Howard Green was fond of uttering the comforting but complacent clichés about "Canada and its unique role". In the forties and fifties, that role had to be Canada actively seeking paths of moderation and mediation, as a middle power deeply concerned with maintaining international peace and security, through collective action by "like-minded" states. Consistent words and deeds from the St. Laurent-Pearson era, sustain that the Government's mainline policy was intended to make collective security work effectively, in its several major manifestations — political, economic, social. This meant pursuing vigorously, various means for strengthening multilateral systems of international peace and order. It was said to be a policy of functionalism, and "practicability" was the litmus test whether proposals for international action safeguard peace were deserving of Canada's support and advocacy. Once adopted, we manifested Canadian support in the three key international organizations — the UN, NATO and the Commonwealth — and usually in concert with our close friends and allies, in the so-called "special relationships" with us.

The Diefenbaker Government, virtually from the outset of its tenure, was much more

selective and parochial than its immediate predecessor, in approaching foreign policy. Especially after Pearson emerged as Leader of the Opposition, in the aftermath of Suez and in the aura of the Peace Prize, the new PC leadership seemed very determined to make their own mark in the "heady world of diplomacy" that the media were fond of extolling. The Prime Minister participated in the general debate at the twelfth Assembly in 1957. Canada continued to support politically and materially, the UN Secretary-General's efforts to stabilize shaky situations through UN peacekeeping "presences". But significantly in critical situations (Lebanon 1958, Congo 1960), the Government seemed content to stay in a supporting role, it showed no real desire, nor credible capacity, to resume leadership of the "fire brigade" of middle powers, seeking to strengthen the UN hand generally in world affairs. We were much less disposed than earlier to consult closely with our more powerful friends and allies, whether at the UN or in NATO, about crisis management. We tended to talk too much among ourselves and listen too little to others.

In the Commonwealth, in keeping with the change of focus mentioned earlier, the Government and specifically the Prime Minister did show some desire to exert leadership but not without some awkwardness, even at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in London, 1961, where Diefenbaker gained some credit for the withdrawal of South Africa. And by then Green was forging ahead with his disarmament crusade, confidently at the UN, often uncomfortably at NATO ministerial meetings, where the Big Three were showing increasing signs of irritation and frustration, about Green's frequent departures from the NATO party line. Howard Green had no doubts about the necessity for the alliance as a security shield, but he held firmly to the belief that its members — beginning with the big powers — must be prodded into more flexible positions on disarmament and arms control.

The Diefenbaker Government's mainline policy aimed at "speaking out clearly about where Canada stands" on big international issues and mobilizing support at home and abroad for these Canadian views. It was markedly less concerned with systematically seeking international cooperation, on practical ways of "building a better world order". Thus the Tory policy emerged as one of nationalist rather than internationalist inspiration, reactive rather than creative in its conduct, populist rather than idealistic in its appeal. It was closely tailored to win applause from the folks back home in the far-flung federal ridings, to be sure, but certainly

in Howard Green's case, it stemmed from clear conviction that something must be done urgently, to move the whole disarmament situation off the dead centre of political impasse and sterile negotiating sessions. His aim was to galvanize international public opinion and not necessarily to satisfy diplomatic exigencies.

In the end result, it was a policy that was flawed by and finally foundered on its internal contradictions, as Basil Robinson has documented so well in his authoritative report on "Diefenbaker's World". Its most dramatic consequence no doubt was the abyss which opened in Canada's relations with the United States and which yawned even at the peak of the Cuban missile crisis. But differences with Britain and other European allies were also acute, at a time when Canada should have been moving ever closer to West Europeans bent on institutionalizing their own integration. And I seriously doubt whether Canada's stature in the Commonwealth, or that of the association itself, was much enhanced in those years. Certainly, some Commonwealth members at the UN were no more supportive of Green's initiatives than other third world countries.

By the time of the shoe-banging summit Assembly of 1960, Khrushchev was rambunctiously seeking to substantiate the Soviet Union's superpower status, all around the globe, in outer space and in a "peaceful coexistence" politically challenging on a broad front. For military planners and cold war strategists, it was no time for Canada to be breaking step in NATO's ranks, making its own waves at the UN and occasionally, crying "a plague on both your houses" in tense East-West arguments. The hardliners in the West wanted to hunker down in their Alliance trenches. Our Canadian endeavours on disarmament were hampered, not enhanced by cold war rhetoric. Diefenbaker's celebrated riposte in 1960 to Khrushchev's rough attack on Hammarskjöld, whatever it accomplished back home, back-fired for Green's current campaign at the Assembly.

Was Howard Green so wrong in persisting stubbornly, especially when Khrushchev's brash call for "general and complete disarmament" threw the Western hardliners into defensive disarray? Conceivably with forethought and planning, the Western side might have made initiatives like Green's their own joint cause, or at least fleshed them out as a positive response. Some of my experienced international contacts at the UN thought that the West should try to respond in that way. But political imagination and will were lacking in Western capitals, in the wake of the Big Four Summit's collapse in May, and it was well beyond Canadian capa-

bility to rally our allies. The dismal spring meeting of NATO Ministers in Istanbul, just before the U-2 incident that aroused Russian ire, showed how bleak our prospects were that summer.

* * *

The Diefenbaker Government, above all Howard Green, need not be judged too harshly for not finding their way safely out of the bewildering maze of foreign policy dilemmas that faced Canada in those years. For Howard Green, the longer term conundrums had to give way to more immediate demands. He saw then, as his first duty and responsibility, to sound a clarion call against the growing perils the world faced, if governments and nations did not act urgently to halt the headlong nuclear arms race. From talking to scientists — beginning with Mrs. Donna Green — and listening attentively to what they had to say, he drew his own conclusions about the awful risks inherent in amassing arsenals for overkill. Even in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, he worried much about nuclear proliferation and the hazards of radiation, again from listening to experts but also from heeding the concerns of ordinary Canadians on the West Coast, where fallout from the weapons tests was heaviest.

Today, with the veil of secrecy parted, we can all see much more clearly what was actually taking place in the late fifties, in the whole nuclear field and in many parts of the world. Many of the recent revelations tend more to confirm than deny that Howard Green's crusade was not only solidly based but altogether timely, even ahead of its time. We may still wonder, even now, whether his warnings and admonitions were simply the gut reactions of a canny and caring, grass-roots politician, or more profoundly avant garde and visionary in their import. Either way, Howard Green showed steady courage and great determination, in responding firmly to duty as he saw it. This exemplary leadership kept us marching, loyally and affectionately at his side, even on dark days when we knew professionally, we were all moving along diplomatic paths that predictably led nowhere.

*Geoffrey Murray, from 1955-64, was a Senior Advisor on UN Affairs in New York and Ottawa and later, from 1968-71, on foreign policy. Since his retirement in 1978, he has done studies for External Affairs and is currently a member of the Senior Editorial Board of *bout de papier*.*

Editor's Note: Howard Green, Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1959 to 1963, died June 26, 1989 in Vancouver, Canada.



An Interview with Allan J. MacEachen

by Colin Robertson

Allan J. MacEachen addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations as Secretary of State for External Affairs on September 27, 1982.

Canny, shrewd, machiavellian are the adjectives applied to the current Liberal Leader in the Senate, Allan Joseph MacEachen P.C. To many, he is the personification of the consummate politician. Yet, his involvement in politics only came after he had first established a reputation as a clever economist, with an excellent future as a scholar-teacher. Born in 1921, this son of a coal-miner grew up in depression-struck Cape Breton. Fluent in Gaelic, he is a Cape Bretoner fiercely proud of his Scottish heritage. Shy and intensely private, there is little about him of the garrulous bonhomie exuded by most politicians. A populist, his is not the Liberalism of Bay Street, but rather that of one who believes the state has a moral duty to look after the sick, the poor and the elderly. At the same time, he believes Government must not become so intrusive as to threaten the rights of the individual, especially in the marketplace.

As Labour Minister he introduced far-reaching revisions to the Labour Code in 1965. As Minister of National Health and Welfare, he brought in National Medicare in 1967. He later served as Minister of Manpower and Immigration and of Finance. Twice he served as Secretary of State for External Affairs (1974-76, 1982-84), thrice as Government House Leader (1967-68, 1970-74, 1976-79). He was appointed Deputy Prime Minister in 1977 and reappointed to the position when the Liberals regained power after the nine-month Clark government in 1980. Summoned to the Senate on June 29, 1984 by Pierre Trudeau, he has been leader of the majority in the Red Chamber ever since.

As Secretary of State for External Affairs he oversaw a major review of Canadian aid (1975) and trade (1983) policies. His first stint as Foreign Minister, which coincided with the Ford Administration, saw major developments in North-South relations. He co-chaired the Conference for International Economic Co-operation (December 1975-June 1977). He also put in place the legislation for the never-built Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

During his second term as SSEA, he formally instituted the practise of quarterly meetings with the American Secretary of State. His second round as Foreign Minister coincided with the appointment of his former MIT school chum, George Shultz, as steward for USA foreign policy. It was a period of East-West tension, the Grenada invasion, the KAL 007 disaster, and much of MacEachen's energies were devoted to the peace initiative undertaken by Pierre Trudeau from 1983-84.

The bulk of this interview was conducted in December, 1987 and concluded in March, 1989.

bout de papier: You grew up in Cape Breton. What made you decide to leave?

MacEachen: Life in a coal mining town in the thirties was not very attractive; that provided the impulse to move on and get educated. Fortunately, I was able to do it and went to University.

bout de papier: You were at St. Francis Xavier during the Moses Coady years.

MacEachen: Yes, both as a student and later as a member of the faculty at the University. I was a friend of Dr. Coady and spent a lot of time in his company. He talked a great deal and I enjoyed listening to him and, of course, he was very active in not only talking but in doing. He was constantly on the road organizing what he would describe as economic institutions such as credit unions, fishermen's co-operatives, consumers' co-operatives — a complete network of institutions that are still in place in the Atlantic provinces. It was quite an exciting period for him and for people who were interested in what he was doing.

bout de papier: Was there a Coady philosophy?

MacEachen: He did have key ideas. They probably were not unique to him, but he brought them together and put them in what he would consider to be a rather coherent

social message or social philosophy. One of the fundamentals was that ownership of economic institutions by the people was fundamental to social development. Economic power, if not shared by the people in some way, would hinder human development. He thought, and expounded it ceaselessly, that the entry ticket for people to share the benefits of society was education, continuing education. He developed a program of study clubs and meetings in which this educational push was manifest. All of that was happening in the late thirties, forties and into the fifties and still is to some extent. There is at the University now the Coady International Institute, which is very active in training Third World students in the techniques of community development, adult education and co-operative organization. Dr. Coady's techniques are particularly appropriate to countries or communities in an earlier stage of development.

bout de papier: What was the role of the government in all this?

MacEachen: The government was not excluded, or to put it another way, this sort of Coadyism was not confined entirely to co-operative organizations. He talked a lot about the mixed economy, a theme that is so accepted now that it is seldom mentioned. Obviously, there was a place for the public sector, for the private sector and for group ownership or, the ownership of the economic institutions directly by the people. I would say that the government, in his mind, ought to have had a direct role in supporting and fostering what could be done by the people in organizing themselves. This philosophy is more easily sold when people have their backs against the wall, for when they become more affluent they seem to be less keen in taking the time and the effort to run their own affairs.

bout de papier: What is the economic philosophy of Allan MacEachen now?

MacEachen: One thing that I am not is a socialist. In my earlier period I might have tended to becoming an avowed socialist, but I did not. I never adopted what I considered to be the extreme public sector ideology of either the British Labour Party, the C.C.F., or until recently, the New Democratic Party. I never embraced that philosophy. The turning point in my thinking was my period at M.I.T., when it became quite clear to me that increased public ownership and increased intrusion of the state into business were not the solution. Having said that, I am not opposed, in fact I favour, public sector activity, not as a matter of ideology, but as a matter of necessity, efficiency and appro-

priateness. That's where I stand. I think that over time even the socialist parties have revised their approach, certainly in Canada, Europe and the United Kingdom. The restructuring that Labour parties are now undergoing comes from the necessity of shedding their excessive economic ideology.

bout de papier: What made you decide to go into politics?

MacEachen: I had always been interested in politics.

bout de papier: Why the Liberal Party?

MacEachen: I did not become a member of any party until I ran in 1953. I was not an active member of any party, but I was interested in politics from an academic as well as a practical point of view. When I first stood for the federal nomination in Cape Breton in 1949, it did not arise from any carefully laid-out plan to become a politician. It was in part encouragement from friends, in part a dare and a bit of adventure to stand for nomination for the Liberal Party against the official candidate of the party who had retired from the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, and who had decided to return to politics. He was 75 at that time and had served in the House of Commons with Laurier. Though he had had a distinguished career on the bench, I thought his decision a bit wrong because it did not seem to me to be very sensible for a person at that stage of life to return to Parliament. Others agreed with me, but not very many others because I was badly beaten for the nomination. I returned to lick my wounds at the University where I disappeared into the academic life and continued my interests in the work of the Antigonish Movement. I did a fair amount of radio work and speaking and then went off to M.I.T. In the spring of 1953, I was finishing up at M.I.T. There was to be a federal election in the summer of 1953 and I came from Cambridge and stood for the nomination again. This time I won. There were two other contenders, but the fact that I had tried earlier and apparently had made a favourable impression helped me to win the nomination. I was elected in the August 10, 1953 election under the leadership of Mr. St. Laurent. The impression of principle and integrity that he made on me was certainly a key factor in my decision to run. He was an impressive person.

bout de papier: The fifties were said to be the golden years of Canadian diplomacy. What were some of your impressions?

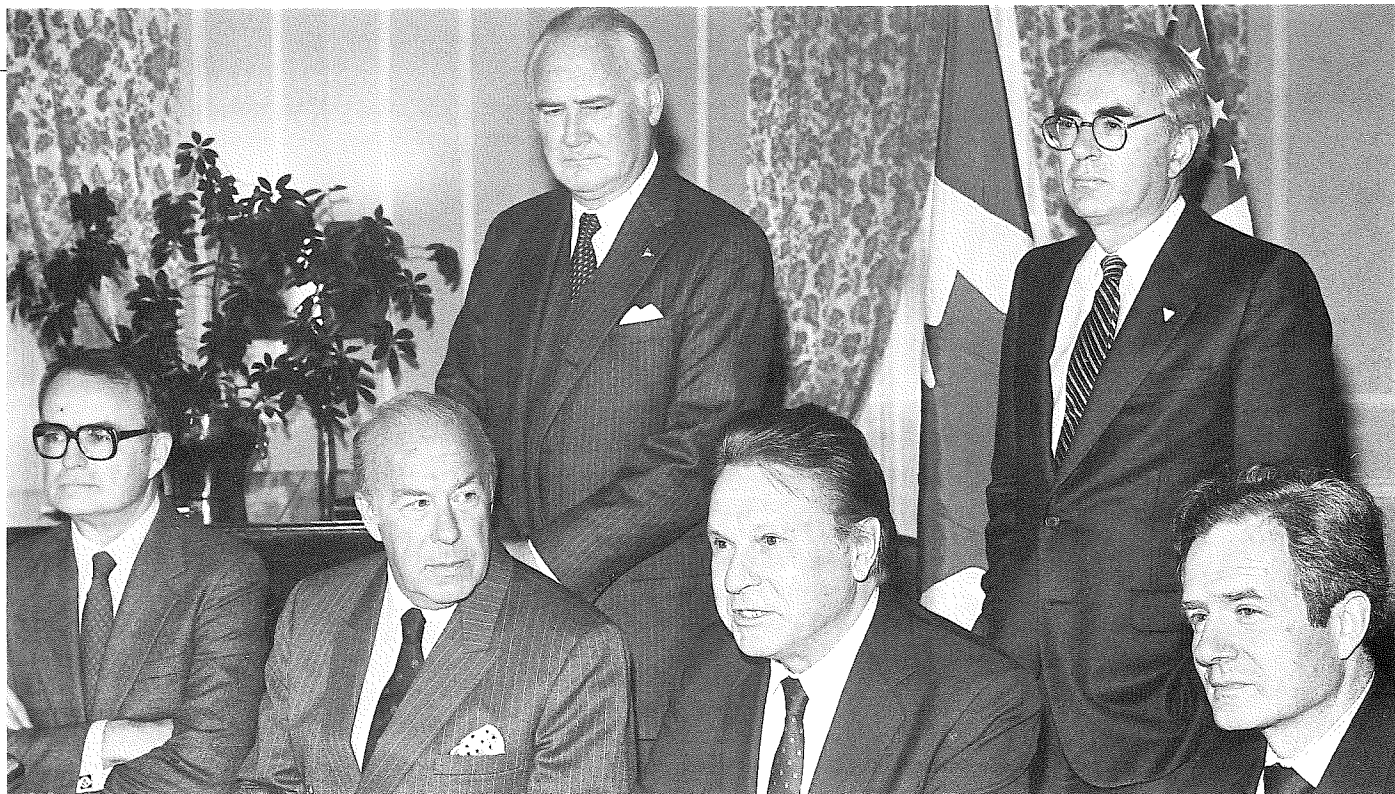
MacEachen: Mr. St. Laurent was regarded as a man well versed in foreign affairs. Obviously Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin were

the most evident foreign policy speakers in the House of Commons. Mr. Green was prominent for the Tories, as was Mr. Drew to some extent. There was a glamour attached to foreign policy that no longer exists. The United Nations was much more respected and was regarded as a possible creator of a new political order. On the departmental side, I did not know the officers well. When I went to an ECOSOC meeting in 1956 in Geneva the departmental head of the delegation was the late R.A. MacKay, who deservedly was one of the "golden boys", both for his background and his contribution. We were travelling companions on my first visit to Scotland following the meeting in Geneva.

A lot has been written and spoken about the golden era of the fifties. It was golden in image and in substance. I would give it all the applause that it deserves. Particular opportunities and a favourable environment existed at the time. It was easier to highlight foreign policy and foreign policy achievements. The country was more interested in foreign policy developments than it is today. This was stimulated by the post-war idealism and the expectations for the United Nations.

bout de papier: You have referred to yourself as a "Pearsonite". Is that correct?

MacEachen: Yes, I think that's right. There have been occasions, in my later career, as a minister carrying major responsibilities, when I would have appreciated talking to him about problems, that is, if he had survived. I have personal reasons for my high regard for Mr. Pearson. He took an interest in me and encouraged my career. He put up with all my moods, both as a member of his staff and a member of the Cabinet, and following his resignation, we maintained the relationship. I was a political colleague but also a friend. Mr. Pearson certainly had a knack of finding the happy conclusion to problems. He also had a facility in finding appropriate phrases. The ability to put the solution in words indicated that he had found it in his mind. He certainly had a troubled period as Prime Minister. It was rocked by difficulties — no doubt about that, but I don't think it was caused by his leadership. Some people said that Mike was ineffective and weak. The contrary is true. He was strong, and at times he showed more independence of action than even Mr. Trudeau. Mr. Trudeau was in fact more collegial than Mr. Pearson. At times, Mr. Pearson was more likely to make important decisions on his own than Mr. Trudeau because Mr. Trudeau established a cabinet system which he followed completely. Going to the Prime Minister and settling a problem in the



MacEachen with US Secretary of State, George Shultz at a press conference following one of their quarterly meetings, October 16-17, 1983 in Halifax.

Pearson era was possible both by ministers and by premiers. That seldom happened, if ever, in the Trudeau era. When policy decisions were required, they went through the Cabinet. It was a difference of style.

To suggest that Pearson was indecisive is wrong. When one looks back on his period as Prime Minister, one has to conclude it was a period of solid achievement. Legislation was passed and the major problems were addressed. That was a reflection of his ability to lead, his daring and openness. He exhibited a readiness to change and to take on new things. He generally created a good atmosphere in the Cabinet and in the caucus. He had his difficulties at times, but he mastered them. He was usually confident and never became openly depressed. That was very important to keeping up morale.

bout de papier: You were Foreign Minister from 1974-1976. Major events were taking place; North/South conferences, the end of the Vietnam War, implementing the full force of the Third Option. You had a lot on your plate.

MacEachen: Yes. You mentioned the Third World. When I became Secretary of State, one of the top items on my agenda was the design of an International Development Strategy for the balance of the 1970's. This was the first time such a strategy had ever been developed for our foreign aid. I am pleased that this strategy inspired our policy for more than a decade. The 1970's was also a time when the new international economic

order was on the forefront of the agenda, when it was promulgated at the United Nations and when it entered into every international conference. Certainly major efforts were made to create better conditions for the Third World countries. It was a dominant feature of the international preoccupation. One might pause to say that it is vastly different from the situation today when it is not an international preoccupation. International development is on the margins.

*When I became Minister,
Mr. Trudeau wanted
Canadian foreign policy
to address the
human condition.*

bout de papier: Should it be?

MacEachen: I do not think so, but it is. In 1974, the international community had created, at the instigation of the President of France, the Conference on International Economic Cooperation as a way, through a limited forum, of addressing these problems. The Conference, which Canada co-chaired, did not achieve all that the developing world wanted, although it achieved a certain amount. The developing world overlooked the fact, mainly because of ideology, that they had a forum in which the United States, as the major industrialized country, was

involved and in which it was prepared to continue. They lost that opportunity by ending the conference and returning to the global forum, namely the United Nations. Nothing much has happened since.

When I became Minister, Mr. Trudeau wanted Canadian foreign policy to address the human condition, as he put it, and that meant that we were involved in economic issues like Third World economic equality. We were involved in human rights where we could make our imprint. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was part of that thrust as were the questions of nuclear exports and non-proliferation. For several years, Canada was the leading non-nuclear weapons state fighting proliferation. We were at the origin of the nuclear exporters' club, the London club, which tightened nuclear exports rules, and we pioneered fullscope safeguards. There were other major items that preoccupied the Department at that time, including the Law of the Sea, the declaration of the 200-mile economic zone, the development of economic cooperation agreements with Japan and the European Community, and of course energy diplomacy in its many facets. It was a very productive period in many ways. These were items that were very much in the Prime Minister's mind as part of the mandate of the Minister of the External Affairs. While there was some progress made in each of these fields, we realized that not much had happened in those years in arms reductions, particularly in the reduction of strategic weapons.

bout de papier: Was this, then, the prelude to Trudeau's peace initiative? What role did politics play in the initiative?

MacEachen: The Peace Initiative had deep roots. Recall Trudeau's initiative in recognizing China, in promoting detente, in proposing a policy of suffocation at the UN in 1978. I think the Peace Initiative was a good idea. Knowing Mr. Trudeau and his views on East/West relations and on the nuclear build-up, it was a natural cause for him to pursue, particularly at a time when the tensions between the Soviet Union and the US had reached a debacle over arms control talks, the KAL incident, the Reagan Administration's hawkish approach and talk of evil empires, and the apparent transition in Soviet leadership after Brezhnev died. You may also recall that Mr. Trudeau was very active at the Williamsburg Summit in pushing for progress on arms control and a common statement of purpose to that effect. I think it was a genuine and necessary effort whether it had political overtones or not.

bout de papier: How closely were you involved?

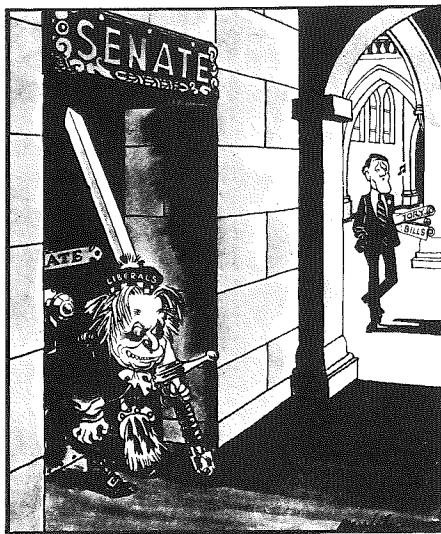
MacEachen: We were closely involved through the Department and through the Prime Minister's Office. It was a cooperative endeavour because the initiative was prepared jointly by senior members of the Department with members of the Privy Council Office and the Prime Minister's Office. We met, for example, on one occasion at the very beginning at Meech Lake and examined a series of proposals that had been put together to constitute the elements of the peace initiative. It was a cooperative effort. It certainly wasn't a flash in the pan. Some of the notions that were put forward at that meeting at Meech Lake were dropped because they were unrealistic, and others were agreed to and pursued in Mr. Trudeau's mission throughout the world. I think the ideas were sound and their pursuit was sound.

I thought at the time, and still believe, it would have been better if the effort had been launched months earlier so that Mr. Trudeau would have had an opportunity to advance his ideas over a longer period of time. If he had had an extra year, I think he would have had more time and we would have been able to do our task with greater systematic intensity. That particular aspect troubled me at the time.

bout de papier: The biggest part of any Foreign Minister's agenda is the Canadian-American relationship.

MacEachen: There is no question that dealing with the Americans is the major job of a

Canadian Foreign Minister. Any Canadian Foreign Minister will realize early on that the United States pursues its own interests and responds in its foreign policy to the opinion of its public and publics. It is true that the atmosphere in which these relations are conducted is important — it is an advantage for the President and the Prime Minister to get along very well or at least to talk to each other, and for the ministers to be amiable with one another. However, amiability will not dominate the U.S. decision making process in situations in which American interests are involved and public opinion is exerting itself. They will not in any way put aside the advancement of their interests just to be good friends with Canada.



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One must understand that. Obviously the Americans will attempt to accommodate and to be reasonable, but I have not found in any case where their interests are substantially involved, that they will lay off simply because Canada objects or has a different policy. The U.S. pursued Canada on our energy policy, on our investment policy and other policies which were advanced by Canada in the national interest. The U.S. opposed Canadian government policies because they felt these policies were not in their interests. Recently, they have virtually succeeded in removing many of these policies. I think that is a lesson for us.

It is my experience over a wide range of issues — maritime boundaries and fisheries, pipelines, acid rain, trade, and so on — that we have to be extremely well prepared and tough in our approach in order to put sustained pressure on the United States. We also need mechanisms to ensure that our agenda receives attention at the highest level. This was the intent behind the quarterly meetings which George Shultz and I instituted. That practice has been continued and I believe it

will remain an important feature of Canadian diplomacy.

bout de papier: Charles Ritchie says a good Foreign Minister is one who has the ear of the Prime Minister, as well as a vision of foreign policy.

MacEachen: It would be intolerable to be Foreign Minister and not get along well with the Prime Minister, or if he didn't listen to you or respect your turf. A Prime Minister is bound to take an interest in foreign policy, has to and ought to if for no other reason than the frequency with which he has to represent Canada at major meetings abroad. Nevertheless, the Foreign Minister is the Prime Minister's principal adviser and his principal implementer. Furthermore, the Foreign Minister derives authority from the Parliament of Canada and as such has statutory responsibilities to fulfil. This is not a presidential system, though the PMO at times likes to believe it is. The Secretary of State for External Affairs has to be given an opportunity to fulfil those responsibilities.

bout de papier: Were your efforts to steer policy development at CIDA something that you are most proud of when you were at the helm?

MacEachen: I was and remain very interested in international development. As I indicated, in the 1970's, we put together a statement on development policy, which I think has pretty well stood the test even until the present time. What is equally important is that we added to the resources which Canada devoted to development and ensured that those budgets were well defended in the Cabinet. I believe there has been a serious erosion in this regard under the present government.

bout de papier: A final comment?

MacEachen: Progress in foreign affairs is made incrementally. The grand flash performance is a rare event for any Foreign Minister. How many Suez solutions are there? Not many. There are not often opportunities of that magnitude. Progress is made usually incrementally, but nevertheless made. If you look over the history of the last 15 to 20 years you will find that certain causes, such as international development, human rights and arms control, have all been measurably advanced.

bout de papier: Mr. MacEachen thank you very much.

Colin Robertson has served in New York and is currently First Secretary with the Commission for Canada in Hong Kong.

THINGS REMEMBERED:

External Affairs in 1939

by Benjamin Rogers

Fifty years ago, at the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, the Department of External Affairs was a very small organization, sharing the East Block of the Parliament Buildings with the Prime Minister's Office, the Privy Council Office, the Department of Finance, and a couple of members of the Governor General's staff. When I entered as a Third Secretary (Temporary) (Probationary) in the summer of 1938, we were fifteen officers, including the Under-Secretary, and about forty-five support staff. Two of the fifteen officers were assigned to the office of the Prime Minister, who held the portfolio of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Under-Secretary, Dr. O.D. Skelton, we regarded with awe, respecting him for his great intellect, appreciating his gentle manner, and recognizing the heavy burden that he bore manfully in spite of indifferent health. He had great qualities, but a gift for organization was not one of them. An effort had been made in 1937 to spell out areas of responsibility in an organization chart, but it was not revised to take account of the arrival of new officers or the posting of others. In any case, the Under-Secretary paid little attention to it.

Though the assignment of tasks appeared to be somewhat haphazard, there was in fact some specialization, some recognition of individual officers' aptitudes and experience. The Assistant Under-Secretary, Laurent Beaudry, dealt mainly with consular, passport and protocol questions and matters relating to Western Europe. John Read was Legal Adviser. Loring Christie, Counsellor, represented the Department on the main defence policy committee, wrote memoranda on high policy, and helped write speeches for the Prime Minister. Hugh Keenleyside, First Secretary, normally spent most of his time on non-commercial relations with the United States, and matters relating to the Far East and Latin America; but in the early months of 1939 he was heavily engaged as secretary of an interdepartmental committee making arrangements for the visit in early summer of the King and Queen. Norman Robertson, First Secretary, was a one-man economic division: he was a key member of the team that negotiated the

trade agreements of 1936 and 1939 with the United States. Howard Measures, classified as an Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, did most of the protocol work and looked after press clippings. Administration was ruled with an iron hand by a Chief Clerk, Agnes McCloskey, who had joined the department in its infancy before World War I, and had won for herself a position of very considerable authority. We junior Third Secretaries — Max Wershof, Jean Chapdelaine, Fred Fraser (who spent only a short time in the Department before leaving to become editor of the *Halifax Chronicle*) and I — performed varied tasks.

*The question whether
Canada could legally
be neutral while Britain
was at war had been
widely discussed.*

By the summer of 1939, Loring Christie had been appointed Minister to the United States; and Scott Macdonald, First Secretary, and the two senior Third Secretaries — Temp Feaver and Léon Mayrand — had been posted. Herbert Norman had come in as a Japanese Language Officer, and after some months had taken a leave of absence to complete his doctorate at Harvard.

All work was assigned by the Under-Secretary, and all outgoing communications — letters, telegrams, memoranda — were signed or approved by him. He normally assigned work by sending an incoming paper, attached to the appropriate file, with a slip addressed to Mr. So-and-so — there were no female officers — “for disposition” or “for preparation of reply”. “Disposition” might involve merely marking for file, or referring copies to other departments, or whatever else the officer concerned might consider appropriate. Letters and other papers went up to the Under-Secretary for signature — and sometimes were returned for revision. On one occasion, after consulting the file, I prepared a letter to a woman who had a problem relating to some property in Romania, saying that there was nothing the Department could do to help her. It came back from Dr. Skelton, who had a phenomenal

memory, with a note saying, “Didn’t we have some correspondence with this lady about three years ago?” Indeed, we had.

The variety of work assigned to a junior officer was considerable. To cite a few examples: I drafted a dry-as-dust annual report of the Department, based largely on reports from our posts in London, Washington, Paris, Tokyo and Geneva; worked on a request from a religious order for help in getting some money out of Germany; handled an offer from Lord Beaverbrook to give iron lungs to Canadian hospitals; and did some work on a proposal to ask the United States to establish a free port at Skagway. I referred League of Nations documents, mostly relating to the trade in narcotics, to other departments. I prepared a commentary on the agenda for the League of Nations Assembly, simply by making very slight editorial changes in excellent despatches on agenda items from Hume Wrong, our Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations.

The fact that the Prime Minister was also Secretary of State for External Affairs not only explained the assignment of Jack Pickersgill and James Gibson to the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and a long-standing arrangement whereby External Affairs looked after such administrative matters as travel, pay and purchasing for the PMO. It also resulted in the Department's being asked to do odd jobs that had nothing whatever to do with external relations. Prior to the royal visit of 1939, I handled correspondence with a woman in Nova Scotia who claimed descent from an illegitimate child of the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father: she thought it would be nice if the Government would give her money for clothes and pay her way to Ottawa to meet her cousin, the King.

Whenever the two clerks in the code room were unable to cope with the traffic, we juniors were called on to help. The British Government Code of 5-letter groups was used for unclassified messages, simply because code telegrams were transmitted at cheaper rates than *en clair* messages. Classified messages came from the commercial telegraph offices in 5-digit groups. Subtraction of four digits from the corresponding digits in a “one-time pad” of numbers used by both sender and receiver would yield a 4-digit number that would represent a word or phrase in the cypher book. Frequently cor-

rupt groups would yield something nonsensical like "Bulgarian Minister to Newfoundland". In such a case one would try to solve the puzzle by experimenting with different combinations of numbers until one found something that made sense. A somewhat similar procedure was followed for encyphering outgoing messages.

The cypher work was tedious and eye-straining: I changed my glasses after the Czechoslovak crisis of September 1938. But it had one positive by-product: it encouraged writing in a succinct style. Knowing what was involved in cyphering and decyphering telegrams, one didn't waste words in composing them.

Before World War II, the Canadian Government's main sources of information on important international affairs were circular telegrams from the Dominions Office in London to the governments of the self-governing members of the Commonwealth; Foreign Office "prints" of despatches from British diplomatic missions; and reports from our own missions in London and Washington. Practically nothing of value came from the other missions — Paris, Tokyo and the recently established legations in Brussels and The Hague. All of the posts had inadequate staffs, and received precious little information or guidance from Ottawa.

By the summer of 1939, Hitler had already seized Austria and Czechoslovakia, and seemed bent on further conquests. On the last Monday in August, Dr. Skelton told me that, if it should be decided within the next few days to send a delegation to the League of Nations Assembly, I would be attached to it, and we would sail from New York on the following Saturday, September 2. Incoming telegrams soon indicated that the British Government was seriously contemplating declaring war on Germany in the event of a German attack on Poland. I heard nothing more of the proposed delegation to the League Assembly.

Germany invaded Poland on September 1. On turning on my radio on Sunday morning, September 3, I heard the British Prime Minister announcing that Britain was at war with Germany. When I went to the East Block, the first person I encountered was John Read, the Legal Adviser, I asked him if Canada was at war. He said that members of the Cabinet were meeting at the other end of the corridor, trying to screw up their courage to take the right decision.

The question whether Canada could legally be neutral while Britain was at war had been widely discussed in the press, in the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, in academic circles, and even in Parliament where the Prime Minister had done his best to stifle discussion of the possibility that

Canada might be involved in another war. The late Dr. R.A. MacKay and I had devoted a chapter to the subject in our book, *Canada Looks Abroad*, which had been published in the spring of 1938. We concluded that the principle of the unity of the Crown had not been affected by constitutional developments since World War I, and hence that Canada under the existing legal situation could not be neutral while Britain was at war. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King — and, indeed, the leaders of the other political parties — had dodged the question, declaring only that, except in the event of invasion of Canadian territory, it would be for Parliament to decide whether and to what extent, if at all, Canada should participate actively in any war.



World War II Poster

In the event, the legal niceties were brushed aside. Parliament met a few days after the outbreak of war and approved the Government's policy of declaring war on Germany; and on September 10 the King, on the advice of his Canadian ministers, approved a proclamation declaring war on Germany. Meanwhile, for a week, Canada's neutrality was recognized by Germany and, more importantly, by the United States. President Roosevelt overruled his advisers who considered that Canada could not be neutral when Britain was at war. (Bert MacKay and I wondered if they had read *Canada Looks Abroad*.) The practical effect was that the U.S. Neutrality Act was not immediately applied against Canada, which was able to import considerable quantities of military hardware from the United States between September 3 and September 10. As for the Germans, one day I saw my friend Schaffhausen of the German Consulate

General sitting at a table in the cafeteria of the Chateau Laurier, and did not hesitate to sit down with him.

In 1938 and early 1939, there was a general recognition in External Affairs that Canada probably could not escape involvement if war came. It was known that Dr. Skelton himself resented the British connection, which in his view would almost inevitably have the effect of dragging Canada into Britain's wars: he would like Canada to remain neutral, but if that were not possible then active participation should be limited. Loring Christie would like to have severed the British connection completely, and wished Canada to remain neutral in the event of war. Some officers shared Dr. Skelton's views. Others felt more or less strongly that Canada could demonstrate her independence in making her own decision, and that the decision should be to participate actively in a war to resist Nazi aggression. In the end, our country's decision to participate to the full was accepted loyally, and it soon became evident to all that a world in which the Nazis controlled all of Europe would not be safe for the rest of us.

The historians tell us that things were being done in External Affairs in 1938 and 1939, of which junior officers were at the time completely unaware. We knew nothing of the memoranda on high policy being written by Dr. Skelton and Loring Christie. We did not know that John Read was drafting the Defence of Canada Regulations, or that Hugh Keenleyside was writing the terms of reference for Cabinet sub-committees to be set up immediately on the outbreak of war. Our limited knowledge of important developments was gleaned from the telegrams that we helped to encypher or decypher.

In the weeks preceding and immediately following the outbreak of war, we juniors spent many hours working on telegrams, were frequently called in at nights and during weekends, and were "on call" even if we were not summoned. Arrangements that were acceptable in an emergency soon became intolerable. It was clear to us that the war was going to continue, that the already heavy cypher traffic was bound to increase, and that a larger cypher staff working shifts was required. Max Wershof took our complaint to the Under Secretary, and some additional staff was soon found.

Immediately on the outbreak of war Tommy Stone appeared on the scene. He had been a member of the service for some years, and as a Third Secretary in Paris with a rich American wife had entertained more lavishly than his chief, the Minister. He had resigned from the service to take up the life of a country gentleman in South Carolina. Dr. Skelton



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thought of him as a playboy, and rebuffed his subsequent efforts to return to the Department. When his country found itself at war, he simply appeared, saying that he would do anything he was asked to do, with or without pay. Dr. Skelton promptly put him to work in the code room, possibly to test him, and probably also because that was the area of the Department's activities where help was most urgently required. Tommy remained in the code room for several months, and was largely responsible for bringing order out of chaos. He was subsequently assigned to more substantive work, and went on to have a distinguished career.

Soon after the outbreak of war it was decided to establish direct links with the other self-governing members of the Commonwealth. Mr. Charles J. Burchell, a distinguished Halifax lawyer, was appointed High Commissioner to Australia, and I was chosen to accompany him. By early December, we were on our way. The opening of the mission in Canberra was the first step in the wartime expansion of the Foreign Service.

Benjamin Rogers joined the Foreign Service in 1938 and served in Canberra, Washington, Rio de Janeiro, Prague and as Ambassador to Peru, Turkey, Spain & Morocco and Italy. He retired in 1975.

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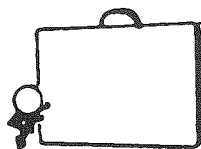
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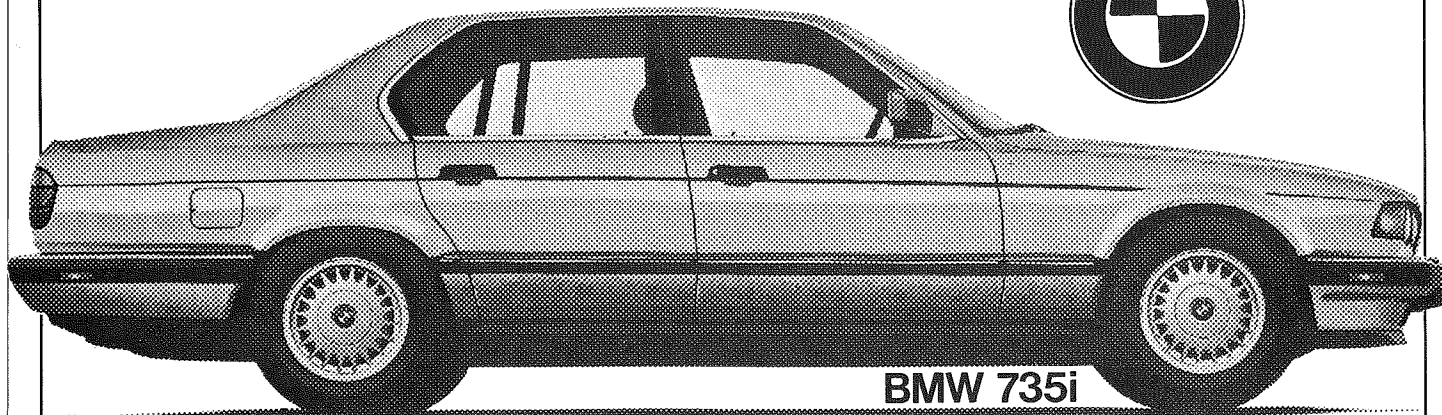
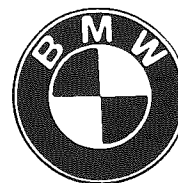
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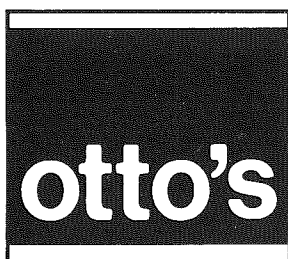
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So You Want to Learn Chinese?

Story by Hugh Stephens
Photos by Fredericka Gregory

It was December, 1975 and Canada had just closed its Embassy in Beirut for the first of several times. Like the rest of the Embassy staff, I had been evacuated to Athens to await reassignment; unlike many of them I was still there almost a month later. The immigration officers had set up shop in Cyprus, the trade officers were off to Baghdad, and it looked as if I, the Third Secretary and Vice-Consul who had completed just 11 months of a first posting, was headed back to Ottawa. Finally, the "Confidential-Pers.Info." telegram came. I prepared for the worst and opened the envelope.

"We are offering you immediate placement on a two year Chinese language training course in Hong Kong, followed by assignment to Peking".

I was really dumbfounded. I had no particular background in Chinese or Asian Studies and I had never indicated an interest in specialized foreign language training. My knowledge of Chinese was confined to "chop suey" and "kung fu". In fact, just a few months before leaving for Lebanon I had been forcibly bilingualized at the Carson Road Academy, where my Vancouver high school French had been turned into something usable. More language training was the last thing on my mind. But maybe someone in Personnel saw something in me that I didn't see in myself and the alternative was to return to Ottawa in December. Viewed in this light, the offer looked increasingly attractive. It would certainly be a challenge, a new experience, culturally broadening, etc., all the things for which we joined the foreign service. So I accepted by return telegram.

A fortnight later, I was carefully studying the landing card I had been given by the airline hostess prior to arrival in Hong Kong, comparing the English with the Chinese and Chinese back to English. Finally, I was able to identify the two characters which represented Hong Kong. There was the one which looked a bit like a plant growing in a flower pot and the one with three little dots to the left. Yes, that was definitely Hong Kong. Flushed with success, I moved on to the airplane safety instructions only to discover after about half an hour that I had been looking at the Japanese version.

Once settled in Hong Kong, with the designation of Attaché to the Commission

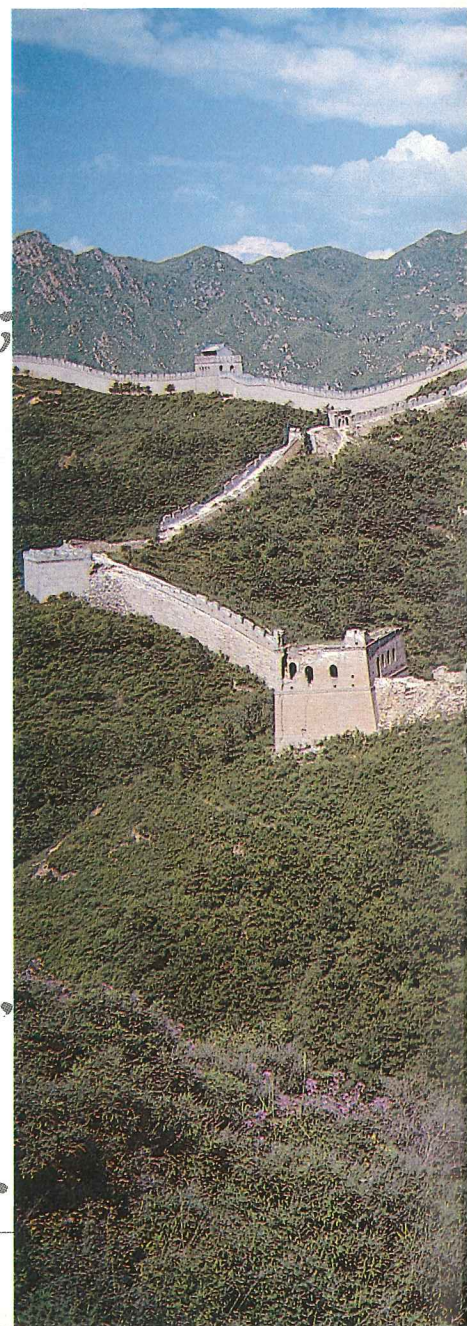
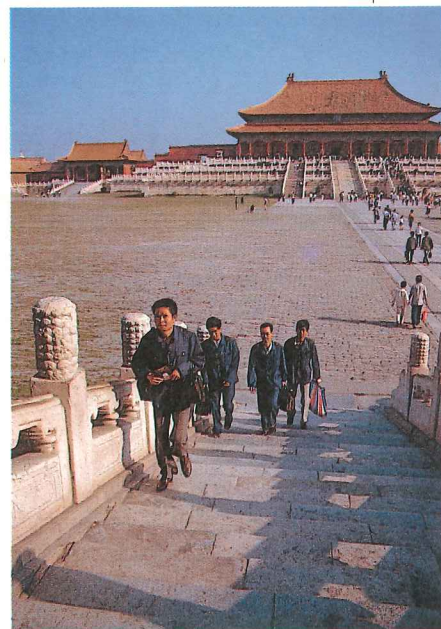
for Canada, I first had to find the school at which I was to spend the next two years. All my predecessors had attended the British Army Language School at Lei Mun on Hong Kong Island. While an excellent school, run with true military discipline and efficiency, it had not proven to be quite what the Department wanted. A lot of time was spent learning the Chinese term for "self-propelled rocket launcher" and so on. So I was to be the first Departmental initiate at the "Yale-in-China" language program of New Asia College, Kowloon (the old Trade Commission Service, always in the forefront, had already tried New Asia with success).

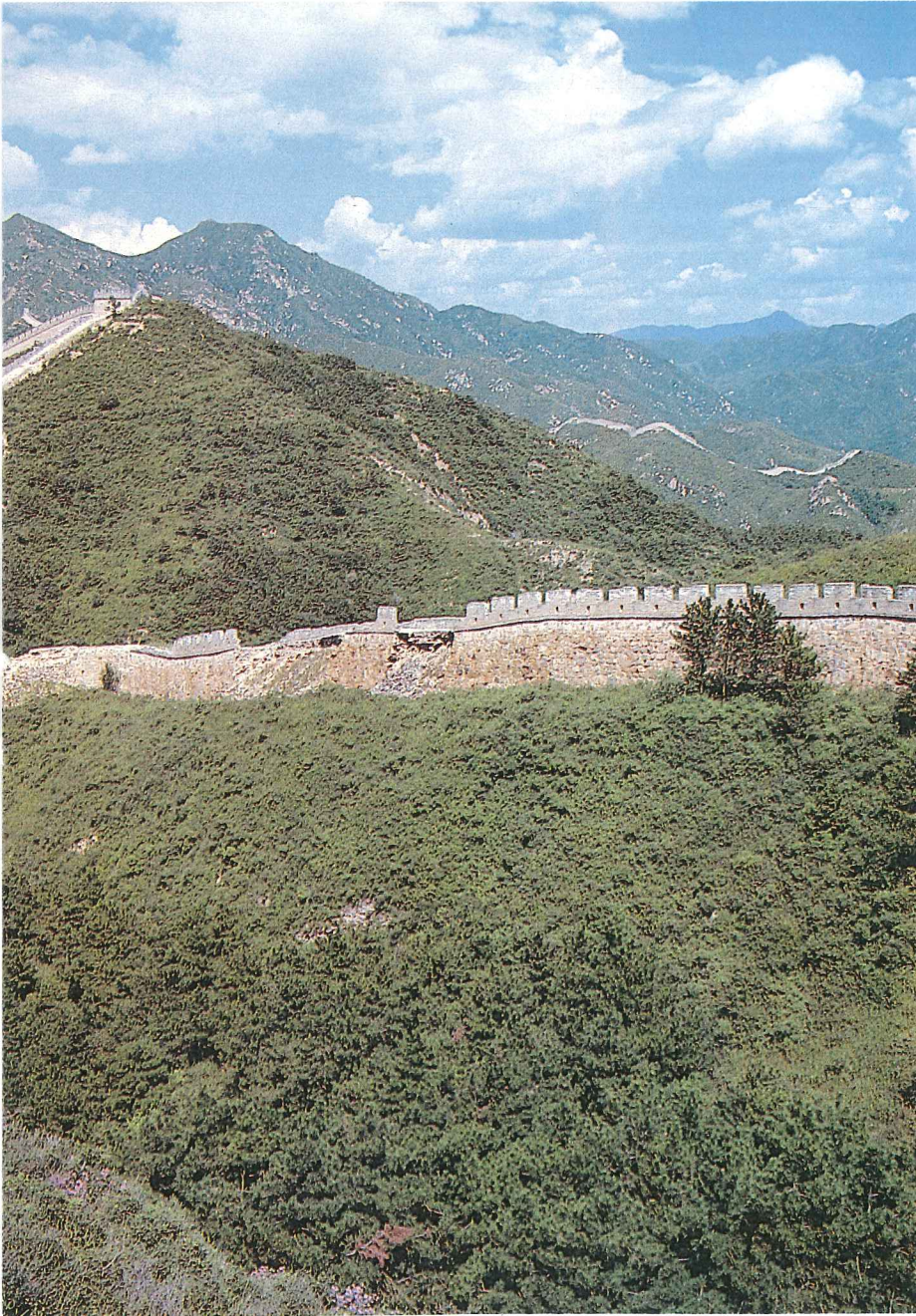
No one at the Commission was too clear as to where the school was located, but they were confident that I would find it. I was buoyed by their confidence. I made it across the harbour to Kowloon all right, and took my first Hong Kong taxi. No one in the wilds of Kowloon where I was headed seemed to speak a word of English, least of all the driver, and no one seemed to have ever heard of my language school. I made an extended tour of Kowloon that morning, visited some dozen schools until, by accident, I finally stumbled on the one I wanted. The language centre was on the top floor of New Asia Middle School, a most unprepossessing building on a small side street. I waded through the courtyard full of Chinese pre-teens and lurched thankfully into the Director's office.

You must remember that I was a complete novice. Normally Departmental Chinese language students start off with an introductory year in Ottawa, at that time at the Canadian Forces Foreign Language School — CFFLS — not so affectionately pronounced by its inmates as "syphilis". By the time they arrived in Hong Kong they could ask directions, recognize some characters, and carry on simple conversations. Not me. I began at New Asia at Lesson 1.

The methods were very traditional, but very effective. You memorized. Every night you memorized the next day's lesson. The teachers went over the lesson, repeated it, corrected your efforts, but if you wanted to survive you had better have memorized the new words and characters for that lesson. It was a train that was moving down the track at a fast pace. If you didn't keep up, you fell off. Having recently experienced Carson Road, where we were walked through each lesson several times, with audio visual aids, until every member of the class understood the vocabulary, I was totally unprepared on

怎樣「色」就是顏色「香」就是香味「火」也就





主一個菜好，要來那個菜的「香味」

my first day. I hadn't memorized the lesson in advance and was completely lost. I went straight home after class and put in 8 hours of nonstop work on the next day's lesson. The following morning, to my relief, I held my own. I stayed above water. I was on my way to learning Chinese.

Our first few days were spent trying to master the intricacies of Mandarin pronunciation. For hours we recited such incantations as poodz, woodz, shwadz, chew, wadz, fada, chwanghoo, boo without having a clue as to their meaning. We were a mixture of Western devils (Europeans) and Eastern devils (Japanese) and I soon found out that we each had our own particular problems. I had not known that Chinese had an "R" sound (otherwise why were all Chinese supposed to say "fled lice") but, in fact, it is strong and pronounced in the Peking dialect, much to the dismay of my Japanese classmates to whom "R" was an unknown quantity. Mandarin has a similar sound formed by saying "R" while at the same time gritting the teeth. It is this latter sound which forms the first syllable of the Chinese name for Japan — Riben — and is a word I'm sure no Japanese can pronounce correctly. I've often wondered if this is coincidence or Chinese irony.

We Westerners had much less trouble with pronunciation but were soon put in our places when we started dealing with Chinese characters. The Japanese students would read so quickly and pronounce so badly that we never knew what they were saying. On the other hand, our painful stumbling over the characters must have been hard for them to bear.

Before I really plunge into highlighting some of the idiosyncracies of Chinese, I should explain a bit about Romanization, or writing out Chinese in Western script according to its sound. For example, "Beijing" is the Romanization of the two characters for what we used to know as Peking, "bei" meaning north or northern and "jing" meaning capital. Of course "bei" could also be written "bay" or some other variation. Unfortunately, in one form of Romanization it was also written pei. I discovered that there were several systems of Romanization in use, Pinyin, used on the mainland, Wade-Giles, the old missionary system, and Yale, developed during the Second World War by the U.S. Army, but not much used since — except at New Asia College. But when I first started, all these distinctions were esoteric refinements that I would learn one day. To my untrained ear, if a sound resembled an English word, I wrote it down that way. Thus "ni bubi qu" (you needn't go) became "knee booby chew" in my notebook.

In almost any European language, the

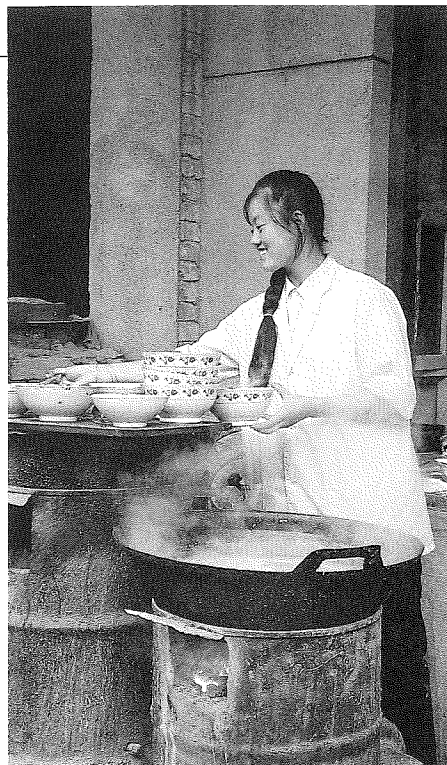
English speaker has some word association he can draw upon, but such cognates are virtually non-existent in Chinese. Because of the way in which the language is structured, Chinese does not need to incorporate Western words, but can create its own. Thus airplane became "fei ji" by combining the characters for fly or flying ("fei") and machine ("ji"). Locomotive is "huo che", the combination of the characters fire and vehicle. The only direct borrowing from a Western language I can recall is "ka fei" for coffee.

Failing word associations, the student of Chinese has to fall back on other devices. In some cases, this meant remembering that the meaning of the Chinese word was the exact *opposite* of what it sounded like in English. Thus the Chinese word "toe" of course means head, "roe" means meat and when children "coo", they are crying. Some associations did prove quite useful. Once I learned that "joe" stood for wine or liquor, I had no difficulty in remembering that "pee joe" was beer.

The next obstacle to overcome was tones. In Mandarin, the same sound pronounced in a different tone can convey a totally different meaning. One memorable day, we were discussing the word "wen", meaning "to ask". The pretty young teacher said it was our turn to ask her some questions. Being a glutton for punishment, I lead off, saying in Chinese "Wo yau wen ni..." (I want to ask you), only to have her blush a little and ask if I really wanted to kiss her. I tried again using another tone, "Wo yau wen ni..." Now you want to smell me, she said to the great amusement of all concerned, except me. Another classic gaffe was the "yehu" incident. I had brought a Cantonese musical instrument to decorate the wall of my apartment. Its name, I was told, was a "yehu", ye meaning coconut from which the base was carved and hu meaning a stringed instrument. I proudly explained to my teacher what I had purchased. Spoken with different tones, however, "yehu" becomes night pot or chamberpot and she thought it most strange that I should have one hanging on my wall.

If tones were difficult, we had yet to face characters. It took us a week to learn our first fifteen, and a week for the second fifteen by which time we had already forgotten half the first batch. Characters are either friendly or unfriendly, the friendly ones giving you something to remember them by. They are not necessarily the easiest to write and in fact some of the most complicated characters are among the easier to remember, simply because they are so unique. The non descript devils, the ones you see day after day, are often the most difficult.

Nonetheless we persevered. Thirty charac-



ters became 300 and 300 eventually became 3000. Of course, just to complicate matters there are two different ways to write many characters, the old way and the "simplified" way, introduced by The Peoples Republic in the 1950's. Our teachers were purists (as well as anti-communists) so we first had to learn the traditional way and were only allowed to write the simplified characters near the end of our studies. That was a major plus, though because virtually all menus in Chinese restaurants in Canada are written in the old script, and if you can't read a menu, your friends and family just won't believe that you have really learned Chinese.

*I am eternally grateful to the
Chinese for dispensing with
all verb endings.*

It's not just learning the characters that presents a problem, but also learning to recognize them in their various longhand forms, known as cursive script. Just as scribble in longhand is far different from the printed page in English, (ask any secretary), so too is Chinese scribble hard to decipher. I remember one of my teachers, who had obviously never taken a teaching methods course, who scribbled a whole board full of characters. "You're learning the printed form. When we write we do it like this". Then to reassure us, he added, "Chinese is really hard. You must be crazy to study it".

Not all aspects of the language are as difficult as characters, however, and I am eternally grateful to the Chinese for dispensing with all verb endings. There is a great deal of

internal logic in a language where the concept of size is formed from the two words "big-little", price becomes "dear-cheap", width "wide-narrow" etc. One realizes how many words we use in English that convey little or no meaning. One of the few expressions we've probably adopted from the Chinese is "long time no see".



One of the activities I most enjoyed was lunching with my teachers and fellow students at nearby restaurants. There we were introduced to the world of Chinese cuisine. On one of our first outings, I enquired about a particular substance (for that is what it was) that I was eating. "Haishen" came the reply. I should have left it at that but I had to know the English translation. "I think they are called sea-slugs", said the teacher with obvious relish.

Through it all with the help and support of my wife, I kept my nose to the grindstone and survived. Gradually, my fellow students dropped off, or went on to other pursuits or got prematurely posted to Peking if they were diplomats from other countries. By the last semester, many of my classes were individual and I could design the sort of program that I wanted. At the end of my stay, I too went on to Beijing. There I read the *Peoples Daily* every day to the point of being almost brainwashed. I read wall posters denouncing Mao. I spoke to Chinese officials and Chinese workers, in formal, setpiece situations and in completely relaxed, spontaneous encounters. Without the language, going to China would have been like having no eyes or ears. It would have been as if I could never reach out and touch China.

Learning Chinese unlocked a new world for me. I was fortunate that I was able to spend 2 years of my life devoted so single-mindedly to one particular task. Most of us don't have that luxury. But if the opportunity ever comes knocking, open the door.

Hugh Stephens completed Chinese language training in Hong Kong 1976-78 and served as Second Secretary in Beijing from 1978-80. He is currently in Seoul, Korea. Fredericka Gregory has served in the Canadian Mission to the UN in New York and is now assigned to the Western European Relations Division of External Affairs.

Zdenek Cipra

by Islay Mawhinney

If you were to ask any of the officers who have passed through the Prague Embassy in the past 28 years whom they remember particularly of the Czechs they met, you would probably receive a unanimous reply: Cipra. He has elan, panache, dash, sophistication and charm, and all this in a country whose citizens are most often compared to the dour Scots. But in any country Pan Zdenek Cipra would be considered remarkable and he has been running the Canadian Embassy for 28 years under the guise of being the Ambassador's driver.

In his youth, he was a racing driver and he has not lost with the passing years his fine touch at the wheel. The rallies and the races may be distant memories but, though the Ambassador might leave the Embassy late, he is never late on arrival. If the streets are blocked with traffic, there are always the tram tracks. This is where bemused Praguites in stalled Skodas often see the Ambassadorial chevrolet with the flag flat out in a high velocity sprint to another appointment. If there are no tram tracks, there are always other possibilities to be explored on the side of the street usually reserved for oncoming traffic.

*Cipra banishes Canada's
overworn image as a diffident
Middle Power.*

But arriving first does not always involve unnerving high speed races against the clock. Last fall, on the morning of his farewell reception, the West German Ambassador must have been dismayed when he looked out the window of his Lobkowicz Palace to see Prague Roadworks Inc. (Prazske Komunikace) tearing up the only access road to his residence. Later that morning, all of diplomatic Prague was caught in a chaotic web of stalled traffic. Cipra, however, had been in the area earlier in the day and had quickly seen what had to be done. We had an extremely pleasant drive at low speed through the autumnal splendours and along the footpaths of the park which spreads up the Petrin hill behind the German Embassy. The Canadians were the first to express their

regrets to the departing Ambassador and to wish him well in his future endeavours.

Cipra had become, after 28 years, the doyen of the ambassadorial drivers and there seemed to be an understanding amongst all the other drivers that the best parking spot should always be reserved for the Canadian car. Otherwise, who could explain why there is always without exception a space at the very doorstep of wherever the Ambassador is invited. At the termination of these events, as weary Ambassadors spill out onto the sidewalks, it was always the Canadian and his wife who were swept away first. Cipra in great style banishes Canada's overworn image as a diffident Middle Power. In Prague, we are in the super league.

Driving skills, however, are the least of Cipra's talents. It was as a linguist that he really shined, slipping effortlessly in and out of Czech, German and a very colloquial English learned on the job but spiced with certain indefinable Czech influences. When you ask Cipra to do something for you he always says, "I do" rather than "I will", thereby making the promise seem much more emphatic and certain to be carried out.

These linguistic skills combined with driving wizardry and a very definite elegance of demeanour have endeared Cipra to our Very Important Guests. Sadly, Mr. Trudeau missed the succulent wild boar which Cipra managed to obtain for a dinner that had to be cancelled. Hunting aficionados are quick to take advantage of Cipra's expert advice on equipment.

Cipra's wife died three or four years ago which was a great shock to him. Now, however, he has remarried, to a friend of many years. Together, they are much preoccupied with the restoration of an old farmhouse in a beautiful part of West Bohemia.

Unhappily for the current incumbent of the Embassy, Cipra retired at New Year's from his duties as driver and now devotes himself full time to house renovation, the pursuits of the country squire, travel and a little "paper work" in Prague. ✍

Islay Mawhinney, who has been the "indispensable associate" of Barry Mawhinney over his 24 years in the Foreign Service, has "served" in China, London, Brussels, and currently in Prague where her husband is Ambassador.

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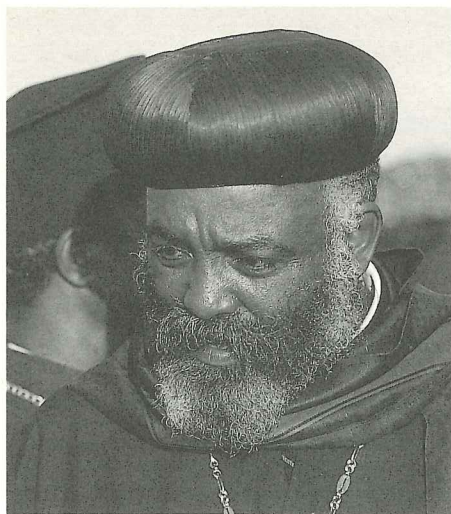
Maskal: Myth and Mystery in Revolutionary Ethiopia

Story and Photos by Daryl S. Copeland



The scene was dazzling. Thousands of clerics from provinces all over Ethiopia were gathered to celebrate the festival of Maskal at St. Gregory's Square in Addis Ababa. An amazing variety of elaborately embroidered robes shimmered brilliantly in the late afternoon sunshine. Reflecting upon the exotic ritual unfolding before me, I could not escape the conclusion that images of famine, drought and civil war seem to have blinded the world to much of the sheer wonderment still to be found in this ancient empire.

The traditions of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, which has evolved separately from the Christian mainstream since the third century A.D., have played a central role in defining the country's unique character. The origins of Maskal, which are described in a remarkable religious tract called the *Tefut*, represent a good case in point. According to



the *Tefut*, the remains of the "True Cross" (upon which Christ was crucified at Golgotha) were split into four parts in the middle of the fifth century A.D., following the schism which resulted from the Council of Chalcedon. The Christian church was divided into four patriarchates — Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria — and each received part of the Cross. Almost 1000 years later, the Calipha of Egypt jailed the Alexandrian Patriarch during a general persecution of Christians. When this news reached Emperor Dawit of Ethiopia, he appealed to the Calipha for religious tolerance, but was ignored. Not one to take such treatment lightly, Dawit marched on Cairo with an army of 300,000 men. He declined the Calipha's offer of a large quantity of gold in exchange for peace, and settled instead for Alexandria's fragment of the "True Cross", with which he returned to Ethiopia.

Dawit's son and heir, Zar'Yacob, responding to instructions received during a celestial vision, installed the fragment at the monastery in Gishen in a box made of gold, which was itself enclosed in progressively larger boxes made of silver, copper, lead and steel. Local lore has it that this treasure lies buried near the present-day church of Egziabherab. It is also said that tragedy will befall anyone who attempts to remove the relic. Gishen, a four day mule ride into the Ambasel mountains from the nearest, road remains a place of pilgrimage for the faithful.

To add to the historical complexity of the issue, some academics have speculated that the Christian dimension of Maskal is relatively recent, and that pagan and Hebraic rites indicate a more ancient and complex origin. Although this may indeed be the case, the contemporary celebration of Maskal is based on a widely shared belief in the presence of a portion of the "True Cross" in Ethiopia.

The most important symbol of the Maskal celebration is the Damara, a large pyramid



of dry wood around which the devoted gather. In the late afternoon the Damara is ceremoniously ignited, to the accompaniment singing, dancing, and fervent religious expectation.

There are a number of interpretations of the purpose of this exercise. Some claim that it signifies the purification of the soul and the absolution of sins, while others maintain that the direction of the smoke and final collapse of the pyramid portends the course of future events. The latter explanation apparently derives from the success of Roman Queen Helena (274-328 A.D.), mother of Constantine the Great, who is said to have discovered the whereabouts of the "True Cross" in the Holy Land. According to legend, she set fires, burned incense, and by tracing the smoke was able to determine the location of the buried Cross.

In addition to the various historical and religious implications, Maskal's contemporary prominence also seems related to the fact that it immediately follows a dramatic

change of seasons. Maskal is celebrated on September 27, at the end of the long rains when the rugged rural landscape explodes in a burst of wildflowers and the hills are again bathed in that clear, penetrating light which typifies high altitudes. This is traditionally a time of regeneration, the resumption of work and the reopening of communications. Anyone who has lived in Ethiopia for a year or more will testify that after three or four months of unremitting gloom, the timing couldn't be better.

Whatever explanation is preferred, one thing is certain, the chanting, the flickering shadows, and the sight of the Damara blazing in the evening twilight combine to create a spectacle not soon to be forgotten.

Daryl Copeland has served in Bangkok, Thailand and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He is currently with the Political Intelligence Division of External Affairs and is a member of the Executive Committee of PAFSO.

George Ignatieff: A Diplomat and Peace-Monger

Un Diplomate

par Yvon Beaulne

George Ignatieff figure parmi les grands commis de l'État qui, depuis les années quarante ont établi à l'échelle mondiale la réputation de notre pays en tant que missionnaire de la paix et du progrès. Lester B. Pearson lui avait ouvert les portes du ministère des Affaires extérieures et avait guidé ses premiers pas dans la carrière où il devait s'illustrer. Il a été mêlé aux grands événements de la guerre et de l'après-guerre. Il a occupé des postes prestigieux où il a eu l'occasion de faire valoir ses dons exceptionnels.

C'était la belle époque, ainsi qu'il l'a rappelé dans ses mémoires : le Canada victorieux prenait rang, dans l'occupation de Berlin en 1945 aux côtés du Royaume-Uni, de la France, des États-Unis et de l'Union soviétique; il se transformait peu après en pourvoyeur d'outillage et de fonds à l'Europe en pleine reconstruction et aux autres continents en voie de développement. Dénudé d'ambitions territoriales et d'appétit de conquête, serviable et généreux, il jouissait d'une cote d'amour. On écoutait ses porteparole, on prisait leur avis.

C'est à l'Organisation des Nations-Unies que George Ignatieff s'est fait un nom. Son rôle au Conseil de Sécurité, surtout en ce qui a trait au règlement du conflit au Moyen-Orient en 1967, l'a mis en vedette et lui a valu les plus hautes distinctions. Pourtant, aimait-il à répéter, l'efficacité d'un ambassadeur à l'ONU dépend moins de son éloquence à la tribune que de son habileté à susciter des accommodements à huis clos. Dès son arrivée à New York, il avait pris soin de déménager à deux pas de l'Assemblée générale. La nouvelle mission était facile d'accès et abritée des oreilles indiscretes. Elle devint bientôt un centre permanent d'entretiens confidentiels pour les délégués des quatre coins du monde. Je crois qu'elle l'est encore. En tous cas, cette location m'a grandement servi durant ma mission. En janvier 1969, en effet, j'avais l'honneur de succéder à George Ignatieff, qui était parti pour Genève où il devait représenter le



George Ignatieff and Lester B. Pearson, Lake Success, NY. 1948.

Canada à l'Office européen de l'ONU, au Comité du Désarmement et au Comité de l'Accord général sur les Tarifs douaniers et le Commerce.

Quelques mois plus tard, il revenait au Siège de l'ONU en tant que membre de la Délégation du Canada à l'Assemblée générale, passant en quelque sorte sous mes ordres dans un cadre où il avait commandé. Ce renversement qui aurait pu donner lieu à de l'aigreur entre nous, ne fit que renforcer notre amitié. «Ce Slave émotif» comme il se décrivait lui-même, débordait dans le privé d'humour, de chaleur et de cordialité, sous des dehors de gentleman anglais qu'il avait adoptés dans des maisons d'enseignement de Toronto et d'Oxford. Haut de taille, le port altier, il manifestait une autorité naturelle dans ses manières et ses propos. Au cours d'un déjeuner en son honneur où j'étais convié, le Secrétaire général U Thant demandait à son voisin de table, l'ambassadeur soviétique Jakob Malik, si ce dernier s'entretenait ordinairement en russe avec son collègue canadien. «Oui et nous nous entendons parfaitement» répliqua M. Malik, «Encore qu'il emploie des tournures un peu démodées. N'oubliez pas que son grand-père appartenait à une classe qui opprimait le mien!»

En bon diplomate, George Ignatieff était très sensible à la qualité de la langue. Le premier, il a fait des représentations à U Thant au sujet de la détérioration des services en français à l'ONU, représentations que j'ai renouvelées après lui et qui ont poussé le Secrétaire général à renflouer ces services en recrutant au Canada des fonctionnaires francophones. C'est donc en partie grâce à George Ignatieff que le français s'est retrouvé sur un pied d'égalité avec l'anglais, où l'avait placé la conférence de San Francisco.

«S'il est impossible d'éviter les disputes,» disait-il, «cela ne signifie pas que nous devons renoncer à les résoudre méthodiquement. Il s'agit d'abord d'en arriver à un modus vivendi, c'est-à-dire un compromis pratique en attendant un règlement définitif. Dans cette quête d'un modus vivendi, les qualités les plus souhaitables sont le bon sens, le pragmatisme et une vision de l'avenir. Tous ces traits tendent à unir, plutôt qu'à diviser.»

L'amabilité, la bonne renommée, la droiture, voilà les petites vertus d'un ambassadeur. Il les possédait ainsi que les qualités éminentes qui lui assurent une place de choix dans l'histoire de la diplomatie canadienne. Sans insister, je voudrais seulement citer quelques traits attachants de cet homme

Credit: Public Archives Canada

d'idéal et de probité : son doigté, sa perspicacité, sa ténacité, sa patience, sa compassion pour les victimes de bouleversements politiques et de catastrophes militaires.

Au moment de sa retraite, George Ignatieff déplorait qu'aux yeux des nouveaux dirigeants du ministère des Affaires extérieures l'art du vendeur semble l'emporter sur celui du conciliateur et que l'habile gestionnaire soit préférable à l'honnête homme. Les survivants de l'âge héroïque sympathisent avec lui. Dans son autobiographie, il s'est appelé «un colporteur de paix». C'est un titre trop modeste. À mon avis, il reste un «artisan de la paix», digne des bénédictions de l'Écriture. ✍

Yvon Beaulne était ambassadeur du Canada auprès des Nations Unies à New-York et longtemps représentant du Canada à la Commission des Droits de la personne de l'ONU.

A Peace-Monger

by Geoffrey Pearson

My last memory of George Ignatieff was of George surrounded by half a dozen Soviet Students at a Quaker camp for young people north of Toronto in the summer of 1988. They had come as guests of the Quakers for their first visit to a Western country and were surprised and delighted to find there a person who could tell them stories in Russian about the last days of the Tsar, stories which they had certainly not heard in their homeland. I was reminded that, when George came to Moscow in July 1983 with his son Michael, partly in order to do research on family history, he was treated with the greatest respect; not only, one sensed, because he was a "peacenik", but because he was descended from Russian nobility. Of the five Ignatieff brothers, George appears to have been the only one to have returned to the Soviet Union, once in 1955 in an official capacity, and again in 1983. He did not let his dislike of the regime influence his deep belief in the need to find better ways of living peacefully with the USSR.

George was a large man, both physically and mentally. He was one of that remarkable group of people who joined External Affairs during or just after the war, and who, like some of them, never quite fitted into the comfortable chairs of officialdom. This did not matter as long as Canada was at the centre of events and George was there too. But, after the advent of the Trudeau govern-

ment, the international ideals for which he stood seemed to have lower priority, especially in regard to disarmament, an area of policy to which Howard Green had given prominence and which George had come to put at the top of his own interests. It was not too surprising, therefore, that George should leave the Department in 1972 to take charge of Trinity College in Toronto, and, later, to become Chancellor of the University.

Once freed from the chains of official discretion George joined the ranks of the "peace-mongers", somewhat to the discomfort of his former colleagues who could hardly claim he was ignorant of either policy or process. Carefully at first, and then with growing urgency, he took up the cause of nuclear disarmament and, as a consequence, of a policy of nuclear nonalignment for Canada. During the Reagan years he became a major spokesman for the "peace" movement and certainly contributed to the public anxiety which impelled the Trudeau peace initiative in 1983. John Turner, in his brief tenure as Prime Minister, offered him the job of Ambassador for disarmament, which he accepted on condition that he have direct access to the Cabinet, which he expected to share his general views. I wonder how long he would have lasted in that job if the Liberals had won the election? Instead, George took on the Presidency of Science

for Peace and became a well-known figure at Pugwash Conferences around the world.

But George Ignatieff was too warm-blooded and warm-hearted ever to be a single-minded disciple of the one and only truth, at least in politics (he was always a devout member of the Russian Orthodox Church). He never let policy disagreements interfere with friendship and he remained a good companion for all those who knew him. Perhaps it was his Russian ancestry that gave him the skills of the raconteur, of which he was a master and which his memoirs reflect. I remember, in particular, his tale of the Ontario farmer whom he took to see the Minister of Agriculture in Belgrade where George was serving in the late 50's. The farmer was raising pigs for sale and in order to demonstrate his product he pointed to the Ambassador: "look at those thighs and back" he said; "That's a good straight side of bacon and that's a good ham. I promise to deliver you just a thing like this". "I never expected," George would conclude, "to model a pig as part of my diplomatic career." ✍

Geoffrey Pearson joined External Affairs in 1952 and served as Ambassador to the USSR from 1980-83. He was the Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security from 1985 to 1988.

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Where have the brightest and best gone?

In the excerpts below, taken from the *Financial Post*, September 11, 1989, Andrew Cohen (the *Post's* International Editor) suggests the malaise in Canada's foreign service is in part due to the lack of a coherent foreign policy and in part due to political appointments.

It is said that John Kennedy called Canada's foreign service the finest in the world. True or not, there is no doubt this country once assembled an extraordinary legion of diplomats and sent them abroad to do its bidding.

Today they are virtually unknown. A generation out of power, they are either dead or in their dotage. Their legacy surfaces only sporadically, like the flaring of a candle just before it goes out.

They seem to be noticed only when they die, their lives condensed in obligatory obituaries. So it was for George Ignatieff. Some revisit the past in writing. So it is for Escott Reid, who will publish his memoirs this autumn.

Ignatieff, the displaced Russian aristocrat, and Reid, the passionate idealist, were the cream of their generation. Although Canada emerged a middle power after the war, there

was nothing middling about its public servants.

There was Charles Ritchie, as much diarist as diplomat; Robert Ford, a poet and philosopher; Lester Pearson, a future Prime Minister; Jules Léger, a future Governor General. There was Chester Ronning, Arnold Smith, Norman Robertson, John Holmes and Marcel Cadieux. In the U.S., which celebrates its patriots, they would have been giants. In Canada, which is ashamed of success, many are anonymous.

All served at a time when Canada wielded unusual influence. It helped build international institutions (General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade, North Atlantic Treaty Organization); mount peacekeeping missions (the Middle East, Cyprus, Vietnam); and pioneer development aid (the Colombo Plan)...

While Brian Mulroney is a creditable performer on the world stage, he is not an internationalist in the tradition of Pearson or Pierre Trudeau. Joe Clark manages his lines but lacks vision. The waffling on South Africa, the failure to recognize the seismic changes in the U.S.S.R., the retreat on China (condemn the murder, then lend them money) suggest a government without a coherent foreign policy.

If there is little creative thinking coming from External Affairs, the government is to blame. It continues to make partisan appointments...that demoralize career officers and discourage recruits. They know their advancement will be slow and their influence marginal.

The Conservatives have named more political appointees in five years than the Liberals — themselves no strangers to patronage — named in 16 years. Meanwhile, the longstanding proposals of a royal commission to improve conditions in the foreign service remain unaddressed. No wonder morale is low.

The cost is a less effective diplomatic service, traditionally the most prestigious branch of government. There are still many able diplomats but "the department" has lost its lustre. It is no longer a magnet for the best and brightest, no longer a hotbed of ideas that made Canada a foremost peacekeeper and mediator.

Like any middle power, Canada can ill afford politicization of its foreign service and stagnation in its foreign policy. If it is to meet the call of the next decade, Canada will need more of the Ignatieffs, Pearsons and Ritchies. At the moment, they seem unlikely to be there.

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The Joys of Renting....

by Carol N. Markham

The major trouble with renting your property is that you have to have a tenant. The major problem with tenants is that they are unpredictable. You can have the worst dump in the world, or the most palatial establishment imaginable. For the right price, you will never lack a tenant. But will it be the "right" tenant? The question is, how do you define the "right" tenant, how do you find him, and how do you keep him?

There are probably as many books about real estate being the fastest way to personal wealth as losing weight being the fastest way to personal success and everlasting happiness. The success rate is probably about the same for each. In fact, it is a difficult job to do well and remain relaxed and carefree, secure in the knowledge that your property is increasing in value, that the rental income is adding up quickly, and that you are laughing all the way to the bank. It is even more difficult when you are an absentee landlord located half-way round the world.

To be successful in renting your property, it is necessary to be well-prepared. Answers must be found to such questions as: how much rent should be charged; what improvements should be made (to make the house rentable, to increase the rent you can obtain, and to increase the eventual selling price of the property); what types of insurance will be required (for the property and its contents, against loss of rental income, for personal liability); and what preparations should be made before showing the house to tenants. It seems there are more questions than answers, and the most elusive issue of all is: how to select the tenant.

Tenants come in three varieties: students, adult singles, and families. Your success in renting to any one particular group will depend on the location of the property, the amount of parking space available, and the time of year at which the property becomes available. The type of tenant you want is largely determined by the profile of your property. To find the tenant you will need to deal with telephone inquiries, show the property, review the tenant application form, check references and prepare the lease.

The lease is a binding contract. It must inform the tenant clearly of his rights and your responsibilities, and must protect your interest in your property. You will find out

that the lease really does not afford you much protection at all against the majority of tenant infractions. Indeed, in most matters you must rely on your tenant's good will to safeguard your property. That is why the tenant is the most important factor of all in renting property: the most unpredictable, and the most uncontrollable. The lease is an attempt to put some semblance of controllability into the equation, and in some ways it does. Leases typically cover items such as: use of premises, term, rent, prepaid rent, utility charges, defects and repairs, and liability.

Two other items which may help control the tenant, after a fashion, are the welcoming letter you present to an incoming tenant and the condition-of-property statement. The welcoming letter typically confirms such things as rent, responsibilities for maintenance and repair, payment of utilities, information about condominium rules, parking, insurance, health and safety hazards, and miscellaneous matters particular to your specific property. The condition-of-property statement is prepared jointly by you and the tenant on first taking over the property after the lease is signed.

The primary question is of course, whether you are going to try to rent the property yourself, or are going to hire an agent to do it? There are as many considerations to take into account and as many opinions about this as there are individuals and property. What works on one occasion, may not work the same way a second time, even with the same property. Even if you plan to hire an agency, you would be wise to think about these questions because the agency will need answers before finding you a tenant. It is possible to rent your property without the assistance of a rental agency, but it takes careful planning, preparation, and all-out effort. It is not often easy, and may well be the most frustrating experience of your life.

There are answers to these complex questions and sound advice can be found in an interesting new Canadian book which is chock-full of useful, helpful, and relevant information. In fact, the book covers more than the issue of property rental. It is written primarily for the individual investor as a way to become wealthy through property acquisition and disposal. Several chapters contain some useful guidance on the matter of renting one's property and finding appropriate tenants oneself.

The book is called, *BUY, RENT, SELL: A Step-by-Step Guide to Making a Fortune in Canadian Real Estate*, researched by a husband and wife team, Richard and Diane Needleman. It is published by Collins Publishers (Toronto, 1989), retails for \$27.95, and can be obtained at most bookstores. Even if you are not intending to get into the business of buying, renting, and selling multiple properties, the section in the book on the rental of property is well worth studying in detail.

Take the issue of what rent to charge. This is always a critical issue, whether one is the rentor or the rentee. The Needleman point out clearly the pitfalls involved. Suppose that units similar to yours are being offered at rents in the range of \$700 to \$725 a month. You may be tempted to ask for \$750, on the grounds that at a rent of \$725 the demand will be greater than the supply, and that would-be tenants who can not obtain accommodation at the going rent will be willing to pay more. But charging more than the market rent could be a mistake. You may indeed be able to rent your unit for \$750, but only after some delay. Because most tenancies begin on the first of the month, any significant delay is likely to lose you a whole month's rent. This loss can wipe out the total gain from the marginally higher rent you are charging, unless your new tenant stays with you for several years. But that is unlikely to happen. Your new tenant, aware and resentful of paying too much rent, will be looking for cheaper accommodation, and will probably leave at the first opportunity that presents itself.

It is wiser to charge at the lower end of the market range, \$700 in this case. By charging a rent that most tenants consider a bargain, you will rent the property quickly, your tenant will regard you as a reasonable landlord, and will probably wish to stay for a longer time. But what is more important is that you will have a wide choice of applicants from which to select the most suitable.

Concerning the three types of tenants (student, adult singles, and families), the book advocates renting to families. Although students and singles will generate higher rental income, they generally represent extra problems and work. Families pay lower rents because they usually have less disposable income. Nevertheless, if chosen carefully, they will pay their rent on time, keep their accommodation clean and in good condi-

tion, act responsibly towards you as their landlord, and remain your tenant for years. Keeping tenant turnover as low as you can is a key point. When a tenant moves out, the house will often need redecoration and repairs. Such refurbishing is rarely expensive in itself, but you may not be able to show the property until it has been done. As your new tenants will not normally be able to move in for several weeks, you will lose rent in the meantime. In addition to the possible loss of income, you will certainly have to spend time finding tenants to replace those who have left. The reason you do not particularly want to rent to students and singles, even though they may generate more income, is that student groups are only profitable as long as they stay together and experience shows that they have a tendency to split up. Singles tend to be mobile and are likely to change their living status.

As you can see from these two examples of the Needleman's analysis on property rental, the book is a valuable reference, and one worth acquiring for your personal (or the mission's) library.

*Carol N. Markham, a member of the Editorial Board for **bout**, is Vice-President (Political-Economic) of PAFSO. She has been posted to Bangkok, and is currently Head of the UN Environmental Affairs Section, Energy and Environment Division at External Affairs.*

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Life in the Servant Belt

by Laurel Pardy

Twenty years ago, fresh and relaxed after an exhilarating thirty-six hour flight from Gander to New Delhi with two children under two, I deplaned into the searing Indian sunshine to be greeted by the High Commissioner and a full panoply of colleagues. With more bravado than a brass monkey, I shouldered diaper bags and babies and strode into diplomatic life.

Initiation was swift and ruthless. Within twenty-four hours I had attended a lunch, a dinner and two receptions. I had viewed my new home and experienced an Indian marketplace. I had been introduced and briefed. All of which left me certain that, if I were to survive, it was imperative that I hire competent domestic staff as soon as possible. Easier said than done.

The first set I accepted on the recommendation of a bachelor — a bad choice for a family. The second set came from a colleague whose government authorized very generous pay scales for domestic staff — a choice not satisfactory to the staff. The third set came from different caste, language and religious backgrounds — a bad choice for domestic harmony. The fourth set came from referrals from the most important person in the house, the children's nanny. They stayed with us for three years.

During the intervening years, the foibles and ingenuity of assorted domestic staff have generated much laughter and many tears. In the end they were more important to the outcome of the posting than the ambassador.

Many situations were generated out of my ignorance compounded by their ingenuity. Seemingly innocent requests can be loaded with implications.

Such was the case when the dhobi (the laundryman) asked whether he should do my laundry as well as Sahib's. To my mind it was a frivolous question. Why should he be paid to do laundry and leave half of it undone?

What I did not realize was that there was laundry, and there was laundry. In India, only a long-time male servant would be allowed to do Memsahib's personal laundry. To prove his privileged status to the world my Mark's and Spencer's cut-for-comfort cottons and Sahib's sturdy Stanfield's graced the front lawn every laundry day for three years. I tried repeatedly to remove them to the rear yard but he remained adamant that the sun was better in the front garden. This in a country where the sun shines twelve hours a day every day of the year.

On another occasion and in another country, I tried to instill the concept of the compost heap into the gardener. Over several months, decomposable garbage and yard sweepings went into a pit and were nurtured with attention. As another planting season approached, I looked forward to returning to nature that which was nature's. On an auspicious morning, I instructed the gardener to "look after" the compost because tomorrow we would begin the planting of the garden.



I returned home to the aroma of burning vegetation. Every scrap of compost had been carefully burned to make room for the additional compost which would be generated during this growing season. I will never know what he thought I was doing with the compost — some sort of peculiar plant worship, I suppose.

Status symbols are another tricky area of mutual incomprehension. Consider the time the house sweeper requested to wash the car. It was dirty so I agreed. Over the next few days, I slowly realized that the household was not running smoothly. The cook was surly, the bearer was uncooperative and the gardener was skulking behind the garage. Unknowingly, I had granted a status privilege to a low status servant and everyone's nose was out of joint except the sweeper's, and he was busy preening himself in the car mirror.

There is a popular belief among the uninitiated that the presence of servants makes

representation a breeze. Dinner parties bring out the best and the worst in one's staff, especially in cultures where the word "No" does not exist.

"Do you know how to make Charlotte Rousse?"

"Yes."

"Is there enough rice to make pulao for 20 people?"

"Yes."

"Do you understand?"

"Yes"

"Do you need someone else to help you prepare for the party?"

"It is up to you, Memsahib." (Means both yes and no simultaneously and may be interpreted, "I'll sulk if you do because it means you think I can't do the job and I'll sulk if you don't because it is too much work.")

Recommendations are another treacherous aspect of managing domestic staff — not for what is written but for what is not written. Characteristics and qualifications not stated can be presumed not to exist, for example, "Esperanza follows instructions well" means she has to be told very explicitly what to do otherwise it will not be done; "Vladimir always arrives on time and has several dishes at which he excels" means he is sent by the state and knows two recipes. On the other hand, "Mustapha is intelligent, hard-working and honest" probably means just that.

If you are fortunate, there will be a very special employee who comes into your life and without whom your life would be less than it is. I was fortunate because such a person crossed my path early in my foreign service life. I am referring to my children's nanny.

She became both mother and mentor to me and my infant sons during a very critical period. She eased my transition from farmer's daughter to diplomat's wife and started my children along the path to becoming the fine young men they are today. A fortuitous happenstance of the erratic assignment process for which I am very grateful.

As I wade through the vagaries of another assignment process, and contemplate another tour in the "servant belt", I remind myself that it is easy to have a laugh at the expense of one's domestic staff, but it is wise to remember that these are the people who know more about you than your mother.

*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.*

PAFSO Professional Committee Breakfast Seminars: Fall Preview

by Margaret Huber

PAFSO Professional Committee activities have been picking up and I am pleased to announce an excellent line up of Breakfast Seminars for the coming months.

For those of you unfamiliar with these early bird events, a few brief words on the Committee and its activities is appropriate. The Professional Committee is an informal group of staff in the Department of External Affairs dedicated to organizing events of interest to the Department's members. Increasingly popular are the Committee's informal breakfast seminars featuring guest speakers on a wide variety of topical issues. They aim to broaden horizons by promoting and stimulating open and lively discussions. Breakfast seminars begin at 8:30 a.m. and are held in the Crush Auditorium of L.B. Pearson Building, 125 Sussex Drive. They usually consist of a 30 minute presentation followed by a 30 minute Question and Answer period.

Recent breakfast meetings, which were well attended include: NATO Secretary General, Manfred Woerner, on "The NATO Alliance"; ADM for Communications, Peter Daniel, on "Off and On the Record with the Press"; and Canada's Ambassador to the PRC, Earl Drake, on "China".

Our fall preview promises a continuation of this high quality roster for our breakfast seminars:

Under-Secretary of State, James H. Taylor, on "The Paris Economic Summit: What it achieved";

British Cabinet Office, Soviet Affairs Advisor, Martin Nicholson, on "Is Perestroika irreversible?";

Other forthcoming topics (dates to be confirmed):

"Implications of Japan as the World's Largest Aid Donor";

"Demographics and the Future Role of Quebec";

"Drug Trafficking and its Foreign Policy Implications";

"The Labor Movement and Foreign Policy";

"The North and Foreign Policy Issues of the 1990's";

"How are we doing on environment issues"; and

"Canada-USA Free Trade Agreement: Early returns".

For those among you who are late risers, the Professional Committee also hosts the occasional Evening Focus event. Back this fall, by popular demand, will be further John Cleese management training films on "Organization/Management Skills". There will also be a panel discussion on "Fiscal Restraint: Implications for the Department".

The Professional Committee welcomes proposals for future speakers and topics for our seminars. Please submit your suggestions to PAFSO c/o Debra Hulley at 234-1391 or write to the PAFSO Office, 600-45 Rideau Street, Ottawa, K1N 5W8.

Whether you are currently based in Ottawa or simply visiting on occasion from a post abroad, we look forward to seeing you at forthcoming Professional Committee events.

Margaret Huber is Chairperson of the PAFSO Professional Committee. She is currently Director of the European Community Trade Policy Division of External Affairs.

Congé de maternité à l'étranger

par Christine Manseau, Directeur exécutif

Les lecteurs assidus de la rubrique de l'APASE dans le **bout de papier** se souviendront d'un article datant de l'an dernier décrivant les conditions dans lesquelles se retrouvait une employée désirant se prévaloir de son droit à un congé de maternité lorsqu'en affectation à l'étranger (vol. 5 n° 4).

L'APASE tentait alors de trouver une solution à ce problème dans le cadre de la revue triennale de Directives du Service extérieur. Les parties n'avaient toutefois pu agréer à une solution qui satisfasse entièrement l'APASE et les autres syndicats lors de la conclusion de la revue des Directives en janvier 1989. La directive 69.06 prévoit maintenant qu'à l'exception de la Directive 56 (Prime de service extérieur), de la Directive 58 (Indemnité différentielle de mission) et de la Directive 59 (Indemnité de langues étrangères), les Directives sur le service extérieur continueront de s'appliquer aux employés qui sont en congé non autorisé ou non payé pendant une affectation à l'extérieur du Canada. Cette modification si importante soit-elle pour assurer le maintien du droit de l'employée en congé de maternité au logement, aux indemnités scolaires et autres bénéfices sous les directives, n'assurerait aucunement le maintien du paiement des allocations sous les Directives 55- Péréquation du traitement, 56- Prime de service extérieur et 58- Indemnité différentielle de mission. L'employée se trouverait donc désavantagée par rapport à ses collègues au Canada.

Le Directeur exécutif de l'APASE avait cependant été autorisée en décembre 1988 par tous les syndicats membres du Conseil national mixte à entrer en pourparlers avec le Conseil du Trésor avec pour mandat d'obtenir que les employées en congé de maternité lorsqu'en affectation à l'étranger reçoivent un traitement comparable à celui qu'elles recevraient au Canada. La solution proposée aurait consisté à ce que les parties s'entendent pour réduire le salaire de l'employée en congé de maternité lorsqu'en affectation à l'étranger à 93% de son salaire réel, le tout payé par l'employeur. Les Directives continueraient donc de s'appliquer, l'employée étant en congé payé. Le 93% était bien entendu issu du montant déjà prévu à la clause pertinente des conventions collectives en vertu du Régime de prestations supplémentaires de chômage.

Après discussions avec des représentants du Conseil du Trésor et présentation de la solution proposée ci-haut à la Direction responsable, il fut convenu que les parties tenteraient d'en arriver à une solution qui tienne compte des intérêts de tous les intervenants tout en étant juste et équitable. Le 20 avril dernier, le Directeur exécutif de l'APASE était convoquée par le Secrétaire adjoint, Division de la gestion du Personnel en général, Conseil du Trésor pour discuter d'une proposition formulée par des membres de son personnel eu égard aux conditions applicables sous les Directives pour les employées en congé de maternité à l'étranger.

Les conditions proposées étaient les suivantes : l'employée en congé de maternité lorsqu'en affectation à l'étranger recevra, en sus de l'indemnité du Régime de prestations d'assurance-chômage et d'une indemnité égale à la différence entre la somme brute du taux de bénéfice hebdomadaire payable en vertu de la Loi sur l'assurance-chômage et 93% de son traitement, les allocations payables en vertu de la DSE 55 — Péréquation du salaire, de la DSE 56 — Prime du service extérieur et de la DSE 58 — Indemnité différentielle de mission ajustées sur 93% de son salaire. Ces paiements seront intégrés au "taux de rémunération hebdomadaire" de l'employée et, partant imposables pour la durée de son congé de maternité de 17 semaines.

Le 7 juin 1989, toutes les parties au Conseil national mixte signaient un mémoire d'entente relativement aux conditions applicables au congé de maternité pour les employées en affectation à l'étranger. Cette entente couvre toutes les employées du service extérieur ainsi que toute employée se trouvant en détachement ou en affectation unique à l'étranger lors de son congé de maternité. Nous tenions fortement à ce que toutes bénéficient du même traitement qu'il s'agisse de

membres de l'APASE, d'autres syndicats ou, de la gestion.

D'aucuns seront inquiets du fait que des montants afférents aux allocations versées sous les Directives du service extérieur soient impossibles. N'oublions pas que l'argument de l'APASE a toujours été basé sur la théorie

du traitement comparable d'employées en congé de maternité au Canada et de celles en congé de maternité lorsqu'en affectation à l'étranger. Force nous est donc de noter que les bénéfices reliés au congé de maternité au Canada sont impossibles. De plus, la Loi sur l'impôt contient une exception spécifique eu

égard aux montants versés en compensation aux employés au service du Canada à l'étranger.

D'autres s'inquiéteront de l'impact de cette décision sur les opérations à la mission étant donné les absences prolongées occasionnées par les congés de maternité. Dès l'annonce de cette décision, le ministère, soucieux de respecter ses engagements, demandait à la Division des Programmes du Conseil du Trésor de lui accorder des crédits supplémentaires permettant l'envoi d'employés en affectation temporaire à la mission lorsque nécessaire.

Le ministère et l'APASE travaillent présentement à une entente avec Emploi et Immigration visant à désigner l'agent d'affectation de l'employée comme correspondant officiel de l'employée pour fins de satisfaire aux exigences du système de prestation d'assurance-chômage relié de congé de maternité. L'APASE a aussi demandé et obtenu la garantie que toute employée le désirant pourra se prévaloir de son droit à 17 semaines de congé de maternité lorsqu'en affectation à l'étranger tel que prévu à sa convention collective. Ceci devrait être confirmé sous peu par document circulaire.

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer qu'à notre connaissance, au moins deux employées se sont prévaluées des termes de cette nouvelle entente à l'occasion de la naissance de son premier enfant, dans un cas et, de son troisième, dans le second et ce, depuis le premier juillet!

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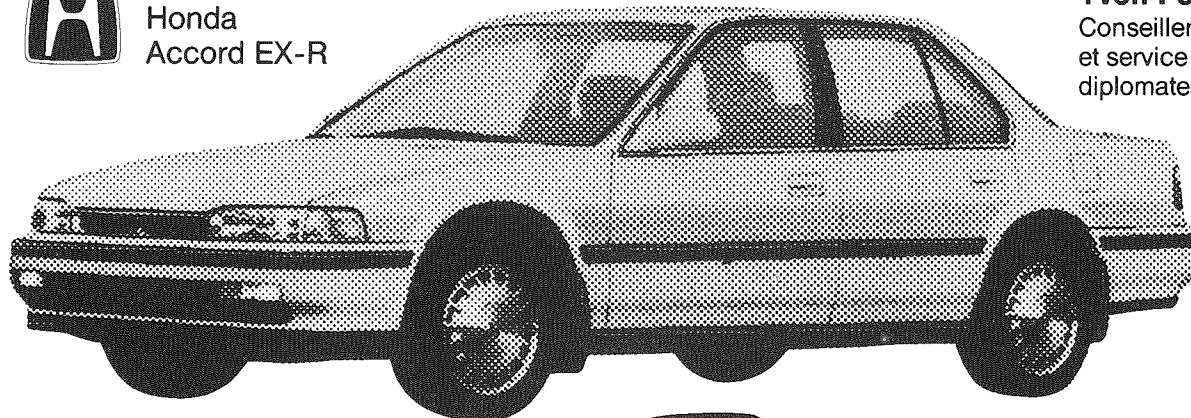
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La grande illusion par Alain Minc (Bernard Grasset Paris 1989), 365 pp., \$20.00.

Compte rendu par J.E. Ghislain Hardy

Né en 1949, Alain Minc est à la fois industriel et journaliste, chef d'entreprise et intellectuel. La grande illusion qu'il dénonce est celle de croire que « 1992 » — année-clairon du parachèvement du marché commun — suscitera l'unité économique des douze membres de la communauté européenne, que cette unité économique façonnera l'unité de la société, que de l'unité de la société naîtra l'unité politique, puis l'unité militaire, et qu'ainsi se fera l'Europe, sans drame ni tension. Il qualifie cette confiante expectative de sympathique illusion, de fol espoir, de mythe, ou de leurre, suivant le contexte de son argumentation.

Pour Minc, la mise en place du grand marché ne répond à aucune des tendances stratégiques profondes qui travaillent l'Europe occidentale, laquelle tourne ses regards et projette ses aspirations d'avenir de plus en plus vers l'Europe continentale de l'Atlantique à l'Oural. « L'Europe occidentale, rappelle-t-il d'entrée de jeu, ne vient pas du fond des âges. Née avec le rideau de fer, elle risque, comme réalité stratégique, de disparaître avec lui. » À preuve de sa précarité et de l'incertitude de son devenir :

- Le découplage stratégique entre l'Europe occidentale et les États-Unis, désormais reconnu comme une donnée indéniable de part et d'autre, signale le passage du système de sécurité atlantique à un système de sécurité continental encore indéfini.
- Les États-Unis, par vocation historique isolationnistes et pacifistes, sont inévitablement appelés, à plus ou moins brève échéance, à se retirer du continent européen. La présence militaire américaine en Europe s'étiolera au fil des années, jusqu'au jour où la dynamique du désarmement y mettra définitivement fin. Minc entrevoit que, militairement, les États-Unis se désintéresseront de plus en plus de l'Europe, comme d'ailleurs des pays du Pacifique, et se replieront vers l'Amérique du Nord en imbrication croissante avec le Canada et le Mexique.
- L'Allemagne fédérale, longtemps le meilleur élève de la classe atlantique, petit à petit retrouve sa place traditionnelle au sein de la Mittel Europa, aux plans économique et culturel, sinon pleinement encore aux plans politique et stratégique. Les sociétés civiles de la RFA et de la RDA multiplient leurs relations, s'imbriquent et se ressemblent chaque jour davantage. Condition du rapprochement inter-allemand et de la renaissance d'une nation allemande, à la rigueur en plusieurs états,

la soviétophilie monte en flèche aux dépens de l'américanophilie de l'après-guerre. Il devient ainsi de plus en plus difficile pour la République fédérale de se lier à l'Ouest au point de perdre toute liberté à l'Est.

- La force de frappe française, complexe Maginot qui crée l'illusion de la sécurité absolue pour le sanctuaire national, risque de mener la France à l'isolationnisme et de faire basculer l'Allemagne toujours plus irrécupérablement vers le Centre de l'Europe, à la recherche de sa propre sécurité dans un nouvel équilibre continental. Afin de freiner cette dérive de l'Allemagne, de maîtriser l'édification de l'« Europe, notre maison commune » si chère aux soviétiques, et de prévenir la finlandisation de l'Europe occidentale dans ses murs, la France ne devrait-elle pas, se demande fièvreusement Minc, tenter d'arrimer l'Allemagne fédérale en lui accordant formellement sa garantie nucléaire et en l'assurant qu'advenant un conflit en Europe, elle serait prête à l'utiliser de manière à forcer le couplage stratégique américain ?
- La Grande-Bretagne pourrait aussi, en principe, mettre sa force nucléaire au service de l'Europe. Elle ne pourrait le faire cependant qu'avec l'accord des États-Unis qui détiennent un veto juridique, mi-technologique sur son emploi. En s'accrochant au statu quo, c'est-à-dire au rôle de force supplétive de cette des États-Unis, elle s'évacue de la construction européenne et de l'équilibre continental en train de prendre forme.
- Avec la perestroïka et sa diplomatie de mouvement, l'Union soviétique est devenue imprévisible. Pour tenter d'en percer le voile et d'en prévoir l'acheminement probable, l'auteur examine, à la lumière des objectifs historiques et des aspirations classiques de Moscou, trois scénarios : la poursuite d'une libéralisation ordonnée, ou despotisme éclairé ; le retour à l'ordre ancien, ou restauration, à la suite d'un débordement incontrôlable ; une libéralisation authentique, ou révolution tranquille, dont la dynamique engendrerait une Europe véritablement nouvelle. Minc n'arrive pas à croire à ce dernier mirage : pour sa part, la perestroïka visera avant tout à accélérer la dérive continentale, à inciter l'Occident à bouger sur l'essentiel, l'Orient se limitant à bouger sur l'accessoire.

Minc conclut la première partie de sa dissertation en affirmant que 1992 ne changera rien à la carte géo-stratégique de l'Europe et n'aura en soi aucun effet sur la dérive du continent. Avec la même clarté, la même assurance doctrinale, la même fougue, il

entreprend dans une deuxième partie intitulée « 1992 ou le leurre » de faire ressortir à la fois les avantages mobilisateurs et économiques certains du grand marché, mais aussi ses lacunes et ses insuffisances en tant qu'instrument de la construction d'une Communauté européenne intégrale.

Les plus exaltés de ses adeptes attendent du grand marché et de la déréglementation généralisée qui lui donnera naissance, un véritable miracle de croissance, de productivité, d'économies, d'emplois, de dynamisme. Mais si 1992 suscite aujourd'hui un enthousiasme unanime, point n'est besoin d'être grand clerc pour anticiper les tensions à venir : entre les pays gagnants et les pays perdants, entre les activités en croissance et les activités en perdition, entre les consommateurs et les agriculteurs, entre les employés des services en expansion et les salariés des industries en régression, entre le secteur exposé à la concurrence internationale et le secteur abrité. Il faudra bien que tôt ou tard les responsables politiques interviennent pour réguler le marché et en compenser les excès.

Pris en lui-même, le grand marché n'est guère plus, pour Minc, qu'une vaste zone de libre-échange sans stature économique propre, sans identité politique ni réalité stratégique. Comme seul instrument de réalisation de l'Europe, il connaîtra rapidement ses limites. Au plan économique, cette « symphonie inachevée » exigerait que la Communauté européenne se dote tôt ou tard d'une monnaie commune, d'une politique macro-économique intégrée, d'un régime de péréquation entre les pays et les régions riches que le marché enrichira davantage, et les pauvres qu'il continuera à appauvrir, et d'une philosophie vis-à-vis du monde extérieur. Pour des raisons de tradition et de politique nationale enracinées, que Minc regrette, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne en particulier montrent peu d'intérêt pour de telles mesures, quand l'une ou l'autre ne s'y oppose pas ouvertement.

Minc termine son étude par un décalogue d'exhortations qu'il adresse d'abord à la France, mais indirectement aussi à l'Allemagne, qui vise à les inciter à poursuivre et à accélérer, dans une union de plus en plus étroite et avec un sens aigu de l'urgence de la mission à accomplir, la construction européenne, non seulement économique mais dans toutes ses dimensions : sociale, culturelle, politique, militaire, juridique.

La présente schématisation des grands thèmes politico-stratégiques et économiques que développe Alain Minc ne rend pas justice à la richesse et à la densité de sa documentation, à la perspicacité et à l'acuité de ses commentaires, à l'ampleur et à la profondeur de son analyse. Oeuvre d'un observateur professionnellement et intellectuellement

engagé, « La Grande Illusion » mérite d'être lue et méditée par ceux qui s'intéressent à l'évolution de l'Europe et se préoccupent des implications qu'elle comporte pour la politique étrangère et militaire du Canada. 

J.E. Ghislain Hardy a été haut-commissaire adjoint à Londres, ambassadeur à Madrid, ambassadeur auprès du Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord (Bruxelles), et ambassadeur à Rome.

Our Man in Moscow — A Diplomat's Reflections on the Soviet Union by Robert A.D. Ford, University of Toronto Press, 1989, 356 pps. \$29.95.

by Peter Roberts

If Edmund Spenser is the poet's poet, Robert Ford must be the diplomat's diplomat. Here is a book where those of us who have practised the trade at once recognize ourselves, our daily round, our problems with the local government — and with the one in Ottawa — the weekend summons to the foreign ministry, the ministerial, and prime ministerial, and vice regal visits from Canada, advice accepted by the Department and advice rejected, good times and bad with journalists, the circus atmosphere of the diplomatic corps. For those who have served

in communist countries, Robert Ford's book is like drifting home. He has indeed held the mirror up to the nature of East-West diplomacy in our time.

What is best about this book is that it is not a mere piece of modern history, recounting what happened and analyzing the causes and the results. The account of what happened is illuminated, in most chapters, by Ford's own thoughts, his recollections of conversations, of people's behaviour at particular times, of what Russian friends and acquaintances told him about their view of things. The book is most interesting when the material is more or less balanced between the historical record and the author's comment. That special quality becomes less evident when, as in the last section on Soviet-US relations, Ford was not usually a direct player and is therefore less able to leaven the dough with his own comment. Conversely, the chapters dealing with Canadian-Soviet relations, and the fascinating early chapters about Ford's two short postings to Moscow in Stalin's lifetime, are uniquely valuable. Nobody in our foreign service, at home or abroad, had the possibility of watching at first hand, and influencing directly, the slow and tortuous development of the bilateral relationship from the Gouzenko affair almost to the present day.

But not quite to the present day, and that is

a problem for this book, though no fault of the author's. This is a long book, full of detail about the end of the Khrushchev era and the whole of the Brezhnev one. Obviously Ford has been working on it a long time. He was able to add a short post-script about Gorbachev and the electrifying events of the past three years, but clearly did not have time to put his mind to these questions. That fact does not invalidate at all what Ford tells us about Gorbachev's predecessors. But the extraordinary interest in Soviet matters which every Western newspaper and magazine and book store attests to, stems largely from what Gorbachev has so far done and what he says he would like to do. In a sense, therefore, the book has missed the market, and we can only hope that Ford will expand his postscript into a second book, in which he might reflect on his conclusion that nothing fundamental has changed and nothing is likely to.

Change there has certainly been, so much so that a reader might be forgiven for looking at the 30 years described by Ford as the history of some pre-revolutionary period. Of course it is not so. Ford is right to point out that Gorbachev did not come from outer space, but straight from the apparatus of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that he brings that baggage with him. People who are still writing from Moscow tell this

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reviewer that they have not yet found a new heaven and a new earth in their dealings with the Soviet authorities. The 1988 affair of the local staff at our Embassy had a depressingly familiar ring about it. There are no signs of Soviet citizens casting up their caps when Gorbachev comes to see them. Viewed on television, they seem downright angry with him for not getting on with the job faster.

But in another sense, it is a new era we are dealing with. There has been nothing like it since the revolution. Even the years of the New Economic Policy, 1921-28, when there was relative freedom for the arts and for small business, were only years of waiting on the part of Lenin's heirs, until whichever of them won the power struggle and was able to implement his policies and ideas. The winner happened to be Stalin, but there is no reason to think that life in the '30's would have been much more agreeable under Trotsky or even Bukharin. Nor is there any real parallel with the early years of Khrushchev. Khrushchev accomplished a lot: he closed the camps, ended the terror, and let a bit of light into cultural life. But by 1962, he was saying "enough!" in fairly clear tones. Ford describes Khrushchev's exchanges with Voznesensky and some of the other poets. He had even more vitriolic ones with the painters. History will remember him as much for his public humiliation of Pasternak as for his secret speech at the 20th party congress.

Now we have something totally new. What was once the world's most mendacious newspaper, *Pravda*, today lives up to its name — to some degree — by containing quite large dollops of truth. Truth about what happened in history as well as about what is happening now. Soviet artists can and do visit the West, alone, and stay with English or Canadian friends in London or Montreal. Unthinkable books are published. Soviet cinematography has gone from being the world's dreariest to one of the world's best. The "filling in the blanks" of Soviet history, as the Head of the Moscow History and Archives Institute Yury Afanasiyev calls it, is supremely important, and may be irreversible. Above all, there is the character of the man who is making all this happen. This reviewer had two encounters with him in Moscow, once before he became General Secretary, once after. If you have spent a large part of your life dealing with communist officials, high and low, you think you have become an expert on the species. Inaccessible, ponderous, opaque, wrapped in layers of protective padding that have to be peeled off over months and years of contact. Not so Mikhail Sergeyevich. He is a modern man. Communication is immediate, direct and from the first word substantive. It is new, refreshing, and very promising.

Thus the world Robert Ford describes so well and with such a wealth of fascinating detail is a world which, in this reviewer's opinion, has changed much and will change more. One of the aspects of it that probably has not however changed much is the relationship between the KGB and foreigners in the Soviet Union, especially foreigners working in embassies, and more especially those working in the embassies of NATO member countries. There is a perennial fascination with these essentially sordid matters, and it is doubtful if anyone writing about foreign experience in the Soviet Union should fail to mention them. And they can be serious. The KGB are unscrupulous in their dealings both with foreigners and their own compatriots; careers have been wrecked and lives ruined, including Canadian ones. Ford mentions by name only the case of John Watkins, who was Canadian ambassador in Moscow from 1954-57, his second tour of duty there. The story of his entrapment by the KGB in a homosexual affair is well known and Ford is right to include it in his account, if he is going to write at all about Canada and the KGB. However, he concludes that the KGB "enrolled him (Watkins) as an active collaborator". So far as this reviewer is aware, there is no evidence to support this very serious accusation. It is generally known that the police and security investigation into Watkins' tragedy came to the opposite finding.

The KGB chapter (Chapter 7) has other deficiencies — indeed it is regrettable that it was from this chapter, rather than almost any other, that at least one national magazine chose its pre-publication excerpts. One must hope that Canadians now being posted to Moscow will not go there under the impression that the only bug the KGB ever managed to get into the Canadian Embassy was discovered and removed ten years or more ago, and that none has been put there since. One has only to consider that five or six years ago the United States Embassy in Moscow discovered — and Washington published the fact — that all the typewriters in the building had been bugged for an unknown number of years, and that the Russians had been reading every word typed on them. Other Embassies had the same experience. That is to say nothing of what the Americans discovered in their new embassy under construction, despite the presence of an army of security guards. A reasonable assumption, and certainly the only safe working assumption, is that the place is riddled with microphones, or with other means of obtaining what the KGB thinks it needs.

Those are only cautionary words about what is in the end a peripheral part of this book. The book as a whole is instructive, comprehensive, and eminently readable.

Ford's calm, unhurried English is eminently well suited to this kind of memoir. There is often a quiet irony which rings true in an account of a country where situations abound lending themselves to irony. Let us hope that Ford is hard at work on his next book.

Peter Roberts, Canadian Ambassador in Moscow from 1983 to 1986, has now retired and lives in Ottawa, Ontario.

Diplomacy of Fear: Canada and the Cold War, 1941-1948, by Denis Smith, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988, 289 pp. \$35.00.

by Donald Barry

In recent years, the simplistic traditional interpretation of the cold war as a defensive American response to Soviet expansionism and its revisionist counterpoint, which presented the conflict as a necessary Soviet reaction to U.S. imperialism, have yielded to a more sophisticated understanding of the rise of postwar Soviet-American antagonism. In *Diplomacy of Fear*, Denis Smith sets out to reassess Canada's wartime and early postwar foreign policy in the light of this "post-revisionist consensus." Focusing on "how the Canadian government saw the political confusions of the post-war years from its unique perspective between Britain and the United States, and how it responded to them," he traces the evolution of Canada's policy from the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, through the creation and break up of the allied wartime coalition, to the negotiations of March 1948 that led to the establishment of NATO.

Smith accepts the inevitability of the cold war and recognizes that Canada, like Britain and the other western European countries, had little choice other than to rely on U.S. might to offset the Soviet challenge but, he asserts, "Fear of the Soviet Union overrode and suppressed Canadian anxieties about the potential misuse of American power." While agreeing that "Canadian diplomats sensed, and sought increasingly to make use of, the country's limited range of diplomatic manoeuvre in the United Nations and the Commonwealth," he suggests that Ottawa could have done more to moderate east-west tensions.

Smith's case is not persuasive. Amplifying recommendations made within the Department of External Affairs shortly after the war, he offers only two suggestions as to how the government might have acted differently. These were increased military activity in the north as a means of reducing Canada's defence reliance on the United States and

enhancing its freedom of action vis-à-vis Washington, and the adoption of a crash program to train experts on American and Soviet politics and foreign policies "which would have sharpened Canadian perceptions and created fresh opportunities for Canadian initiatives on the margin of the Cold War after 1948." It is hardly surprising that Canadian and U.S. attention should have focused on the North Atlantic area rather than North America during this period because it was in Europe that the Soviet challenge was first posed. And, with External Affairs resources stretched to the limit by the demands of early post-war expansion, it is far from self-evident that the proposed training program could have been implemented. Moreover, with Dana Wilgress, Robert Ford, John Holmes and John Watkins successively heading the Canadian mission in Moscow and Hume Wong following Lester Pearson as Ambassador in Washington, the Government assigned some of its most experienced officers to both capitals.

It should be noted that during the 1950's, when External Affairs was in a position to do so, it adopted the British practice of providing Russian language training for selected officers and posting them to

Moscow early in their careers and reassigning them to the Soviet Union in more senior positions later on.

Donald Barry is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary currently on loan to the Historical Section of the Department of External Affairs. He is coauthor, with John F. Hilliker, of the forthcoming official postwar history of the Department.

The Uneasy Alliance: Religion, Refugee Work, and U.S. Foreign Policy, by J. Bruce Nichols, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 337 pp., \$37.50.

Reviewed by Gerald Dirks

Scholars, journalists, politicians and retired career diplomats have together authored thousands of books on the subject of American foreign policy during the more than forty years since the United States achieved super power status. The overwhelming majority of these works have had as their focus themes such as U.S. national security, strategic defense issues, super power competition and America's changing role in the

global economy. Less frequently do books become available that centre attention on the interaction among non-governmental organizations and their interrelationship with the U.S. government in the foreign policy realm. The volume under review is the most comprehensive publication known to this reviewer to concentrate upon the foreign humanitarian programs of major American religious organizations and how they were influenced by, and in return sought to have an impact upon, U.S. policy objectives and tactics.

In sixteen chapters, the author who is Director of Education and Studies at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, seeks to accomplish much — possibly too much. The initial four chapters described in considerable detail the humanitarian programs for refugee assistance initiated and operated by American Jewish, Protestant and Catholic associations during the years between World War One and approximately 1960. The subsequent ten chapters which are the core of the volume, discuss the efforts of religious organizations to maintain some autonomy and theological integrity in the face of governmental efforts at co-optation and domination. The ideological

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nature of many of the issues that have brought stress to the relations of the U.S. government, not only with the Soviet Union but also with developing states, is effectively examined. The middle chapters contain thoroughly researched case studies of religious non-governmental organizations humanitarian work in Honduras, Thailand and Sudan. Here, the events that have caused some church-based organizations to adopt moderately radicalized advocacy approaches towards the American government in their efforts to aid genuine refugees are forcefully described. The final chapters are somewhat more juridical, dealing with questions of constitutionality and extraterritoriality as they relate to the rights and obligations of churches and their employees involved in foreign operations. The book concludes with a prescriptive appeal for a form of renewed humanitarianism aimed at restoring the consensus that operated among religious groups and the U.S. government in earlier times.

Nichols has provided his readers with much to contemplate respecting church-state relations in the U.S. It is unlikely than many meaningful parallels exist between the American situation and that involving the Canadian government and religious organizations operating humanitarian programs from this country. The strategic, global political interests of the U.S. combined with a long history of American Supreme Court decisions makes any comparison one might choose to attempt rather contrived and at best misleading.

While the book concentrates upon several issues and situations of interest to observers of American governmental and non-governmental relations in the humanitarian field abroad, two episodes are particularly noteworthy to this reviewer. First, the treatment of efforts by religious groups to challenge U.S. policy in Central America is most enlightening. Nichols, using the files of several church-based agencies, systematically describes the emergence of tension and ultimately distrust between various voluntary organizations and the U.S. government concerning the protection of refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala. The manner in which the Office of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees was emasculated in its Central American operations by official U.S. policy also is effectively recounted. One chapter deals in part with the sanctuary movement among American churches that ultimately rose to combat official U.S. policy to deport Central American refugees.

A second aspect of church-state interaction described thoroughly deals with the theological justification major U.S. religious organizations developed to explain their attitudes and actions, both pro and con,

towards American government refugee assistance policies around the world. The views of fundamentalist and mainstream Protestant agencies, liberal and conservative Catholic groups and moderate and rather extremist Jewish associations receive attention respecting such issues as American policies towards Cuba, Haiti, Indo-China, Israel and the Palestinians.

As comprehensive and ably researched as it is, this book is not without its weaknesses. The first is a general shortcoming noticeable throughout the volume. The second type of problem is more specific and by no means impairs the entire value of the book.

The most serious of the weaknesses is the emphasis the author places upon description at the cost of analysis and explanation. Time and time again, the reader is told what is happening but is left guessing as to why it happened. Seldom does this book seriously explore the broad range of forces that must have accounted for the actions of voluntary organizations in their foreign humanitarian programs.

The second more specific problem which readers will find irritating concerns some errors in fact. While they are not numerous, they nevertheless are a reflection of some mild scholarly sloppiness. To illustrate, Nichols asserts that the International Refugee Organization, which functioned between 1947 and 1952, was not, in fact, part of the United Nations family of agencies. While it is not clear why he holds this view, one is led to the belief that it is because the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies never participated in its activities. The absence of the Soviet Block did not prevent the I.R.O. from operating under the U.N. umbrella.

A further error has Nichols continuing to place Yugoslavia within the Soviet camp in 1951, the year that Government along with twenty-five other states drafted the International Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. In fact, Stalin had drummed Tito and the Yugoslavian Communist Party out of the Soviet dominated realm in the late nineteen forties.

On a more positive note, the effective organization of material and the well written text with useful footnotes merit acknowledgement. The volume is one intended, it is assumed, for a rather specialized readership. Without doubt, persons interested in interactions among non-governmental agencies or between such bodies and the U.S. government should find this descriptive work intriguing and, maybe, even a little worrisome.

Gerald Dirks is Associate Professor with the Department of Political Science at Brock University.

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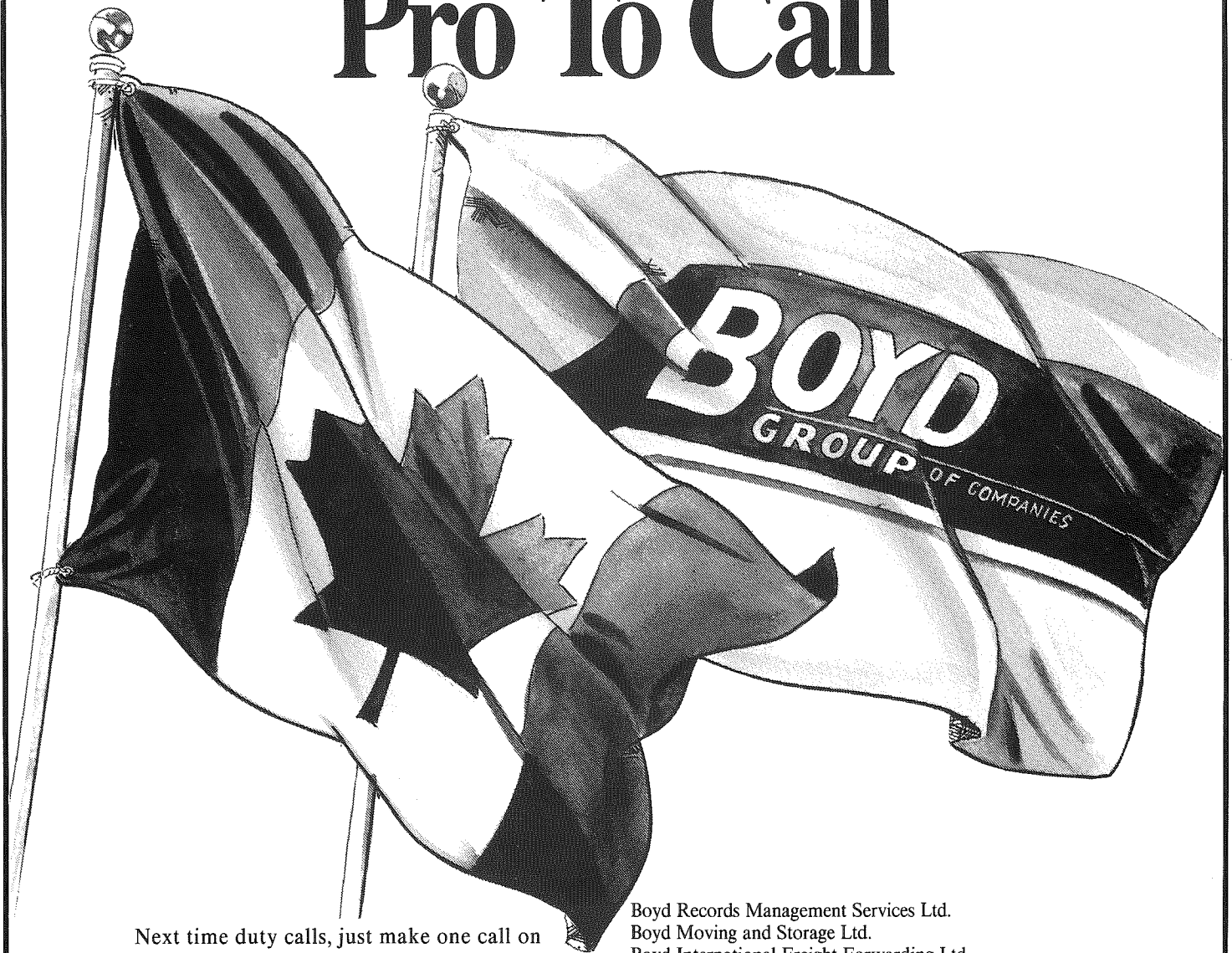
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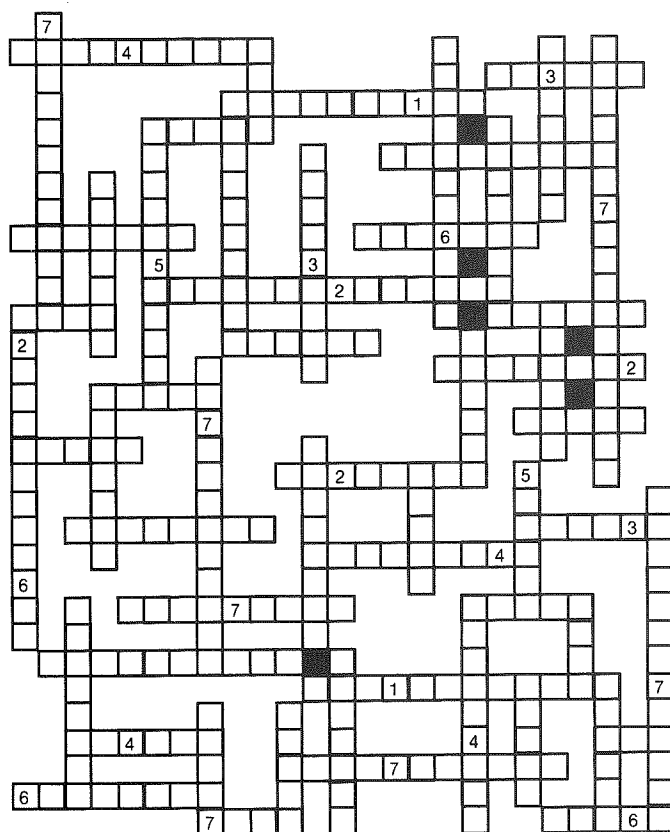
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The Peasants are Revolting!!

Aux Barricades avec A Aalto

For the bicentennial of the French Revolution, LDC Liebnitz sent his Parisian counterpart, Jongleur des Chiffres, the following multi-part puzzle. The first part is a list of 50 clues to words or phrases relating to 18th century France. The answers come out in alphabetical order. The number at the end of each clue gives the number of letters in that answer; two-word answers are denoted by the form #-#. Where an answer is a common noun in French, the clue is marked (Fr). The second part of the puzzle is a "skeleton" into which the 50 answers fit. Note that most two-word answers are written as one long word on the skeleton; the three exceptions, where the clues are marked SEP, are entered on the skeleton as two words in separate places. In addition, the skeleton has places for three "outside" words: "she" and "him" in French (des Chiffres insists on romance) and the name of a certain *philosophe*. The third part of the puzzle is a set of anagrams arranged by number of letters; there are in fact anagrams for the 56 entries in the skeleton — the 47 one-entry answers, the 3 two-entry (SEP) answers and the 3 outside words. Finally, you will note that the skeleton includes 26 squares containing numbers. Once the skeleton is filled in, the letters that fall in these squares form a seven-word anagram for the apocryphal last words of the mystery *philosophe*, spoken in reply to a priestly suggestion that he renounce the devil. The letters falling on a "1" are part of the first word, those falling on a "7" the seventh etc.



Can you solve the puzzle by supplying **bout de papier** with (a) the 50 answers, (b) the name of the *philosophe* and (c) his "last words"? Please try. Des Chiffres is into his seventh case of Pernod.

CLUES: (A) Literary club founded by Richelieu; H, JJ and the *philosophe* were all members: 8-9. (B) Town where RR was bishop; fall minus "m": 5. (C) 232 Rue Saint-Antoine; became famous on 14 July: 8. (D) Homespun but electrifying US envoy: 3-8. (E) Royal Family and Tennessee tippie: 7. (F) Conservative English critic of the Revolution: 5. (G) A tumbrel, for example: 4. (H) Aristocrat, diplomat, writer and steak: 13. (I) She stuck it to BB: 6. (J) Revolutionary orator/leader, executed by KK in 1794: 6. (K) Ancient king of Israel and court painter to the Revolution: 5. (L) She knitted while heads rolled: 7. (M) Chief editor of the first 28 volumes of Q: 5-7. (N) Historian of the French Revolution (1856) but probably more famous for *Democracy in America*: 2-11. (O) Wrote a story of London and Paris; created Mme L: 7. (P) Second part of the three-part slogan (Fr): 7. (Q) Masterpiece compilation of the *philosophes* (English title): 12. (R) Louis XIV thought it was himself (Fr): 4. (S) Revolutionary state; winner of a 1921 Nobel Prize: 6. (T) The hated salt tax (Fr): 7. (U) A doctor proposed this humane alternative: 10. (V) Radical political club led by KK: 7. (W) Hero of the American Revolution, the early French Revolution and the Revolution of 1830: 9. (X) Revolutionary song; the southern girl: 2-12. (Y) Aristocrat, taxman and discoverer of oxygen: 9. (Z) Became the sixteenth in 1774: 5. (AA) Started in 1546 for the collections of Francis I; K became president in 1793: 6. (BB) A counter-example to personal hygiene: 5. (CC) A proponent of pastry for the people: 5-10 SEP. (DD) Brothers who found a new use for hot air just in time for the Revolution: 11. (EE) Alpine-level left-wing opposition to the Girondins (name in English): 8. (FF) AA, for example (Fr): 5. (GG) Cannonaded a royalist demonstration in 1795; a whiff of the future: 8. (HH) Where most of all this was going on: 5. (II) Supreme Court and

legislature of the *ancien régime* (Fr): 9. (JJ) Classical playwright who had a revival just before the Revolution: 6. (KK) Revolutionary orator/leader, executed later in 1794: 11. (LL) Eminent social philosopher and author of QQ: 8. (MM) Notorious libertine and author, imprisoned in C when revolution broke out: 4. (NN) Reception rooms, intellectual evenings and art exhibitions (Fr): 6. (OO) Radical Republicans with no pants (Fr): 4-8. (PP) Strongly divided HH in 1789; still does: 5. (QQ) Masterpiece of LL; a community agreement: 6-8 SEP. (RR) Prince, bishop, roué and master diplomat: 10. (SS) Privatized revenue gathering; a kind of fiscal agriculture: 3-7. (TT) The Reign of the Committee of Public Safety: 6. (UU) Hot Revolution-style month that saw the overthrow of KK and TT: 9. (VV) Commoners in the National Assembly; media minus one: 5-6 SEP. (WW) Where they caught up with Z and CC: 8. (XX) Palace famous for its gardens, its mirrors and (in 1789) the nearby tennis court: 10.

ANAGRAMS:

- (3) ILU
- (4) TRAC, ETTA, ADES, LEEL
- (5) TAUNU, TARMA, ESUME, VADDI, AMIRE, DIRTH, KURBE, ISRAP, NESIE, ISOUL
- (6) DRYACO, TASTEE, LASSON, COALIS, TANNOD, RETROR, CAFNER, VERULO, ECRAIN
- (7) RUBBOON, SIDNECK, ABJINCO, ELGABLE, FRAGEED, TAILEGE
- (8) SNARVEEN, USERAUSO, LISTABLE, NAMINOTU, PALENOON, TROCCANT, TRAVELIO
- (9) ELFATATEY, IVORISALE, MIRTHDOER, MELENTAP
- (10) ETOILLUING, OTENANTITE, LESSERVAIL, DANTERALLY, GRAFMANTIX
- (11) BRINKFANNEL, FORETOMLING, BRISEPEREOR
- (12) COCADEPENILY, NUCLESOSTATS, REDIDDITONES
- (13) DEATHCUBANRIA, QUILLDEVOTECE
- (14) LIELESSMALARIA
- (17) ASAFECREAMICANDIE

Lost on the Wine-Dark Sea: Answer

The correct (and only) route through the maze will spell out the letters DWARF NARRATES IDEA, an anagram for *ARIADNE AFTERWARDS*. This refers to what happened to Ariadne after she helped Theseus defeat the "bull-headed" Minotaur by giving the hero a ball of twine, allowing him to "thread the maze" through the Labyrinth of Crete. According to the legend, she was later abandoned on the island of *NAXOS* (where Jimmy the Turk is now). Her story forms the basis of the opera "Ariadne auf Naxos" which premiered in Stuttgart in 1912; the composer was Richard Strauss, which makes Johann (composer of "The Blue Danube") the "wrong" Strauss.

Born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva and raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambesi, free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto now commutes between Hell (Norway) and Eternité (Québec). This puzzle has been condemned equally by the Committee of Public Safety and the Comte de Paris.

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