

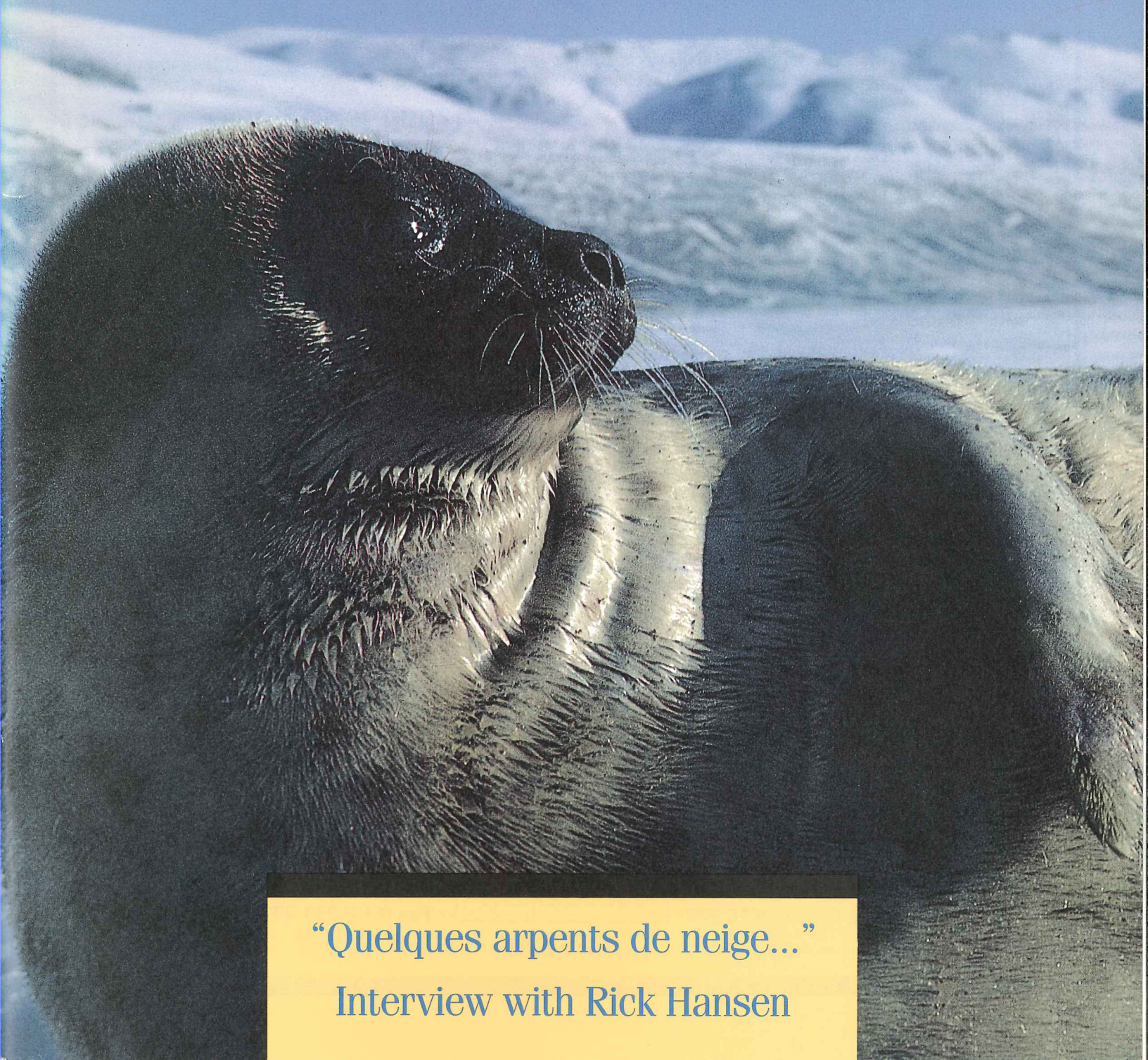
FALL / AUTOMNE 1991

\$4.50

bout de papier

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

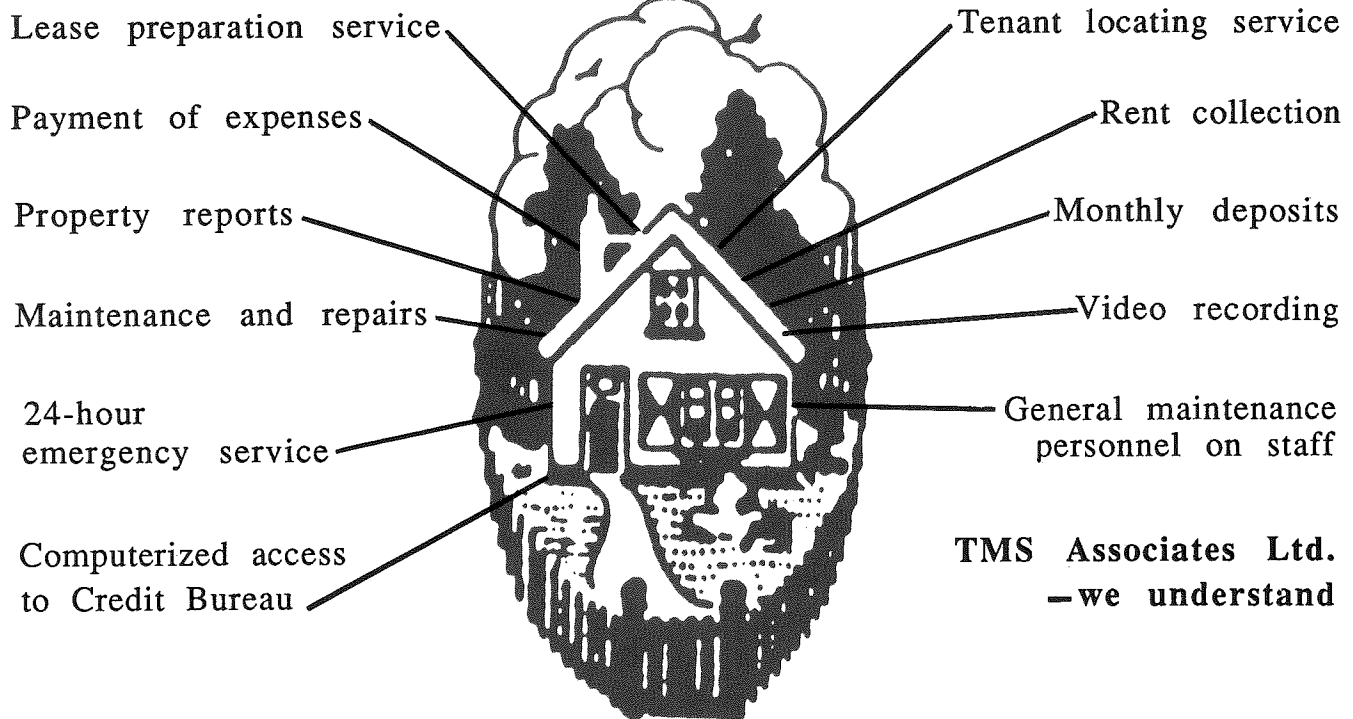
Vol. 8 No. 4
ISBN/ISSN 305500



“Quelques arpents de neige...”

Interview with Rick Hansen

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Features/Reportages

A "New Internationalism"?

Bill Dobell assesses whether this is a real tenet of Canadian foreign policy or simply a trendy title.

Constitution-Building in Namibia? Could it Happen Here?

Eighteen months in Namibia inspired Sam Hanson to contrast the Namibian experience with that in Canada.

Interview with Rick Hansen

Walt Judas finds out what Rick Hansen is doing now to remove physical and attitudinal barriers to create greater awareness for people with disabilities.

Madame Pauline Vanier : Ambassadrice à Paris

Jean Fournier and Geoffrey Pearson — personal reminiscences of a wonderful individual.

"Quelques arpents de neige ..."

John Morrison shows us how to obtain ice for our drinks....

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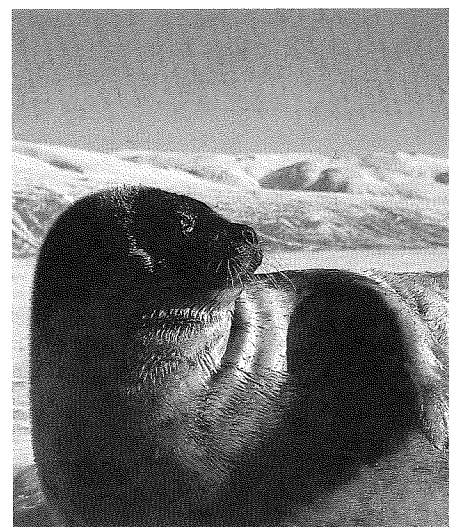
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At midnight seals can still sunbathe in the summer sun, one of many encounters that inspired John Morrison to record his impressions of Canada's Arctic (see page 26).



Rick wheeling through the Southern U.S. (see page 20).

In Our Upcoming Issue:

The Ghosts Among Us
Roloff Beny in Algeria

All contents © PAFSO, 1991 *bout de papier* is published quarterly by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, Suite 600, 45 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Canada K1N 5W8 (613) 234-1391, FAX (613) 234-4018.

Editorial Note / Note de la rédaction : Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP diskette, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Given the bilingual background of our membership, PAFSO's policy for *bout de papier* is to publish all articles in their original language. Subscriptions: one year \$16.; two years, \$30. PAFSO itself remains at your service to provide any assistance you require in the language of your preference. Opinions expressed in *bout de papier* are not necessarily those of PAFSO.

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Technical Consultants / Conseillers techniques : Acart Graphic Services Inc.

A bout de papier Presentation Evening

bout de papier held a Presentation Evening in the Crush Lobby on Thursday, 6 June 1991, to provide a much needed opportunity for many of our supporters to meet members of the Editorial Board, particularly, our illustrious Senior Board. It had been several years since **bout** held such an event, and it was also my first "event" since becoming Editor.

Il m'a fait plaisir d'accueillir nos amis et nos collègues du ministère, qu'ils travaillent encore ici ou qu'ils aient déjà pris leur retraite. L'Association des Chefs de mission à la retraite était d'ailleurs bien représentée.

It was also a great pleasure to see many of our advertisers and several members of the Canadian press corps. On the topic of the press, this soirée certainly offered them a unique opportunity to meet some of the people who make Canada's foreign policy happen. (Readers will recall that this was the period of the Al Mashat hearings on the Hill.) Among other notable guests and former Cabinet Ministers at the **bout** soirée, both the Under-Secretary, M. Marchand and Associate Under-Secretary Chrétien were in attendance.

A few words about **bout de papier** might not be remiss at this time. **bout** is Canada's only magazine of diplomacy and foreign service. We are an association magazine and we are paid for by a combination of the dues from PAFSO (the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers) and revenues from our valued advertisers and subscribers. We depend greatly on the efforts of volunteers who devote their personal time to write and produce the magazine.

Tous ceux qui contribuent à **bout de papier**, qu'ils soient rédacteurs, photographes, caricaturistes ou dessinateurs, sont bénévoles. Malgré cette pratique salariale inhabituelle, nous avons été ravis de la spontanéité de ceux qui désirent contribuer à ce qui est largement perçu comme étant un magazine de prestige. Nous cherchons des publicitaires qui ont à coeur de satisfaire les besoins d'un mode de vie itinérant, une façon de vivre

qui comporte des problèmes particuliers, mais surtout des opportunités uniques.

We have come a long way from our first issue which was printed in 1973. This appeared as a small newsletter with a blue and white masthead. Our first edition using photographs, which we thought was a daring step in 1983, appeared in tabloid format in black and white. In the last two years, **bout** has won five awards nationally and internationally, such as the New York Art Director's Award for Design which we won two years in a row (1989 and 1990). Who knows what 1991 will bring!

One of the primary reasons for our success is the fact that we reach out across the department to tap the talents and interests of currently serving members, be they PAFSO members or not, spanning occupational groups and seeking out interested individuals from our rotational, non-rotational and management groups. **bout** provides a unique forum for debate by members of academia, other government departments, the media and our own members. We can do what we do because we have the active interest and continued support of senior management in this department, our three Deputy Ministers, as well as our individual managers, who encourage their staff to produce a quality magazine which reflects well on all of us in External Affairs and International Trade Canada.

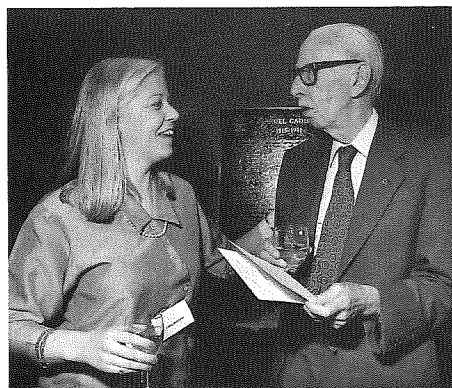
Two special events took place during the **bout de papier** Presentation Evening. The first was to have the privilege of a few words from author and former Ambassador Charles Ritchie. This proved to be a delightfully pointed, witty, and funny "sideways look at the foreign service" from a man who really needs no introduction to the foreign service community. As an active member of our Senior Board, he remains a symbol of the ongoing Canadian foreign service and its members who, from our earliest serving member to our newest, span

58 continuous years of Canadian foreign policy experience and expertise.

The second event of the evening was the presentation of an award for writing by former Ambassador Arthur Menzies on behalf of the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA). He outlined the background of this association which had begun to take shape in the spring of 1985. It organizes social occasions at which former colleagues can get together to reminisce and to hear about the current work of the department. It has also sponsored several modest "special projects" such as the Senator Dandurand Scholarship in International Affairs at Laval University.

The Directing Group of RHOMA considered that an annual prize for writing would greatly encourage foreign service officers who make up the membership of PAFSO to write quality articles for **bout de papier** about their experiences abroad and their observations on international issues. The first annual award was announced in Volume 8, Number 1, but it had never been formally presented by RHOMA.

The RHOMA Selection Committee was drawn from **bout**'s Senior Board and was



Far left, Carol Markham and Charles Ritchie; left, Charles Ritchie, Richard Belliveau and Janet Ruddock; and above, Raymond Chrétien and Charles Ritchie.

composed of Messrs. **Bill Barton**, **Yvon Beaulne**, and **John Starnes**. Their task was to review all eligible articles from the four issues of Volume 7. Although the Committee did not report in detail on their deliberations, they indicated that they had been impressed with the quality of the articles in Volume 7. They wished, therefore, to go beyond their original mandate of making one award and also make "Honourable Mention" of two other articles.

The first **Honourable Mention** went to **Hugh Stephens** for his piece entitled, "**Over the Khunjerab to Kashgar**". Hugh is presently posted in Seoul, Korea. The second **Honourable Mention** went to **Jim Gould** for his review of "**A History of Islamic Societies**" by Ira Lapidus. Certificates will be forwarded to both individuals along with photographs taken during the presentation ceremony.

The first annual **RHOMA Prize for Writing (\$500)** was awarded to **Michael Small** for his colourfully illustrated article "**A Tale of Two Tribes**". This piece described his visits in 1987 both to the Yanomami Indians along Brazil's northern frontier with Venezuela and to the Indians of Xingu Park in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso, south of the Amazon. He writes movingly about the economic pressures and the infectious diseases which threaten the survival of the

primitive Yanomami. The eighteen tribes of Xingu Park, on the other hand, have survived contact with other Brazilians to the point where they even wanted air conditioners included in a small Canadian development aid clinic that Michael was offering them!

The evening concluded with **remarks by the Under-Secretary, M. de Montigny Marchand**. He acknowledged the unique role which **bout de papier** plays in explaining ourselves to the outside community and in acting as a forum for discussion both positive and negative of the issues of the day, be they ones of foreign aid or trade policy or be they issues of interest to PAFSO members or internal to the workings of the department. **M. Marchand stressed his support and that of Senior Management for bout de papier** and particularly for the team (both the Editorial and the Senior Board) which, working intergenerationally (he used the term "complicité"), succeed in putting out a very thought-provoking, interesting and dynamic magazine.

The current edition continues the ongoing debate concerning Canada's foreign policy with a feature article by **Professor W.M. Dobell** entitled, "**The New Internationalism**". **Sam Hanson** delves into constitution-building matters in "**Constitution-Building in Namibia: Could it Happen Here?**" We are pleased to have an **Interview with Rick Hansen** about perceptions of his global tour and an update on his current work in Vancouver. Finally, to prove that Canada too is part of the world, we are pleased to travel

to the Arctic with **John Morrison** in our Photo Essay, "**Quelques arpents de neige...**".

Speaking of **photos**, a reader in our last edition (Vol. 8, No. 3) queried why we no longer offer the **Photo Caption Contest**. Contrary to his stated views, it too was a favourite of mine throughout my four years on the Editorial Board. The problem is finding photographs! Believe it or not, with the cutbacks in government spending, the Archives no longer are able to catalogue their photo collection. Members of our Board have spent hours there pouring through old memorabilia and over the years we have in fact already printed the most noteworthy items available to us. Our department does not keep photos either — thus a part of our history is slowly being lost.

We do not use our cover shots or those illustrating articles for the Photo Caption Contest because we do not own the rights to them and we do not wish to detract from their artistic or commercial value. If readers have other suggestions for obtaining suitable shots of our leaders in action please drop us a line or a picture

In listing the Canadian Ambassadors to the United States (Our Washington Presence, Vol. 7, No. 4) we noted that the Ambassador (1936-39) was Sir Herbert Meredith Marley. This should have read, Sir Herbert Marler.

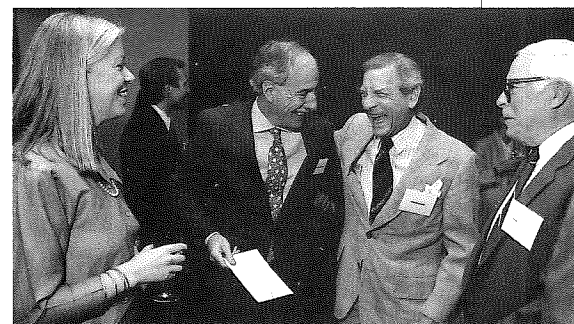
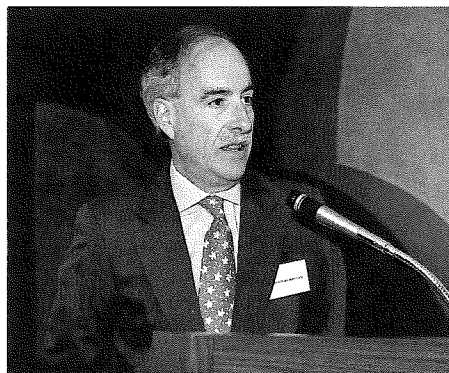
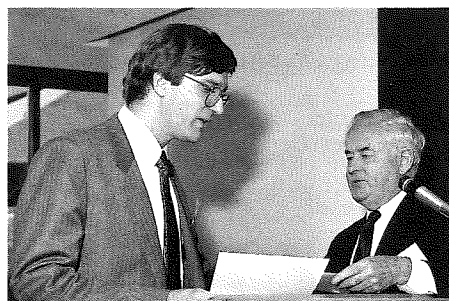
Last but not least, we wish to give credit to **Yves Brodeur** for his zany and witty **cartoons and illustrations** which have appeared in recent editions of the magazine. **Yves** has been posted to Ankara and is currently First Secretary at our Permanent Mission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris.

Due to the length of PAFSO News, there is no **From the President's Desk** in this issue.

Ottawa, 12 August 1991

Carol

Carol N. Markham, Editor



Above right, Michael Small and Arthur Menzies; right, De Montigny Marchand; and far right, Carol Markham, De Montigny Marchand, Georges Blouin and Jim Nutt.

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In Defence of Diversity: Towards the Legitimization of Dissent

by Daryl Copeland

The lack of an established channel through which dissenting analysis might reach decision-makers has been highlighted repeatedly in the recent past, most strikingly, in the wake of the Gulf crisis. While it is clearly important that the Department, and indeed the government, speak publicly with one voice, it is equally important that that one voice be informed by the best possible selection of fact and argumentation. In a highly structured organizational environment buffeted by a variety of political and administrative influences and imperatives, however, it is inevitably the case that the best recommendation is not always that which goes forward.

The Department of External Affairs, not unlike other agencies of government, has at times shown itself unwilling or unable to make difficult decisions, to offer unpleasant advice or to risk the consequences of bearing bad news. Elaborate consultations can result in collectively-held conclusions which, with uncanny uniformity, are framed to calm, soothe and sedate senior readers. As pressure mounts, so too do the pressures to close ranks around an agreed line. Reality, however, remains unruly. The "groupthink" approach is not an appropriate model for excellence in public administration generally, or research and analysis in particular. At the end of the day, neither the civic nor the political interest is well served.

To promote diversity of opinion and to bolster the intellectual integrity of the product, the establishment of a channel for dissenting advice and assessment would be helpful. Too many Departmental products emerge unnecessarily bland, and often blunted as a result of compound editorial scrutiny by levels of management often less familiar with the nuances of the issue than the author. Semantic and substantial precaution-taking well beyond that required for quality control is frequently imposed in favour of formulating an organizationally acceptable line. In all too many instances, provocative, independent, and incisive thought is systematically removed through repeated review. What remains is little more than intellectual pabulum which, while easily digested, is readily forgotten.

Independent thought was never done well in bureaucratic settings. Ideas at odds with the prevailing paradigm are rarely warmly received by the custodians of the institutional perspective. Worse still, in international affairs, the "conventional wisdom" which is to say the mainstream view, is frequently wrong. Examples are legion, and contemporary history provides a rich selection: the Shah of Iran, Batista and Marcos faced no long-term threats; Manuel Noriega and Saddam Hussein were worthy of sustained support; the ground war in Vietnam was winnable; a Red "menace" threatened Western interests world-wide.

Specifically Canadian policies have not been without parallel. Can Canada, for example, continue to enjoy its reputation as a generous and humanitarian donor in the Third World as it simultaneously reduces aid disbursements and insists upon the imposition of socially costly structural adjustment programs? Can we reasonably expect to retain an independent voice in foreign affairs as we enter ever more deeply into institutional and economic arrangements which foster political integration with the United States? How has this affected our commitment to multilateralism? Can we credibly promote peace while making war and selling arms? Have these questions been closely examined? If so, what kind of treatment has led to such judgments?

Prevailing wisdom is often incorrect because it is reached by consensus following an extended period of consideration. In an organizational setting, this process necessarily involves compromises and a negotiated inter-relation of forces. At the end of the day, those burdened with responsibility for choosing an acceptable course of action may be offered dated or incorrect advice which reflects influences in addition to those directly related to the subject at hand, including the careers of the principals involved. In most cases, it is preferable to verify and bless past positions than to recommend a departure from familiar paths.

To mitigate such impediments to informed decision-making, it is necessary to institutionalize, if not require, dissenting assessments on major issues. Under such a regime,

more pertinent analyses (including possible downside or negative implications) would be freed from systematic subversion. To succeed, the process would have to enjoy a sufficiently high degree of institutional legitimacy that participants could stick out their necks comfortably without having to worry about an effect on their career prospects.

Many of these problems are as old as hierarchy itself, and there exist compelling examples of effective remedial action. In the US State Department, there has long been an officially sanctioned "back channel" into which contrary assessments and prescriptions can be directed. In the Australian Foreign Service, provision exists for the editorial protection of the desk officer's assessment — supervisors can append comments, but the piece arrives at its destination otherwise intact. In other contexts, dissenting reports are often prepared by members of Parliamentary and Congressional Committees on matters of political interest, and by Supreme Court justices on divergent interpretations of law.

There is every reason that similar arrangements should be put into place in the Department of External Affairs. Once established, assessments which might otherwise be considered, for whatever reason, overly "controversial" or "impolitic", would reach decision-makers with a minimum of delay. The advice would stand (or fall) on its merits but at least differing views would be on the record. A pilot project could be implemented immediately, perhaps within the geographic branches, with a view to evaluating its suitability for application across the Department and extension to posts abroad.

At a minimum, this Department is capable of producing more than tired homilies, or simply an anodyne salve designed to ease the pain of decision-making. Reforming our analytical and management processes will encourage constructive dialogue and debate, and will expedite the exchange of informed opinion. The active encouragement of interpretive diversity can only benefit the quality of public policy. What are we waiting for? 

Daryl Copeland has had postings in Bangkok and Addis Ababa. He is currently with the Political Assessments Division at EAITC.

Bob Burchill's article in Vol. 8 #2 ("A Funny Thing Happened...") is a reminder that we all have highly individualized low points in our foreign service assignments which may prompt one to ask oneself the question, what am I doing here?

In my own career, no tomcat ever relieved itself on me in the upper reaches of the Amazon (although a camel stole my baseball hat), but trying to get back to Algiers from a weekend in Paris once convinced me that I was not perhaps such a seasoned international traveller.

That weekend in Paris turned out to be the weekend of a major earthquake in El Asnam, about 100 km from Algiers. When I phoned to reconfirm my return flight, Air France informed me that my reservation had been cancelled because it had not been reconfirmed 72 hours in advance, which I pointed out, would have been difficult because 72 hours previously I had not yet left Algiers. Logic does not move the people of Descartes and the best I could do was a Sabena flight from Brussels.

Unfortunately, the flight to Brussels was stalled for technical reasons and we had to go there by bus, which meant that I would have to take the flight to Algiers a day later. I phoned the embassy to notify them of the delay.

The next morning in Brussels, air traffic controllers were refusing to work, so I booked a flight out of Amsterdam through Rome connecting to Algiers the following day, phoned the embassy about the new plans and hopped a train to Amsterdam.

When I presented myself at the airport in Amsterdam, now two days behind schedule, the attendant looked at my ticket and waved me over to another counter. I did not know what was going on until I looked carefully at the itinerary and was shocked to see that I had misread the itinerary, presenting myself for arrival time in Rome not departure time from Amsterdam. This was the lowest point, the absolute nadir. I was an incompetent world traveller. I would be laughed out of the embassy that was already setting up betting pools on where in northern Europe Belliveau would fetch up each day. In a funk of despair, I asked to be sent to Frankfurt where I would sit up all night in the airport and catch the early morning flight.

But we all rise up from our low points (or we would not be here today reading and writing this stuff). In Frankfurt, I decided to check the schedule to see if there was not something earlier. Indeed there was. In 30 minutes a Lufthansa flight was heading for Algiers, and yes, they had plenty of space. I arrived less than one hour after my missed connection, and the people on the flight from Rome were still wandering around the

airport looking for their luggage because all baggage handlers had been drafted into unloading emergency supplies for the earthquake. I found my bag quickly, and easily whistled up a taxi home.

Richard Belliveau
Ottawa — EAITC

Critique : fable actuelle

Titrée « Undiplomatic Notes — Tales from the Canadian Foreign Service » la collection de récits de Sidney Freifeld est une contribution intéressante à la littérature sur la vie dans le service extérieur. Le style anecdotique de l'ouvrage sert la nature humoristique des situations décrites et contraste favorablement avec l'image collet monté dont souffre encore la vie diplomatique. L'auteur dans un langage clair mais coloré se contente de relater habilement des faits anodins. L'ensemble du texte brille par son dépouillement symbolique. Dans les circonstances, il y a lieu de s'interroger sur la place du récit intitulé « The Howling Cats of Moscow » dans lequel Freifeld nous livre sans artifice une morale que je caractériserai d'actuelle.

Le récit relate l'aventure de M^{me} Ford, épouse de l'ancien ambassadeur canadien à Moscou, aux prises avec des chats vivant à proximité de la résidence officielle. Réveillée toutes les nuits par ces pestes et préoccupée par l'inconfort que cela occasionne à son mari — Freifeld dira « Teresa was worried not so much about the disturbance to her own sleep as the effect it would have on her hard-working husband » — M^{me} Ford juge qu'il faille réveiller à trois heures du matin le commis de l'ambassade responsable de la liaison avec le protocole soviétique pour lui ordonner de régler le problème. La situation trouve une fin heureuse et l'auteur attribue ce succès à notre héroïne.

L'histoire sans prétention cadre parfaitement avec l'ensemble de la collection de récits. Par conséquent, mon interrogation ne porte pas sur la véracité des faits ou sur l'intérêt humoristique qu'ils commandent, mais plutôt sur la nature même du texte et son message.

Selon le Collins-Robert la traduction française de « tale » ne fait pas de distinction entre conte, récit ou fable. Dans la littérature, si le récit et le conte ont pour objet la description, la reconstitution ou la création de faits pour leur valeur historique, comique ou autres, la fable pour sa part a une valeur symbolique. Elle cherche à démontrer une idée ou un principe par une juxtaposition de degrés divers d'interprétation. Le Robert dira de la fable qu'elle est « un petit récit en vers ou en prose, destiné à illustrer un précepte ». Dans

le cas qui nous intéresse le texte semble remplir les conditions de cette description. Au-delà des attributs esthétiques des mots, l'auteur utilise une histoire, vraie dans le cas présent, pour nous transmettre un message.

Sans contorsion littéraire et en deux phrases, Freifeld attaque de plein front trois composantes de la vie sociale : le fossé des générations et des genres, et traite du rapport d'autorité. Le lecteur peut déduire d'emblée le camp de l'auteur. D'entrée de jeu Freifeld écrit : « External Affairs wives and husbands come from all walks of Canadian life and their performance abroad reflects their varied background. Some — and these are likely to be of an older generation — are happy to share with their spouses the burdens of official entertainment, showing the flag.... » Avec un pareil coup de départ, l'allusion à la dévotion dont fait montre M^{me} Ford à l'endroit de son mari, sans oublier l'autorité qu'elle exerce en réveillant le commis à trois heures du matin, geste auquel l'auteur attribue la solution du problème, il m'apparaît légitime de s'interroger sur la morale pronée par Freifeld? Le texte aurait une valeur historique s'il relatait les faits de façon descriptive. Il aurait l'utilité de nous rappeler l'époque où les rapports entre genres répondaient à une logique et des pratiques sociales différentes. Cependant l'emphase mise sur la dévotion de Teresa, sa capacité à solutionner un problème qui affecte plus son conjoint qu'elle-même, le soin qu'elle prend à tirer du lit à trois heures du matin un commis d'ambassade, tous ces éléments semblent militer en faveur de ces temps passés.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, il y a lieu de s'interroger à savoir pourquoi le sommeil de l'ambassadeur est plus important que celui de son épouse, ou celui du commis réveillé en pleine nuit pour effectuer une tâche qu'il ne lui sera possible de compléter qu'à l'ouverture des bureaux de l'administration soviétique. Poser un tel geste me semble symptomatique de l'importance que certains individus se défèrent plus que d'un jugement sûr ou de l'autorité réelle dont jouissait M^{me} Ford.

La fable soulève des préoccupations réelles dans la mesure où sa morale est actuelle. L'exemple de M^{me} Ford serait banal et dénudé d'intérêt s'il n'appartenait qu'au passé. Malheureusement, l'abus du pouvoir (comment doit-on caractériser le geste de réveiller quelqu'un en pleine nuit si ce n'est pas un abus du pouvoir?) est une pratique dont peuvent se réclamer plusieurs de nos soi-disants bonzes. De plus, il existe encore aujourd'hui une propension chez nombre d'agents de ce ministère — et cela s'amplifie rapidement lorsqu'ils gravitent les échelons — à abuser du personnel, collègues de travail ou employé(e)s de soutien. Cette

pratique mérite d'être dénoncée et non glorifiée comme la fable de Freifeld se plaît à le faire. Il est temps de trouver une solution à la gestion des rapports d'autorité qui soit fondée sur des critères objectifs et non sur la seule crédibilité personnelle des individus.

Gérald Cossette
Washington, D.C.

J'ai eu le plaisir de lire, dans le numéro d'été, le compte rendu de Doug Ogram concernant l'ouvrage de John Hilliker, chef de la Section des affaires historiques de cette Direction, intitulé *Canada's Department of External Affairs: The Early Years, 1909-1946*. Je vous signale qu'il existe également une version française de ce livre, préparée par René de Chantal, ancien directeur des Relations internationales en matière d'éducation. Cette version, intitulée *Le ministère des Affaires extérieures du Canada : Les années de formation, 1909-1946*, est publiée par les Presses de l'Université Laval. Le livre relié se vend 45 \$ et non 49 \$ comme il est indiqué dans l'article. Il existe aussi en édition de poche, au coût de 19,95 \$.

Veuillez agréer, Madame, l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

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Parallel Lives

by The Honourable J.W. Pickersgill

[J.W. Pickersgill and Escott Reid both enjoyed illustrious careers as public servants. Pickersgill at the right hand of Prime Ministers Mackenzie King and Louis St. Laurent before he became a Minister of the Crown, and Reid through 25 years at External Affairs. Now 86, Jack Pickersgill reflects on their parallel lives prompted by the publication of Radical Mandarin: The Memoirs of Escott Reid (University of Toronto Press). Editor]

Escott Reid and I were born in 1905, he a few months before I was. We each joined the public service of Canada in the Department of External Affairs; Escott on 1 January 1939, some 15 months after I did. I had entered by the front door through the civil service examinations; Escott by a side door as a "patronage" nominee of O.D. Skelton, the then Under-Secretary. This short cut was not criticized because Escott had already had six years' experience as National Secretary of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA) and demonstrated a deep knowledge of world affairs through a number of learned publications.

It might have been expected that, working at the same time in the same department, we would have actually worked together on some of the same issues. That did not happen, however, because I was transferred over to the Prime Minister's Office and never returned afterwards to External Affairs. My diplomatic career had been aborted before Escott arrived. The prime concern of my working life became domestic affairs, whereas Escott became an increasingly influential representative of Canada in the wider world — a diplomat par excellence. Neither of us reached the peak in our chosen fields, but we did live close to the peak for most of our working lives.

Though we never worked together, our careers were largely parallel and we almost always shared a similar perception of what was Canada's real interest. Our views on Canada's position in the world were similar to those of Skelton and Loring Christie, then the senior officers in External Affairs. We believed there was a balance of power between Britain and France on one side and Nazi Germany on the other. Assessing that Canada was not needed to maintain that

European balance, we believed Canada should avoid political involvement. We were nationalists who believed Canada should avoid committing itself one way or the other in European matters. We were nationalists who considered that Canada's policy should be based on our country's "real" interests.

When France and Britain went to war with Germany, we recognized that the political reality existing in Canada had made intervention inevitable. However, it was not until the Low Countries and France actually collapsed in 1940, and the future of Britain was clearly at stake, that each of us realized that the security of Canada was also threatened and that our national interest lay in defeating Nazi Germany. That realization was parallel, not concerted.

Radical Mandarin is Escott's personal account of a career that spanned the world. He started at our Legation in Washington in the last few months of 1939 before the war began and served there for two years with unexpectedly heavy responsibilities. The illness of Loring Christie, Minister of Political Affairs at the mission, left Escott often as the main spokesman for Canada during that tense period of Canadian-American relations after the real war on the European front had started in 1940. He acquitted himself in Washington so effectively that Skelton's successor, Norman Robertson, brought Escott to Ottawa to succeed Hume Wrong, who was one of the Department's most senior officers. In Ottawa and at the Chicago Aviation Conference, he performed a key role in the creation of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).

Escott was assigned back to Washington between 1944 and 1946 when Pearson was first Minister, and later had the loftier position of Ambassador. He worked closely with Pearson on the preparatory work for the United Nations Charter, and in San Francisco on the establishment of the UN (for which he did not share the high hopes of many others).

When Pearson came back to Ottawa as Under-Secretary, and later as Secretary of State, Escott was at his side. The period between 1946 and 1952 was the most constructive of his career. Escott was one of the architects of NATO, and it was during this period that he also became devoted to Louis St. Laurent.

In 1952, Escott Reid went to India as Ambassador for five years. These years

seem to have been for him the most satisfying period of his public service career. India became his second "country" and greatly enlarged his appreciation of the non-European world.

In 1958, he began four years as Ambassador to West Germany, his last diplomatic post. He felt, however, that Canada lacked influence on continental European issues and found the posting an anti-climax after his time in India.

In 1962, he left the department for a senior position in the World Bank where he became absorbed with the problems of the Third World and the importance for the rest of the world in their solution.

His last position was as the founding Principal of Glendon College at York University. His prime objective was to make Glendon a fully bilingual liberal arts college. He encountered many obstacles and found the experience strenuous but still retained his confidence that the college would survive and flourish. His experience at Glendon underlines another parallel in our lives. Both of us have done our utmost to see that Canadians, whose mother tongue is French, are treated equally with those who habitually speak English. I was surprised that Escott had never learned to speak French, but his work as the first Principal of Glendon College makes that lack more forgivable.

Reading Escott Reid's memoirs has been like viewing my own life through a double mirror. Our lives were parallel in our working years but also, even more strikingly so, in our early years. Our family backgrounds were basically Tory. Escott's father was an Anglican parson who had been born in England and his maternal grandmother was descended from two leading United Empire Loyalist families. My link with England was more distant; my grandfather Pickersgill was born there but came to Canada in 1841 at the age of six. He was a successful Ontario farmer. My mother's ancestors were all living in North America before 1800 and all but one family were also Loyalist. Escott's Loyalist forebears were at the very heart of the Family Compact at York, the capital of Upper Canada. Mine were in the humbler Family Compact of the Long Point settlement on Lake Erie. Of our Loyalist ancestors, two of mine and one of Escott's first settled in New Brunswick, and then joined in the earliest trek from the Maritimes to Upper Canada.

The Toryism of my parents was more partisan than that of Escott's family. I was even given my middle name, Whitney, after the first Tory premier of Ontario, who had been elected in 1905, the year we were born. Our parents were never affluent — theirs was a genteel poverty; a little more genteel, than poor, in Escott's case and a trifle poorer, and less genteel, in my case. For both families, the real wealth lay in a love of books and a passion for learning.

We were both brought up in religious homes, and we both lapsed at about the same age; Escott into what he describes as "wistful agnosticism", while as for me, I would substitute "respectful skepticism".

Escott's early life was spent on the higher road and mine on the lower. For example, we both contracted lice in our hair while at school. The discovery of lice drove Escott's family to seek a better school: avoiding lice for me consisted of having my hair clipped to the scalp every spring, while continuing in the same one-room school.

The outbreak of war in 1914 was a big (and well-remembered) event in both our lives. We were each certain that "our side" would win and were filled with patriotic fervour, though our "country" at the time was the British Empire and not just Canada.

Escott's perception of Canada as being a "distinct society" came earlier than did mine, as did his partisan evolution. He had described himself as a socialist when he entered the University of Toronto in 1923. I was still a partisan Tory in 1925 and became a Liberal only in 1926. Escott describes himself as a perfectionist; I describe myself as a pragmatist. Perhaps that is why I became active in domestic politics, while Escott's prime objective was, and still is, the security of a peaceful world.

During our university vacations either in Toronto or Manitoba we each had contact with really humble lives. I taught for two summers in one-room schools located on the very margin of settlement. Escott worked one summer as a track-man on the railway and taught the workers English in the evenings under the auspices of Frontier College. He said the workmen had called him "Scotty" as the name Escott was too difficult. He reflected that if he had had the sense to keep the name "Scotty", it might have concealed his arrogance as, being called "Mike" had helped Pearson to disguise his ambition.

Escott and I owed our university education, both in Canada and at Oxford, mainly to scholarships. We both arrived at Oxford in 1927 — Escott as a Rhodes Scholar and I as a beneficiary of the IODE. He emerged with a first class degree; I had to be content with a second. At Oxford also studying with us was the most beautiful girl from my school

class in Manitoba: Ruth Herriot. I admired her from a distance; Escott married her.

Escott stayed at Oxford for three years; I left in 1929 after two, luckily for a job as a lecturer in History at Welsley College, Winnipeg, which lasted for eight years. When Escott came home in 1930, he was fortunate enough to win a fellowship which allowed him to make a systematic study of the organizations of Canadian political parties and which confirmed him in his earlier socialist bent. He shared in drafting the "Regina Manifesto" of the CCF. He continued to support the CCF, as he has its successor, the NDP. I had been a rather lukewarm Liberal until the 1940s when I became one of the main authors of the post-war program for the Liberal party.

In 1932, Escott Reid became the National Secretary of the CIIA at about the same time as I joined its Winnipeg branch. We both became warm admirers, and later friends, of J.W. Dafoe, the editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press* and of Edgar Tarr, a Winnipeg businessman and one of the finest and most liberal students of Canada's international relations.

From the time we entered the public service we both worked very hard. Escott writes that he "sacrificed Ruth and our children to my work" and that "Ruth bore much more of the responsibility for bringing up our children than was fair." My wife has often made the same judgment of me. Luckily, in neither case do our children seem to have suffered and they have been devoted friends of their parents. One factor which contributed mightily to the family life of the Reids was the farm they bought in the Gatineau in 1946; in my family's case, the summers spent every year in Newfoundland from 1954 onward served a similar purpose.

Radical Mandarin describes Escott Reid's memory of his first 84 years. They are recalled with complete honesty and written in beautiful English. His share in the creation of the North Atlantic Alliance and his active association with the early years of the independence of India are his most cherished experiences and his two heroes are St. Laurent and Nehru. I share one of them. For me, St. Laurent was the greatest Canadian of our time. However, in my case, my second "country" is France and thus my second hero is Jean Monnet, the prophet of European unity.

I can not say which of our working lives will be judged by history as the higher road, but Escott's has certainly been the longer road, stretching as it did around the world.

I consider that *Radical Mandarin* makes an indispensable contribution to the history of a peaceable country by a Canadian who, all his life, has been a peacemaker. 



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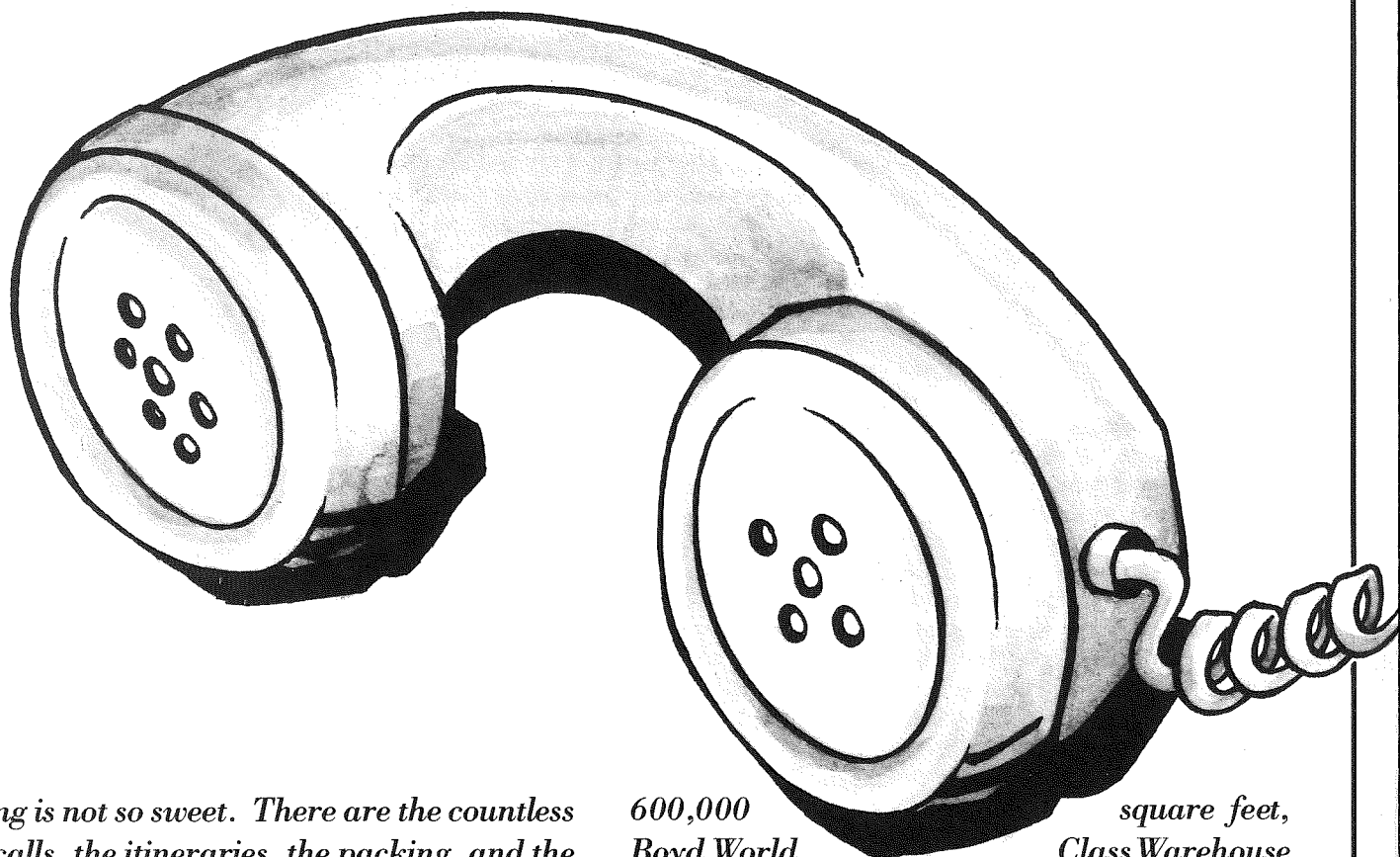


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Watch out for the Moose, Now!

by Laurel Pardy

[Author's Note: In mid-May, the Newfoundland branch of the family gathered to bid farewell to one of its senior members and, thus, we abruptly left humid, foggy, rainy Central America for the chilly, windy, not-quite-yet-Spring Rock]

"We're gonna head back now, afore it gits dark."

"Aw'right. We'll sees ya agin. T'anks fer cumin'."

"Still be light times we git to Dildo Run an' we leaves now. Some dark when t'sun goes down."

"Yis, bye. An' dere's moose on t'road. Feller saw t'ree t'uther mamin', up by Jake's Pond dey were."

"Some good t'eat, though."

"Yis, bye, dey is t'at. I'll git anuther one t'fall now. Las' one's all gone."

"Well, bye fer now."

"S'long. Watch out fer t'moose, now."

Everyone at the family gathering had a moose story and this final admonition was tagged on to every farewell. Moose in the yard, moose in the shopping center, moose strolling the TransCanada, moose looming in the car headlights and moose-car collisions; surely some of these were the same moose, there couldn't possibly be that many moose on the loose, even in Newfoundland.

Scepticism aside, there were 400 moose-car collisions last year. If half those moose were killed, they provided hospitals and government facilities in that province with 120,000 pounds of tasty, free meat. Hard on the cars, but good for the provincial budget.

Designed in a moment of silliness, a moose is an absurd creature. Its legs are too long for the heavy body, its magnificent shoulders taper to a scrawny rump and its majestic antlers spread their glory over a lugubrious, baggy-lipped face. However, never laugh at a moose. They have absolutely no sense of humour. After all, they don't laugh at us as we crack and snap our way around the spruce forest through which they manage to slip their 600 kilo bulk with wraithlike delicacy.

Absurd or not, they can be some impressive up close, as I have just had reason to experience.

During the aforementioned recent family gathering, in the midst of all the moose stories, it became obvious that I ("she's from

t'mainland, ya know") had never seen a moose on the hoof. They made it quite clear that my Newfie husband was being shamefully remiss in his duties in not arranging for me to meet a moose. No time was to be lost. This was early Spring, the season for them to come out of the woods, and he was advised of all the likeliest venues for moose viewing, "down t'auld railway station", "out by Dead Men's Pond", or "up long Reachy Run".

We made the rounds. Not a moose.

The Sunday morning of our last day dawned with the spectacularly blue May skies and crystalline air that make a painter lust for his brushes. My lungs cried out for the rush that comes from such cold, pure northern air after months in the steamy tropics, so I went out for a walk.

The somnolent neighbourhood was still and silent. No children weaving along on little bikes with pink training wheels, or swinging shiny new bats at unscarred baseballs. The sun was glinting off the polished 4 x 4's and half-backs parked in the driveways. Here such vehicles are not macho machines for insecure yuppies but working vehicles. The ice was off the brooks and the salmon were expected to begin their dash up the rivers any day. What you can catch, trap or shoot, you don't have to buy so the vehicles were ready.

Reaching the end of the block, I turned back, to gaze at the modest, neat houses in their coats of bright paint and to ponder briefly on the road between then and now. With a sigh, I resumed my contemplative strolling, only to zoom back suddenly to reality as I found myself nose-to-nose with a three-quarter grown calf moose, puckering up for a nibble on my coat collar!!! Surprise on both sides was total. Startled blue eyes stared into doleful brown ones. Too stunned to react, I watched motionlessly as he whiffled a steamy greeting and ambled on down the pavement, across a lawn and around the corner.

As they say on the Rock, "Lard Jayeses, dey're some big."

"Nobody," I thought, "is going to believe me."

A few of the early-rising relatives had gathered for breakfast and I told them about my adventure. I could see their dubious looks. One of them asked me if I was sure it hadn't been a horse. Horses are rarer than moose in Newfoundland so I scoffed at that riposte.

I pointed out the window to amplify the tale and there, ten feet from the back window, was another moose. A full-grown cow moose this time, her coat glowing like burnished

gold in the morning sunlight, she stood sniffing the aroma of frying bacon wafting on the breeze.

We crowded onto the side stoop. With enviable insouciance, graceful as a knock-kneed ballerina with pigeon toes, she glided down the driveway, across the lawn and around the corner.

"Some'un's puttin' out scraps. Smart t'ings dey is. Dey knows."

"Yis, I 'spects so. Yer're right dere, deys smart t'ings."

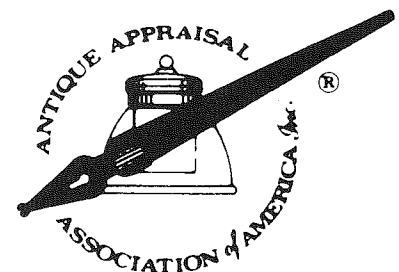
In one fell swoop, I had seen not only one, but two, moose and had contributed to the family folklore. Already I had heard them in the living room asking the newcomers, "'Ear what 'appened t'Lara dis mamin'?"

Smiling smugly, I thought to myself, "Smart t'ings indeed! Never underestimate a moose; nor a mainlander."

*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.*

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The Howling Cats of Moscow

by Sidney Freifeld

(Editor's Note: This article is a chapter from Sidney Freifeld's book *Undiplomatic Notes: Tales from the Canadian Foreign Service, with illustrations by Susan Macartney, published by Hounslow Press, Toronto which has gone into a second printing.*)

External Affairs' wives and husbands come from all walks of Canadian life and their performance abroad reflects their varied backgrounds. Some — and these are likely to be of an older generation — are happy to share with their spouses the burdens of official entertainment, showing the flag, assisting the local Canadian colony's charitable and social endeavours, and winning friends and influencing people for Canada. Others might

shun such duties in favour of pursuing their own interests or career to the extent that is possible in the country where they are stationed. There is one complaint that all share in common — the lack of recognition by headquarters for jobs well done and services rendered for Canada.

And sometimes a foreign service spouse succeeds in accomplishing something with the local authorities in which the "Externalite" and the embassy staff have gotten nowhere. Take, for example, the case of the redoubtable Teresa Ford, whose husband was Canada's outstanding ambassador to the Soviet Union during sixteen rugged years.

Teresa was not one to suffer the vicissitudes of life in the Communist paradise with reticence — especially in the matter of the nocturnal howling of Moscow's hordes of

stray cats which, colleagues who have served there assert, was particularly obnoxious in the vicinity of the Canadian Embassy.

For years the Canadian Embassy had urged Moscow's local authorities and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to do something — anything — to alleviate this plague. The Canadian entreaties and complaints had accomplished precisely nothing. If anything, as the months rolled by, the cats were multiplying at an alarming rate and their howling was becoming more dreadful than ever.

Teresa was worried not so much about the disturbance to her own sleep as the effect it would have on her hard-working husband. At three o'clock one morning Teresa was wakened by feline howling of unprecedented intensity and, in exasperation, she determined to try a new approach with the Russians, the hour notwithstanding.

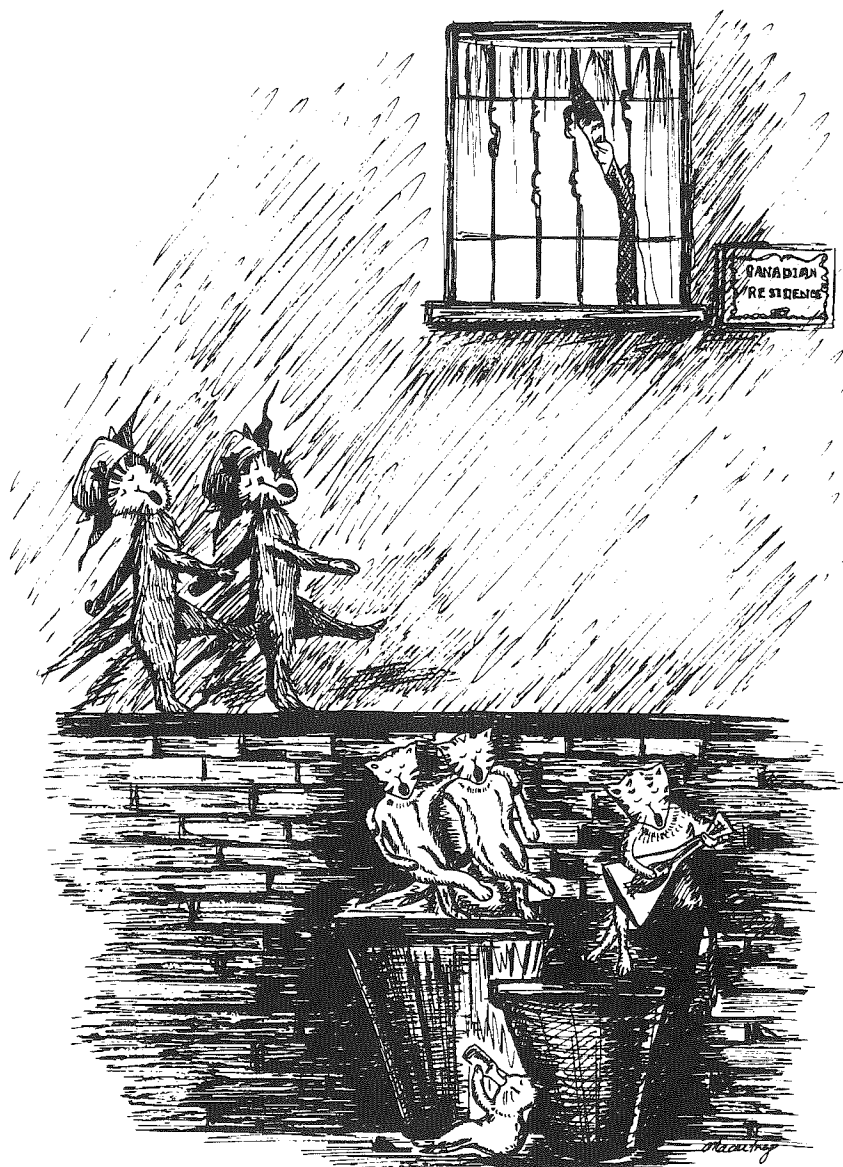
She dialed the telephone number of George Costakis, a locally-engaged clerk at the embassy (who was subsequently to achieve world renown in art circles for the magnificent collection of Russian early avant-garde paintings that he had quietly acquired through the years).

When George sleepily answered the phone, Teresa said to him: "George, I want you to call protocol immediately, immediately. And I want you to tell protocol that if the Soviet Union can put astronaut Yuri Gagarin into outer space, it can surely do something about these damned cats that are driving us crazy at the Embassy."

George Costakis wearily hung up the phone with the promise to make still another plea to authorities. He did not call protocol at three o'clock in the morning, but he did call as soon as the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs opened. He told the most senior functionary he could get on the phone: "The Ambassador of Canada has instructed me to tell you that if the Soviet Union can succeed in putting Yuri Gagarin into orbit, can it not do something about the cats around the Canadian Embassy that are driving us all crazy?"

Whether it was because the Russian *amour propre* was piqued or whether the Ministry was astonished at this novel Canadian approach, it did do something. That same day a small army of *dvorniks* showed up around the Canadian Embassy with brooms and long staves and soon cleared the area of its feline bestiary. That night — for the first time in weeks — the Fords and their staff enjoyed an uninterrupted night's slumber.

Sidney Freifeld is a former Ambassador to Colombia and Ecuador, and a member of the Senior Editorial Board of *bout de papier*.



Susan Macartney

A "New Internationalism"?

by Bill Dobell

Some Canadian governments consider it desirable to encapsulate the thrust of their foreign policy in code words or phrases. Mackenzie King was anxious that his government should be recognized internationally, after the Second World War, as enjoying authority as well as status. A senior Canadian diplomat, R.G. Riddell, was assigned to work out something that would be helpful to Canadian interests and consistent with the United Nations. The concept was publicized by the prime minister in the House of Commons in 1944, with Riddell's definition appearing later: "Middle powers are those which by reason of their size, their material resources, their willingness and ability to accept responsibility, their influence and stability are close to being great powers." Canada became a middle power, and in the mid-1980s continued to be so described by journalists and politicians more often than alternative designations suggested by academics, civil servants, or the new prime minister.

Pierre Trudeau wished to be associated with a deliberate and planned set of goals rather than with a pragmatic and reactive foreign policy. Civil servants came up with "A Foreign Policy for Canadians," and parliament was presented with a hexagon chart which divided the foreign policy spectrum into six separate themes. There was little said that Canada or any other country might do that could not be accommodated in one of these six: sovereignty and independence; peace and security; social justice; quality of life; harmonious natural environment; or economic growth. For some years thereafter, it was obligatory to choose from the hexagon whichever theme or themes embraced a proposed policy initiative.

When a book is published in the Mulroney years entitled *Canada and the New Internationalism* (Centre of International Studies, University of Toronto, 1988), replete with ministerial and diplomatic contributions from External Affairs, it is

necessary to ask whether the New Internationalism is a rhetorical instrument comparable to the King and Trudeau versions or simply a trendy title. The book is the published version of a conference in which all the presenters were either active or former participants in the policy process in Ottawa, although, it includes three papers later written by academics. No one beyond the Secretary of State for External Affairs acknowledged that he was speaking officially, but the participants' papers may be examined to assess whether semi-official messages may have been conveyed.

Canada became a middle power, and in the mid-1980s continued to be so described by journalists and politicians more often than alternative designations suggested by academics, civil servants or the new prime minister.

It was long apparent that middle powers existed within the international system, and Trudeau's policy themes were less innovative than was implied. It is not clear from the present title whether the emphasis is on the particular or on the universal. Why, for example, was Joe Clark's conference address, "Canada's Stake in the New Internationalism," changed in the published version to "Canada's New Internationalism"? Its

content is about neither, but articulates a commitment to Canada's "best foreign policy traditions" sometimes characterized by others as Pearsonian internationalism. So one turns to the preface and the promotion flyer. These refer to "those international institutions and groupings that have sprung to life, within or outside the United Nations galaxy, during the past decade and a half." A non-exclusive list includes "the seven power economic summit, the London Suppliers Group on nuclear materials, the Namibia Contact Group, the Grain Exporters Club, the Contadora Process, the Francophone Summit, and much more. This is the new internationalism." Canada is involved in all, but in none is she the leading player. The New Internationalism is presumably not dependent upon Canada, therefore, although Canada may contribute to or benefit from it, what do we learn from the contributors?

Sylvia Ostry, the prime minister's former personal representative at the G-7, looks back to the institution in the 1970s as a response to the breakdown of the fixed exchange rate system and the crisis of the first oil shock, but suggests that policy convergence dominated summitry in the 1980s. She sees a "new multilateralism" in the summit and its relationship to the GATT, but says nothing of a New Internationalism. There is no paper on the London Suppliers Group on nuclear materials. Gary Smith, a former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Division of External Affairs, finds that on arms control and disarmament issues the UN was the most frustrating and least cost-effective forum. The real breakthrough would come as a result of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, he guardedly anticipated, though without developing its implications for an emergent internationalism.

No paper on the Grain Exporters Group is included in the collection, and no section of any other paper touches on it. There is a paper on the Namibia Contact Group, authored by a Canadian intimately involved in the period of its greatest diplomatic

activity. Bill Barton, Canadian representative on the Security Council in 1977 and 1978, appropriately attributes the initiative to President Carter's ambassador to the United Nations, and implies that the leverage of the Contact Group was only as strong as President Carter's coat-tails. He admits that the Contact Group was the kind of initiative that western powers would not have taken earlier, accepting that others might regard it as a form of New Internationalism, but makes no attempt to hide his own scepticism. The paper on the Contadora Process is by John Graham, at the time Director General of External's Caribbean and Central American Bureau. He volunteers that Contadora was not expected to resolve the root causes of instability, but merely to establish agreed mechanisms for reconciliation. As to what the relevance of the Contadora Process is to the New Internationalism, there is not a hint.

The linkage of foreign policy with defence in the PCO is depicted as an albatross left over from the cold war, and its linkage with international trade in External Affairs and in the House of Commons Standing Committee as a product of the materialistic 1980s; in the 1990s ... the environment would be a preferred partner.

No contributor focuses exclusively on the Francophone Summit. Joe Clark claims that Canada played a role in the Francophone Summit of 1986 that would prove a milestone in its development. Had he been interested in making a partisan attack on Trudeau, he might have claimed that an important stage

in laying a milestone is removing a road-block. He avoids the temptation. The Minister of External Relations, M^{me} Landry, in another context, charged that one of the obstacles to a meeting of Francophone countries had always been the difficulty of having the federal government and Quebec sit down at the same table in the spirit of respect for each other's legitimate powers. The prime minister announced at Quebec in September 1987 that he would seek common positions in the second Francophone Summit on issues like third-world debt and apartheid in South Africa. The activity of Francophone Summits has been intensified, but whether it constitutes another cornerstone of a New Internationalism is debatable.

Of the official conference participants, the one subscribing to the New Internationalism most readily was the then Assistant Deputy Minister (Legal Affairs) of External Affairs, Len Legault. He considers that the New Internationalism manifests itself in common recognition of the threat to the sea, and common determination to respond to it effectively. Yet the feature of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention (LOS) with which he is most satisfied is the "Arctic exception," Article 234. Whether this article ratifies Canada's control of commercial navigation in the Arctic as much as Canadian negotiators might wish remains to be seen. Should a future Canadian government attempt a rigorous regulation of the Arctic navigation in suggested conformity with Article 234, it would be fortunate to have its regulations go unchallenged. Still, despite the long delayed ratification process, LOS III seems at least as eligible an example of a New Internationalism as any other.

John Higginbotham, former Director General of the Policy Development Bureau, treats the New Internationalism as a phrase requiring polite mention, not something to be justified and expounded. Max Cohen, sometime panellist of the International Court of Justice, gives the rubric equally cursory notice. More attention to the supposed theme is provided in the briefest contribution, that of the North-South Institute's former director and current head of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, Bernard Wood. There are differences in the substance of international relations, differences in the scale and differences in the responses, he counters, but the elements of the picture are not entirely new.

That appears to have been a perspective shared by one of the co-editors, the late diplomat and academic, John Holmes. "Is there a New Internationalism?" he dutifully asks, but proceeds to discuss the evolving international system without addressing his own question. Only his co-editor, John

Kirton, appears committed to the supposed theme. He appears satisfied that the disappearance of some groupings and the emergence of other ones provide sufficient indication of newness.

If there proves to be a continuing willingness of the veto-bearing powers to utilize the Security Council machinery to foster international peace and security, some might equate the phenomena with a New Internationalism. The Council can only function effectively where there is respect and tolerance for diverse viewpoints, a quality in limited supply on some Middle Eastern and other questions.

A contribution by Kirton to this magazine (vol. 6, no. 4) provides a different perspective for, in his *bout de papier* article, he turns to prescription. The linkage of foreign policy with defence in the PCO is depicted as an albatross left over from the cold war, and its linkage with international trade in External Affairs and in the House of Commons Standing Committee as a product of the materialistic 1980s; in the 1990s, he suggests, the environment would be a preferred partner. The foreign service is encouraged to look beyond North America to become "a major player around the world"; the foreign policy consensus had been undermined, but "Pearsonian internationalism endures." The New Internationalism endures too in the article's title, but the phrase thereafter receives Holmesian treatment.

The terminological commitment to a New Internationalism does not appear to

have been widespread, deep or enduring. It was neither a ministerial nor a bureaucratic addition to Ottawa's in-house jargon, but the product of some creative academic entrepreneurship. Presented as a verbal tool implying change, the New Internationalism enjoyed the discreet support of those diplomats favouring a revision of the predominantly North American and NATO orientation of policy. Had the phraseology been launched with greater preliminary backing, it might have had a better chance of ministerial support. But its catch-all appeal was at the cost of substantive precision, and the minister declined to endorse it by public usage.

Following the transitional years 1986-88, international co-operation experienced a wonderful transformation. The winding-up of the Soviet empire in eastern Europe, Afghanistan, Indochina and in the USSR itself has had repercussions in China, Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and arms reduction. Canada's two years on the UN Security Council in 1989 and 1990 coincided with the greatest degree of conciliatory accommodation on the part of veto-bearing Security Council members since Riddell's labours on the drafting of the Charter. The world wanted us on the Security Council — so the prime minister told us prior to the November 1988 general election. But it was another year before the walls of communism came tumbling down while he was in Moscow, and it was at that later period that his government chose to accept the interpretation that the cold war was over.

Some Canadian diplomats may have wished the government had spoken sooner. Canada was hardly a leader in accepting the immensity of Soviet change. If there proves to be a continuing willingness of the veto-bearing powers to utilize the Security Council machinery to foster international peace and security, some might equate the phenomena with a New Internationalism. The Council can only function effectively where there is respect and tolerance for diverse viewpoints, a quality in limited supply on some Middle Eastern and other questions. Without tolerable harmony at the heart of the UN system, it is difficult to give content to a New Internationalism. By the time these words are read, the reader may have become convinced that the phase of movement through accommodation is over. If not, it could be years before the historian can verify that there has been sufficient continuity in the process of major-power accommodation that the turn of the 1990s marked the ripening of that phase.

Bill Dobell teaches in the Politics Department at the University of Western Ontario.

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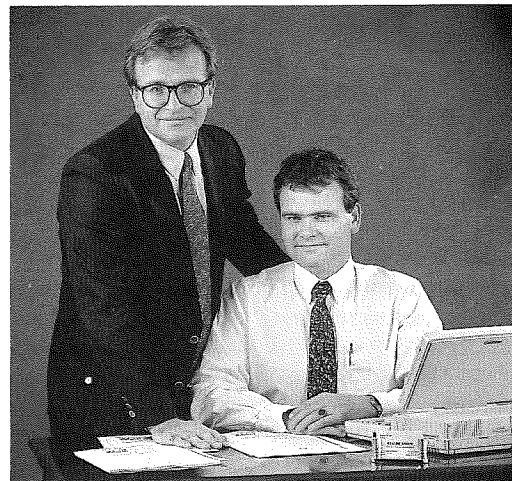
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CONSTITUTION-BUILDING IN NAMIBIA: Could it Happen Here?

by Sam Hanson

"In the process of negotiating, bargaining and hammering out this constitution, the Namibians developed a special Namibian way of resolving internal differences and contradictions. The method is:

In the national interest,

- *Remain level-headed;*
- *Respect one another; and*
- *Strive for the best for your country."*

(Moses Katjuongua, Constituent Assembly of Namibia, February 9, 1990)

On a typical February day in Namibia the sky is a dazzling blue. The air is effervescent, clear and dry. The sun is high, bright and hot. Namibians do not get the February blahs; they get sunburn. February weather is one way in which Namibia differs from Canada. Constitutional negotiation is another.

February 9, 1990, was a typical Namibian day as far as the weather was concerned. In other ways it was quite exceptional. The Constituent Assembly was to hold a special session, not in the assembly chamber, but on the front balcony of the colonial legislative and administration building (colloquially known as the Tintenpalast, or "ink palace", for the generations of colonial bureaucrats who had scribbled away their careers in its high-ceilinged office). On this occasion, the front of the building had been hung with a banner on which the preambular paragraphs of Namibia's new draft constitution had been lettered.

The opening music was another indicator that things had changed, and would change still more. "Nkosi Sikelel' i Africa" has been adopted by liberation movements throughout southern Africa. It sounds best when sung *a cappella* by several thousand angry people. It had a particular resonance, however, when played by the South West Africa Police Band, the grey uniforms of which had symbolised brutal repression only a year earlier.

It had taken a long time for Namibia to keep this appointment with history. Seventy years since South Africa had been granted a League of Nations mandate over the former German colony of South West Africa.

Twenty-four years since the beginning of the armed struggle for independence. Twelve years since the UN Security Council had adopted Resolution 435, providing for Namibia's independence. About ten months since the independence process had begun on April 1, 1989.

But it was only eighty days since the Constituent Assembly had first convened. In less than three months, working to a set of constitutional principles approved by the Security Council, the Namibians had successfully negotiated a constitution. By Canadian standards, it was breathtakingly rapid.

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If it had been quick, it had not been easy. Namibia's independence process almost ended in disaster on the day it began. In circumstances which have yet to be explained, exacerbated by errors and omissions which do not reflect well on any of the major players, the worst fighting of the independence struggle broke out on the very day when a formal cease-fire was to come into effect. About 350 people died violently and needlessly.

The fighting was brought to an end by adroit diplomacy on the part of the USA, the Soviet Union, South Africa and the Front-Line States. The independence process resumed, but without the euphoria which had marked the early days.

There was a daunting agenda to implement. Discriminatory and repressive legislation had to be repealed. An amnesty had to be declared. Over 40,000 exiles had to be

repatriated. Detainees had to be released. Voters had to be registered, and an election had to be held. Each of these steps was achieved only after long, intensive negotiations between the South African colonial administration, responsible for implementing the process, and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) which had to be satisfied that the process met the standards laid down by the Security Council for a free and fair election.

The first campaign rallies were held on April 1, months before the passage of any legislation to govern the election. A bewildering variety of political parties emerged. At one point there were over forty. A consolidation process began to take place, however, once the outlines of the electoral law became clear. The election would be based on the proportional representation system, with the entire country forming a single constituency. Small parties, thus, had considerable incentive to form alliances to increase their chances of winning one of the 72 seats in the Assembly. In the end, ten parties or alliances contested the election, and seven won seats.

It was not a perfect campaign. At different points in the process, the UN's impartiality was questioned by virtually everyone. There was so much intimidation (the threat or use of force) that a special commission was established to investigate.

Anton Lubowski, a prominent human rights lawyer and leading SWAPO activist, was gunned down at the gate of his Windhoek home. There were several other murders of party activists. In the remote town of Outjo, an UNTAG office was attacked with grenades, killing a locally-engaged security guard. Disruption of political rallies was common. I attended one rally in Katutura (a Soweto-like township near Windhoek) where a smoke bomb went off, causing a brief panic.

Much of the political violence was laid at the doors of the police, in particular the autonomous counter-insurgency unit known as Koevoet (the Afrikaans word for crowbar, literally "iron foot"). After one particularly egregious incident, the investigative commission condemned Koevoet's special constables as "untrained, and probably

untrainable for normal police duties". After several months of controversy, Koevoet members were confined to their base, and later were disbanded. UNTAG initially was not satisfied that it had been disbanded, and efforts had to be repeated. Political violence diminished considerably after the UN persuaded parties to negotiate and sign a code of conduct.

The election finally took place over the period November 7-11. Almost everyone had tried to vote on the first day, and in some places there were serious crowd control problems. At one polling station in the Ovambo region, an elderly man had been seriously injured after having fallen and being trampled. However, before he would allow

were in, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) had won 41 of the 72 seats, followed by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) with 21, United Democratic Front with 4, Aksie Christelik Nasionaal (ACN) with 3, and finally the National Patriotic Front, Federal Convention of Namibia and Namibia National Front, each with a caucus of one.

The constitution had to be adopted by a two-thirds majority. The largest party had been denied the 48 seats which would have permitted it to impose its will on the Assembly, and no other had the 24 seats which would have permitted it to block adoption of the constitution. The message from the people to the politicians could

in a Security Council resolution, they were not reflected in Namibia's electoral legislation. There had been enough contradictory statements by SWAPO representatives to give rise to doubts about that party's intentions.

Doubts were resolved during the Assembly's first session. The Assembly unanimously adopted the 1982 principles as the basis of Namibia's constitution. It was thus committed to a set of constitutional specifications which it would either meet or exceed. Discussion began with a series of plenary sessions in which each party presented constitutional proposals. Once all members had an opportunity to speak, an all-party committee was established to reconcile all the proposals and combine them into a single text.



A SWAPO rally in Katutura — something exploded...

an ambulance to take him to the hospital, he had insisted on being carried in to vote. Many voters showed a similar sense of commitment: one of my most vivid memories of eighteen months in Namibia is of thousands of people standing stoically under a blazing sun, patiently waiting their turn to vote.

Most of them did: 676,220 people cast votes, about 96.4 per cent of those who had registered. The votes were counted twice: teams of five South African colonial officials sat at counting tables directly across from equal numbers of UNTAG counterparts. Each side did its own count; then the results were reconciled. When all the results

hardly have been clearer: they must work things out together.

Early indications were that things were going very well indeed. One of the running controversies in the lead-up to the election had been to ensure that the 1982 Constitutional Principles would govern the drafting of the constitution.

The 1982 Principles were negotiated by the Western Five group of countries (Canada, France, Germany, the UK and USA — the five western members of the Security Council when Resolution 435 was adopted in 1978) with "the parties concerned". Their most important provisions were for periodic, genuine and secret elections, and a declaration of fundamental rights. While the 1982 Principles were incorporated by reference

This committee met in camera for most of December, reporting to the Assembly at two-week intervals. On December 20, in their second report, they informed the Assembly that agreement had been reached on all substantive issues and recommended that a committee of three respected constitutional lawyers be briefed to resolve a number of legal issues concerning the electoral system and the upper house of the legislature, and to put the text into proper legal language.

The resulting draft was tabled in the Assembly on January 25, 1990, and plenary debate began January 29. It quickly became apparent that several important questions of substance remained. The draft provided for preventive detention without trial but after extensive plenary debate, the Assembly

could not reach agreement. Party representatives consulted in private while the plenary carried on with other less contentious articles.

The plenary session was discussing proposed functions for the public service commission when SWAPO's Hartmut Ruppel asked for the floor to announce that agreement had been reached on the question of preventive detention. He explained that the draft provision (which formed an exception to the article guaranteeing freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention) had been included in good faith, but that the underlying principle of the article might have been overlooked. They had agreed, he said, "to give human rights a chance," and to remove these contentious paragraphs. All 72 members of the Assembly were in their seats, and the public galleries were crowded, but for several electric seconds no one spoke and no one moved. Then, suddenly, applause broke out.

"The official language of Namibia shall be English." How could this be possible in Namibia, where English is the mother tongue of only a minority of the small white minority? The most widely-spoken language is Afrikaans. English, however, carries the least historical and ethnic baggage.

If the debate had its moments of high drama, it also had a few of low comedy. One member objected to Article 97 which provides that the State may grant political asylum. The member feared that this would create a loophole for "sects which have no respect for the state", and, embarrassingly, he named an identifiable group. The Chair glowered, and several seconds limped by painfully. The article was then adopted unamended. Clause-by-clause consideration of the constitution was completed on February 2. Not one provision was put to a vote. In all cases the debate continued until consensus was reached.

A week later, in front of the Tintenpalast, the session was called to order, and the Chair put the crucial question: adoption of a constitution for Namibia by consensus. There were no objections and, with one rap of the gavel, it was done.

There were speeches by all seven party leaders. They were generous in praise of the document, of each other, and in particular of the consensus-building skills of Hage Geingob, who had chaired both the Assembly and the all-party committee. They noted that Namibia had drawn on the experience of the world in drafting this document, and hoped that the world would find something valuable in Namibia's experience. Some drew attention to points on which they had reservations, but which they had chosen to accept in the interest of consensus. There being no further business, the Assembly adjourned. Namibia became independent on March 21, 1990.

It is interesting to leaf through Namibia's constitution from a Canadian perspective.

"The official language of Namibia shall be English." How could this be possible in Namibia, where English is the mother tongue of only a minority of the small white minority? The most widely-spoken language is Afrikaans. English, however, carries the least historical and ethnic baggage. And, as Article 3 goes on to provide, nothing prohibits the use of any other language as a medium of instruction. Nor is Parliament precluded from passing legislation to permit the use of other languages for legislative,

administrative, or judicial purposes in areas where such languages are spoken by "a substantial component" of the population.

Chapter 3 contains an extensive charter of fundamental human rights and freedoms which is deeply entrenched. In that regard, the Chapter on amendments contains an article worth quoting in its entirety: "Article 131: Entrenchment of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms.

No repeal or amendment of any of the provisions of Chapter 3 hereof, insofar as such repeal or amendment diminishes or detracts from the fundamental rights and freedoms contained and defined in that Chapter, shall be permissible under this Constitution, and no such repeal or amendment shall be valid or have any force or effect."

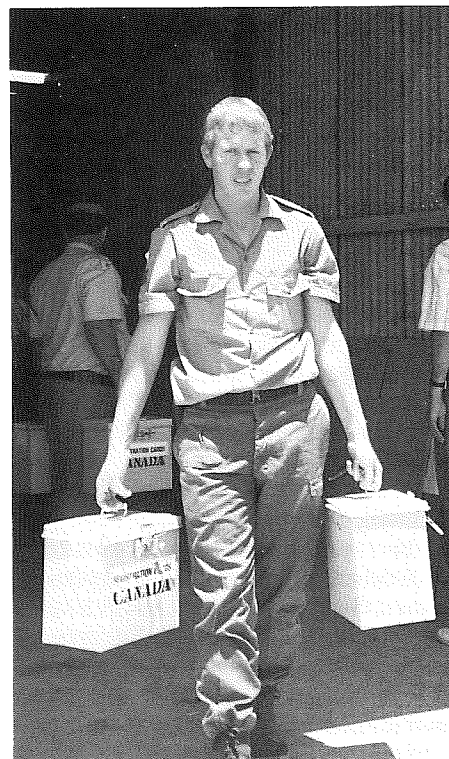
There is no "notwithstanding" clause.

Permissible amendments require a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament. A referendum may be held if the upper house does not provide the required majority. The upper house is a National Council composed of two representatives from each region. Regions are defined by a Delimitation Commission, solely on a geographical basis, "without any reference to the race, colour or ethnic origin of the inhabitants of such areas."

Namibia's flag debate lasted only as long as it took for the applause to die down when the design was presented to the Assembly. A bold geometric design, it adroitly combines the colours of all the major parties: SWAPO's red, green and blue; DTA's red, white and blue; UDF's green, blue and white; and NPF's red, green and yellow.

Elsewhere on the same planet, but seemingly in a different world, Canada's constitutional reform circled the drain of Meech Lake. The collapse, when it came, did not go unnoticed in Namibia. "Your Prime Minister looked so sad", commented one Namibian friend, after seeing a report on the television news. Expressions of puzzlement and concern became more and more frequent, and some even wondered whether Namibia owed Canada technical assistance. After all, Canada had provided most of their ballot boxes.

Comparisons are odious, and constitutions are not generally produced for export. In many ways, the Namibians faced a simpler challenge; they were starting afresh, not trying to amend an existing constitution. They did not have to grapple with the thorny question of the division of powers in a federal state; their Constituent Assembly was elected for only one purpose and was able to concentrate its efforts on that single task. They did not have to decide what to do with existing institutions for ten provinces, two territories,



The election: Canadian ballot boxes play their part.



Near Gibeon: diplomatic observers find themselves observed.

as well as the federal government. All they had to do was summon up sufficient good will and common purpose among seventy-two people who, for more than a generation, had been on different sides in a murderous struggle that left over 15,000 dead.

Our case is somewhat more complex. We have thirteen governments, creatures of our present constitution, trying to negotiate reforms in which they have deeply vested interests. This is a thirteen-sided zero-sum game in which the stakes consist largely of powers to tax and spend. Each of the thirteen seeks to maximize its gains and to minimize its concessions. Viewing the matter in that light, we can hardly be surprised by the lack of success to date.

Still, it is tempting to speculate: suppose that the experience of the past century has been enough to convince us that the existing process of federal-provincial negotiation is unlikely to succeed in the task of constitutional reform. If we concluded that something radically different were required, we might take a good, hard look at the Namibian model.

It would be a fallacy, of course, to suggest that because a certain process worked in Namibia, it necessarily would work in Canada. It would be just as fallacious to

suggest the opposite. If a constituent assembly were tried in Canada, it would not succeed or fail because of anything that had happened in Namibia.

If we held an election for a constituent assembly of 72 members on a basis of proportional representation, it would take roughly 180,000 votes, coast to coast, to gain a seat. Conducted on a single-constituency basis, such an election would owe nothing to existing provincial or constituency boundaries, which would make easier a complete break with the existing system. To help ensure this, sitting members of federal, provincial and territorial legislatures might be excluded. One could expect that single-issue parties and other such formations, as well as the old-line parties, would contest the election.

Once these 72 had been elected, ensconced in the National Conference Centre, and told that their sole task was to adopt a new or amended Canadian constitution by a two-thirds majority, what might they achieve? What might they not?

Sam Hanson has had postings in Brussels, Belgrade, and Dar-es-Salaam and spent eighteen months in Namibia as part of the UN team monitoring the elections. He is currently Deputy Director of the United Nations Affairs Division at EAITC.

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Interview with Rick Hansen

by Walt Judas

Many of us had the pleasure of meeting Rick and Amanda Hansen during the "Man in Motion" tour. I had the added privilege of being associated with them when he served as Canadian Commissioner General at Expo 88.

The "Man in Motion" tour was a remarkable triumph of spirit over adversity, perhaps the least important element of which was Rick's own physical disability. For a considerable part of the tour he had, in addition, to overcome intimidating resource deficiencies, general public indifference or even scepticism, and an almost constant inability to predict what physical, political and psychological obstacles the following days and weeks might bring. There were many times, I am sure, when every logic urged him to abandon the trip, and many occasions when he could, with honour, have done so. But that is what makes Rick different. He simply does not acknowledge limitation, whether he is wheeling around the world or tackling the attitudes and practices that further disadvantage persons with disabilities.

Rick Hansen is an outstanding Canadian representative and we are proud to welcome him to these pages.

Bob Burchill, Editorial Board

It's been over six years since you first began "Man in Motion" and four years since you completed the tour. What immediately comes to mind now when you reflect on the tour?

One of the most dominant images I have is the opportunity to travel through so many different countries, to meet so many people

of diverse cultures as well as political and ethnic backgrounds. It was also fascinating to see people responding to an important social issue and message and translating it in their own unique way. My experiences in these countries were extremely profound and certainly reinforced my faith in humanity.

Each day we are bombarded with negative news about what isn't going right in the world and base our opinions solely on the information we receive through the media. So when one gets the opportunity to remove oneself from that and gains a mainstream slice of the reality of human nature, it's really refreshing. That kind of experience has profoundly affected my life and will always be with me.

In fact, every time I look at all the things that aren't going well I remind myself of the tour and what a great experience it was. It gives me that extra boost and puts things back in perspective.

I've heard it said many times that travelling through foreign countries is the best education a person can get. Would you agree with that?

People can theorize forever, but it doesn't come close to the impact of first-hand experience and being able to meet people, to interact and to experience differences. I've often said we should learn to celebrate our differences to give us a sense of comfort.

Were you ever shocked by what you saw in other countries?

Yes, many times I was quite shocked by some of the living conditions that existed in certain countries. Coming from middle-class Canada you have certain levels of expectation and of what you believe to be minimum standards of living. Then you visit countries where there is debris everywhere, people in the streets, leaking roofs and no cars and those are the sorts of things that are quite shocking. I was also shocked by some of the tensions that exist. I recall wheeling through the Middle East and feeling the tension between the Jewish state and the Arab world.



Rick on the Great Wall.

You read about it, you see it on television, but you just can't understand it until you are there and listening to the situation.

I was shocked sometimes by the beauty and awesomeness of certain countries ... the richness of the history and cultures in countries like China. I was completely overwhelmed when I had a chance to sit symbolically on the Great Wall and wheel up to the highest point.

I was a little shocked when certain countries wouldn't let us in and I couldn't figure out why anyone wouldn't want to participate in a project like ours. Of course, in retrospect I completely understand, but at the time I was a little wet behind the ears.

In general, the experiences I had were so positive and profound that when I received a dose of reality, it brought me out of the dream world and into the realization that life itself is not a straight course or one-dimensional, it's quite complicated and varied.

You had a lot of things to worry about on the tour ... not only the financial aspect but the physical challenge of wheeling day after day. Were you ever concerned



about being accepted in countries, given that you were both a Canadian and a person with a disability?

Having a chance to travel the world as an athlete before "Man in Motion", I had gained a level of appreciation of what a privilege it is to be a Canadian and how well Canadians are perceived and respected in the world today. That was definitely reinforced on the tour. People look up to you as a Canadian citizen because of what Canada stands for in its role in the international community ... a country of hope and opportunity. That's a great feeling.

However, there were lots of countries where I was quite concerned about how people would respond and thankfully there was never anything negative. There were just varying degrees of responses, from neutral, with people not knowing what we were doing, to profound responses because we had gotten the message out.

There were other worries as well, like foreign terrain. I remember crossing the border in Germany and not knowing which route to take to Hamburg. Our advance person was lost and failed to meet us at the border. All I can say is thank God for the people in

the consulates and embassies who came to the rescue and gave so much of their time. Sometimes you don't realize the kind of stress they are under with budgets, staffing, and so many agendas. It made us realize that the sun didn't rise and set on "Man in Motion" and that we were but one small project in a world of huge priorities.

For the foreign service to accommodate us was greatly appreciated and had a tremendous effect on our ability to function, especially when we were travelling commando style, mostly, through Europe. It was really nice to have an extended family there for advice, guidance, reassurance, support and direction.

Can you think of groups or individuals that helped you overcome some of the major obstacles along the way?

There was no doubt that the Soviet Union wasn't going to let us in and didn't really understand what we were doing in the first place. I think they thought we were fundraising. That's when people in External Affairs who also worked on Expo 86 pulled together a press conference and a series of receptions to deliver the awareness component of our tour to the Soviet Union.

In Portugal, it was a magical sort of thing as we entered late one night and were greeted by our Ambassador and the Mayor of the border city. We had the most amazing reception attended by about 1,000 people.

I also remember our Ambassador in Japan hosting a reception, with embassy staff coordinating press conferences and places for us to stay. It was incredible!

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in the way.*

Do you still maintain some of these relationships today?

Well, having been involved in Expo 88 and still travelling a lot, I continue to have a chance to chat and spend quality time with people in the Service. Every time we go somewhere we're amazed at the level of personal service people give to Canadians overseas.

What does Rick Hansen do with his time now? What keeps you on the road so much?

The message of the "Man in Motion" Tour, the reason why I committed myself to the project, was to create a greater awareness for people with disabilities and to challenge people in communities everywhere to remove some of the physical and attitude barriers that stand in the way. I want to see that dream continue. It's not forever but I still have some unfinished business to attend to and that fills part of the calendar.

At the end of the tour I spent some time evaluating the impact we had, listening to the feedback and trying to think about ways

to continue to contribute. An opportunity came along at my Alma Mater, the University of British Columbia, to fill a national fellowship position which was designed to allow the incumbent to continue to advocate, on behalf of people with disabilities, a need for positive social change on a national and international basis. Well, it was a perfect fit for my unfinished agenda. We built a program around the strength of the incumbent and around the things that I felt were important. Out of that we identified three projects.

One project focuses on post secondary education. Post secondary education is a bottleneck for people with disabilities to achieve a higher level of education, better training, a higher quality of life, independence and being able to lead a life of self determination.

I wanted to develop an advocacy unit that would systematically work on change in all levels of post secondary education right



Rick speaking to school kids in Australia.



across the country. So we spent one and a half years developing the concept of the Disability Resource Centre at UBC.

This unit is now functioning and I'm chairing the advisory committee to give it ongoing philosophical guidance and direction.

The second project I am working on is also international and one of major significance. It relates to people with disabilities on a very specific, narrow aspect and that is sport. The group is called "The International Committee on Integration of Athletes with Disabilities." Our mandate is to lobby to gain full medal status of athletes with disabilities in the Olympics, Commonwealth and other major international sporting competitions.

Sport is such an incredible mirror of how society views itself. Just like when sport included women as a statement to the world that society had come to the age that we treated women as equals. We're in the same relative period of time in today's society where we still perceive people with disabilities in a segregated way in their chosen way of life and that's sport. You don't have special journalists, foreign affairs people, educators, and lawyers just because they have a disability. The disability is a secondary characteristic.

And the same needs to take place in relation to athletics. We're striving to see the excellence of athletes being recognized as the most important characteristic and the disability as secondary. Still, many people think of persons with disabilities as different, inspirational ... everything except as real athletes. Part of the reason is that they are not included in major competitions and if they are it's as an exhibition. That only reinforces

Rick in London.

the statement that yes, they are disabled, special and different. That kind of message is no longer a quality one.

The last project and the most rewarding is INDEPENDENCE 92, an international congress and exposition on disability, scheduled for April of 1992. Because we're approaching the closing of the U.N. Decade of the Disabled, we spent some time looking into an idea that Canada should do something internationally to celebrate the close of the decade. INDEPENDENCE 92 was designed as an ideal opportunity for all of us to take inventory of how far we've come and how far we have to go.

Our aims were to bring together traditionally polarized members of the disabled community, interest groups and segments of the community that drive social change, take responsibility for listening to the message of the disabled community and translating it into reality for the community and society in general.

Philosophically, it would be hard to argue in this day and age against the rightful place of people with disabilities within society to be recognized as free and equal citizens.

The implications of executing that commitment present many difficult and important logistical concerns and we all have to work in partnership to accomplish and overcome logistical concerns. That's the significance in my mind globally of INDEPENDENCE 92. It's not the event itself, it's the future impact of the event.

We're bringing together the highest level decision-makers from around the world to experience INDEPENDENCE 92, then have them go back into their own communities and implement change with a new vision and a new sense of enthusiasm and direction. This has phenomenal potential and great significance.

So how did INDEPENDENCE 92 actually get off the ground?

The B.C. Pavilion Corporation in Vancouver approached me to do a feasibility study that I wasn't all that excited about, but I thought I would look into it anyway. In talking to several people, it became obvious there was a tremendous need for some kind of a forum to take place and that Canada was ready to take a leadership role as it has done in so many other aspects of society. It was almost automatic ... if there was to be an international conference on disability, it would have to be one that would be more universal and that had relevance to all people with disabilities.

The feasibility study also highlighted several important facts. One worth noting is that the disabled community represents 13 per cent of the adult population which translates

into a profound, political and social force. That is a phenomenal number of people in this world especially considering that they cut across all the bounds of social, political, ethnic or other special interest groups.

Sometimes in the struggle to provoke change you get caught up in what you still have to do but you still have to stop and reflect on what has been accomplished. It's like climbing a mountain ... when you are struggling foot by foot, it's nice once in a while to look back and see how far you've come.

You mentioned that Canada is ready for such a conference. Generally, when you host something like this you better be doing a lot of things right. Is Canada a good example, as compared with other countries you've seen?

It's pretty hard to compare countries since there are different political systems, economic conditions, climates, geography and cultures. The goal in this situation is to share information, not to compete.

We're all on a road going in the same direction just taking different avenues to get there. I think that everywhere I've gone I've found people who are concerned about this issue and are supportive in some way, shape or form.

There's no doubt about it, Canada is a leader but we still have a long way to go. Part of the reason we're doing this conference is simply to show the issue.

If Rick Hansen were personally to invite contacts and friends from other countries to come to the conference, what would he tell them?

I would say that this is not a project just for people with disabilities, but it has relevance

to everyone. Anyone who is a leader in their community or in their country, who is concerned about disability issues and who desires to make a difference, then INDEPENDENCE 92 is the kind of event you want to attend. It will help give people a vision and a direction actually to carry out and execute the awareness aspect into positive, specific action.

How can Canadians help, specifically foreign posts and embassies? What can they do for INDEPENDENCE 92?

They can help in a number of ways. For starters, by promoting INDEPENDENCE 92 and by being a communication vehicle for the event itself. We need assistance in seeking out and identifying the various governments and organizations for the disabled plus the many business entities and products that exist in countries which may wish to be a part of INDEPENDENCE 92.

We also need help from our international contacts who may be able to host some of our marketing people travelling through countries during the course of the year as they sell INDEPENDENCE 92. I'm certain our contacts will have advice on ways in which we can talk to various publics in foreign countries. In fact, that process is already underway.

Are you happy with the things you've seen over the last five years and the results from the projects you've been involved in?

Yes, I suppose I'm very satisfied but I'm even more happy with the kind of real change that has taken place within the last decade. It has very little to do with what I've done, it's what we've all done to respond to the challenge that has been put forward to persons with disabilities and that's reassuring.

Sometimes in the struggle to provoke change you get caught up in what you still have to do but you still have to stop and reflect on what has been accomplished. It's like climbing a mountain ... when you are struggling foot by foot, it's nice once in a while to look back and see how far you've come. 

Walt Judas is the communications manager for the B.C. Pavilion Corporation's New Business Development Division. He is responsible for marketing, promotions and media relations on a pair of events including INDEPENDENCE 92. Prior to joining the corporation in 1989, he spent seven years in radio as a news and sports director as well as program manager.

Madame Pauline Vanier : *Ambassadrice à Paris*

par Jean Fournier

Après son décès, madame Vanier a été l'objet d'éloges tant pour le rôle qu'elle a joué comme châtelaine de Rideau Hall pendant les années où son époux, le Général Vanier, y occupa la charge de Gouverneur-général du Canada, que pour le rôle qu'elle joua pendant les vingt dernières années de sa vie auprès des handicapés mentaux de l'Arche à Trosly, en France, au sein de la communauté fondée par son fils Jean. Mais comme peu d'articles ont souligné son rôle comme ambassadrice à Paris, le magazine **bout de papier** m'a prié de rassembler mes souvenirs et de parler des activités de madame Vanier pendant la période de mon stage, soit de 1951 à 1954.

Tout d'abord, il convient de dire que tout agent du service extérieur nommé à Paris savait déjà avant d'arriver à son poste qu'il s'y trouverait membre d'une famille sympathique, cet extrait de la lettre du Général en faisant foi : « ma femme et moi vous réservons ainsi qu'à madame Fournier un accueil affectueux. »

Voici le souvenir qu'avait gardé de l'ambassadrice l'épouse de l'un des conseillers d'ambassade à l'époque où je besognais à la Chancellerie de l'avenue Foch (ce 'souvenir' résume bien l'intérêt que portait « Maman Vanier » au bien-être des membres de l'ambassade) : « Madame Vanier était d'une inlassable gentillesse envers les membres de l'ambassade. Elle s'informait de leur santé, de leurs activités, de leurs intérêts, n'hésitant pas à les conseiller, et à les encourager en cas de difficultés. Elle était remplie de sollicitude pour les nouveaux arrivés, particulièrement pour les épouses, qui pouvaient compter sur elle pour leur expliquer le rôle que chacune devait jouer au sein de l'équipe. Peut-être était-elle consciente qu'elle formait de futures ambassadrices? Elle prodiguait l'encouragement et le réconfort dont elles pouvaient avoir besoin. Si Madame Vanier savait que quelqu'un était retenu à la maison par la maladie, elle s'empressait de lui faire signe avec une grande délicatesse. Elle avait le don de faire sentir à tous qu'à l'ambassade nous étions membres d'une même grande famille ». C'est sans doute ce qui lui valu le titre affectueux de 'Maman Vanier'. Elle participait à toutes

les réjouissances de l'ambassade (le Noël etc. etc.) avec enthousiasme, le sourire et la cigarette aux lèvres!

Lorsque son époux devint chef de mission à Paris en 1939, le journal le *Journal* de Montréal avait dit d'elle qu'elle était « la femme parfaite d'un parfait diplomate ».

Tout en remplissant à la perfection son rôle d'hôtesse aux cours des réceptions dîners, etc., elle n'oubliait pas l'autre volet du rôle d'une mission canadienne à l'étranger. Citons un exemple de la façon dont je pus en profiter et le Ministère à Ottawa par ricochet : quelques temps après mon arrivée à Paris, au cours d'une réception, madame Vanier me présenta au Directeur Politique du Quai d'Orsay et insista de la manière qui était la sienne pour qu'il consente à me recevoir. C'est ainsi que je pus désormais faire part au Ministère avec régularité du contenu de mes « tours d'horizon » avec Roland de Margerie. Je me dois d'ajouter que la grande estime dont jouissait le Général Vanier auprès des gouvernements français, facilitait d'une façon remarquable le travail des membres de la mission lorsqu'il s'agissait de répondre aux demandes d'information de la part du ministère à Ottawa. L'ambassadeur obtenait presque instantanément des rendez-vous avec les responsables français et nous revenait avec les éléments nécessaires pour transmettre dépêches ou autres missives à Ottawa.

Avant leur départ, les Vanier firent l'objet de nombreuses réceptions d'adieu. Émue, l'ambassadrice retenait difficilement ses larmes, et le jour où elle était sur le point de recevoir la Légion d'Honneur des mains du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, monsieur Georges Bidault, au Quai d'Orsay, je dus la prendre par les épaules et la secouer gentiment en lui disant, les yeux dans les yeux : « Madame, vous allez recevoir une décoration à titre militaire pour les services que vous avez rendus pendant la Guerre, comme représentante de la Croix-Rouge canadienne en France, et il ne saurait être question de larmes! » Elle ne pleura pas pendant la courte cérémonie!

Bidault, qui avait annoncé l'octroi de cette décoration au cours d'un dîner mémorable offert par les Vaniers à la résidence pour leurs amis de la Résistance et la France Libre, en profita, en la remettant à Madame Vanier

pour regretter que le Canada ne permette à ses diplomates d'accepter de décorations étrangères. (Le gouvernement français aurait voulu donner une promotion dans les rangs de cet Ordre au Général car il avait créé Chevalier en 1917). Avec une finesse bien française, monsieur Bidault ajouta qu'il avait donc été décidé de prendre à même la médaille que l'on destinait au Général un morceau de ruban de cette médaille pour décorer son épouse.

Je termine en citant ces paroles récentes de Marguerite Peeters : « Elle était accueillante envers tous; c'était une grande dame. Sa personnalité se caractérisait par beaucoup de bon sens, un humour anglo-saxon qui était chez elle le signe d'une certaine liberté spirituelle et d'un certain détachement d'elle-même, un esprit curieux s'intéressant à tout et à tout le monde ». John Fraser said it all: « a compulsory warm-hearted woman ... The Vanier hug is something to behold, let alone experience ». Et comment!!

Jean Fournier fut Consul général à Boston. Il a également été en poste à Buenos Aires et Paris de même que Délégué général du Québec à Londres.

Pauline Vanier: A Personal Perspective

by Geoffrey Pearson

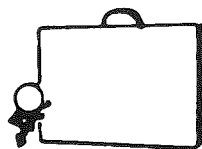
The paths of the Pearson and Vanier families crossed for the first time in London in the mid-thirties where they were posted together under the formidable tutelage of the Vincent Masseys. My mother, unlike my father, found diplomatic life somewhat forbidding and turned to Pauline Vanier for support. This she gave in her affectionate and vivacious way, having already spent several years in London and in Geneva. My sister and I, as children, also came to know the Vanier family in whose home we always received a warm welcome, especially from Jean (Jock) Vanier, who was our age. M^{me} Vanier mixed with King and commoner, child and adult, in the same way and with the same smile. There was no hint of

class, privilege or rank. She remained that way when I next encountered her for any length of time in Paris in 1953, where my wife Landon found herself in much the same position as that of my mother twenty years before — coping with a strange and rather intimidating environment.

The Vaniers had us to dinner the second night we were in Paris at the newly acquired and imposing Canadian residence on the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré. The house itself with its gold and white panelling and Aubusson carpets was enough to strike awe into anyone on a first posting (and perhaps even on a second or third). But Mme Vanier showed us around with such pride and simplicity that we began to think it was normal for Ambassadors to France to live in that style — and so it was, more or less. Again, after a reception in the same place some weeks later to honour the wife of the retiring French President, she told the relieved Canadian wives to take off their shoes and relax. We were fortunate to serve with the Vaniers, if only for three months. He introduced me to French politics. But she introduced us to human politics, Canadian style. 

Geoffrey Pearson served in Paris, Mexico, India and was Ambassador to the USSR. He has retired from the Foreign Service and lives in Ottawa.

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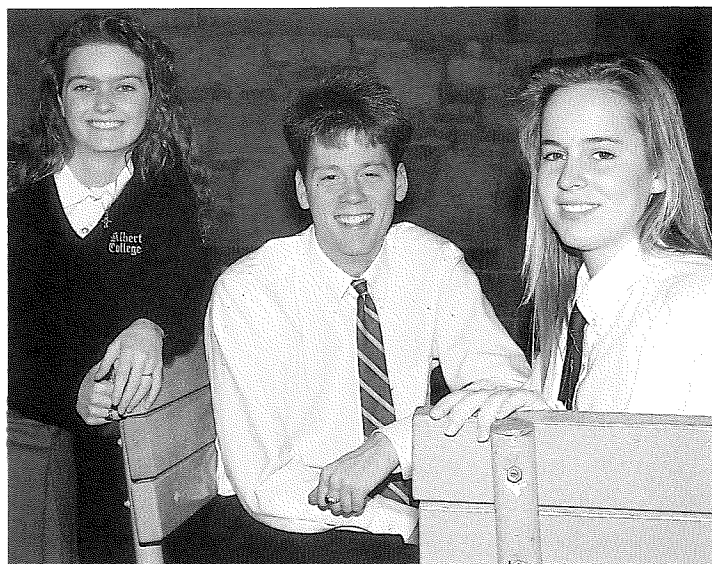
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“Quelques arpents de neige ...” — Voltaire

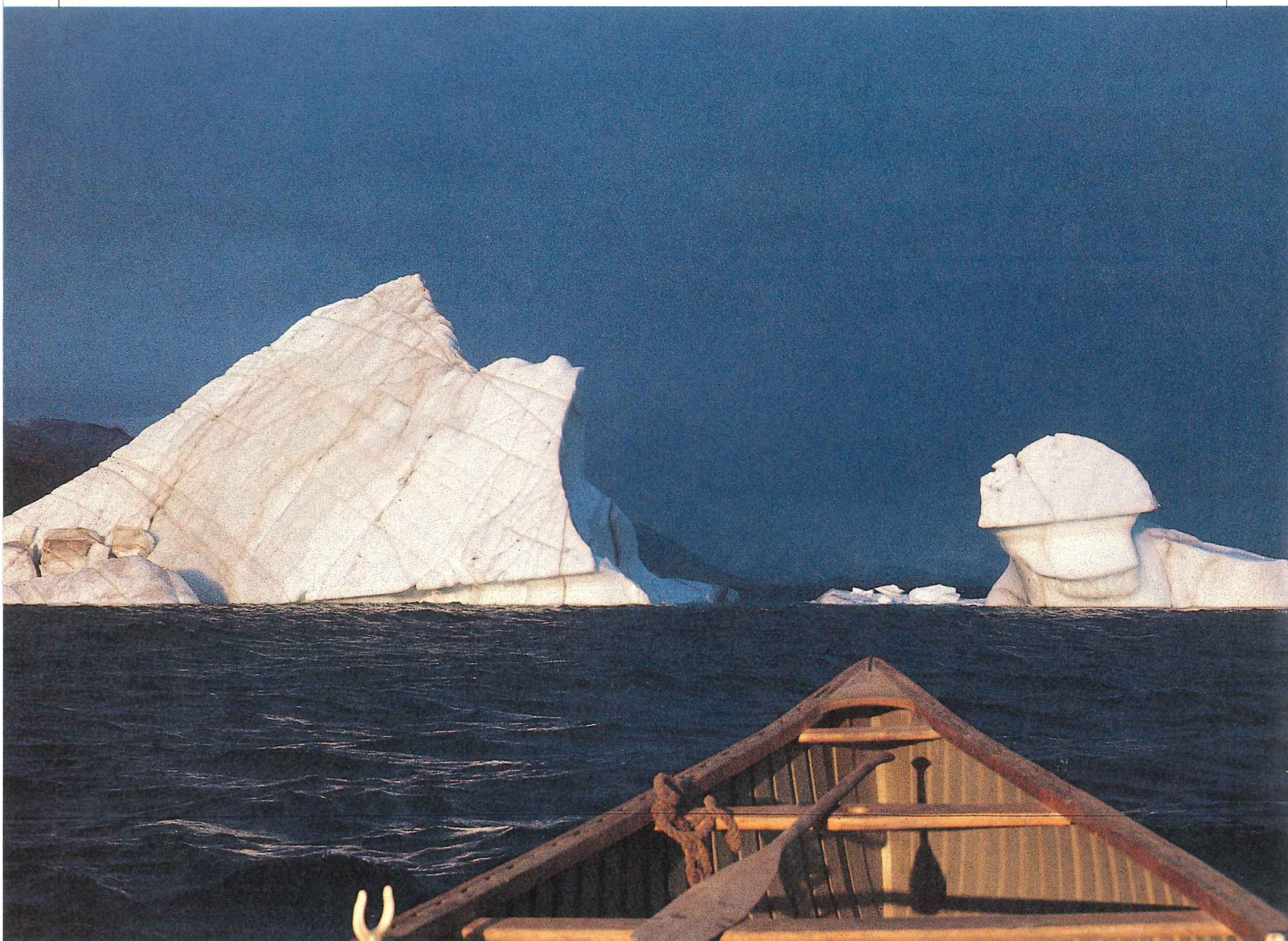
by John Morrison

Pushing my canoe out towards a nearby iceberg to hack off chunks of ice for cocktails was perhaps not the standard preparation for life in the foreign service. However, it did provide me with training in creative thinking to solve a recurrent problem in diplomatic work — no ice. And there were surprises. Glacier ice “pings” as it melts in your drink, the result of escaping air bubbles trapped and pressurized under tons of ice, hundreds of years ago.

It was my good fortune, during two of my four arctic summers to have worked on northern Ellesmere Island, Canada’s most northerly territory, only 500 miles from the magnetic north pole. I was not a scientist, but I had managed to be hired as a field assistant on research projects to find out how sea ice melted and moved and whether glaciers and ice caps were expanding or contracting — an indication of climate change. We drilled holes in 2 meter-thick ice, lowered instruments to measure salinity and temperature, tracked ice flows with the aid of radar and took weather observations. Above all though,

we had to know how to survive: namely to repair sleds and skidoos in the bitter cold, endure long periods of inactivity, as well as 24 hours of straight work in the constant summer daylight. 200 miles from the closest permanent weather station, the two or three person team had to be entirely self-reliant.

These summers left two lasting impressions. The first was the extraordinary drama of the Arctic transforming itself, from an icy and silent desert, to a tapestry of alpine flowers, rushing melt streams and abundant wildlife, and then reverse itself in a matter of only three months. I shared a vast and treeless



In late summer, with no remaining snow cover, the only source of ice for our 151 proof rum and maple syrup cocktails was from the occasional iceberg, which I hacked off with an ice axe from our canoe.



Flying into the late afternoon sun, ribbons of glacier melt glint one by one in the sun's rays, like the diamonds on a necklace.



Even in mid-summer, sudden snow and driving winds sometimes threatened to blow our camp away.



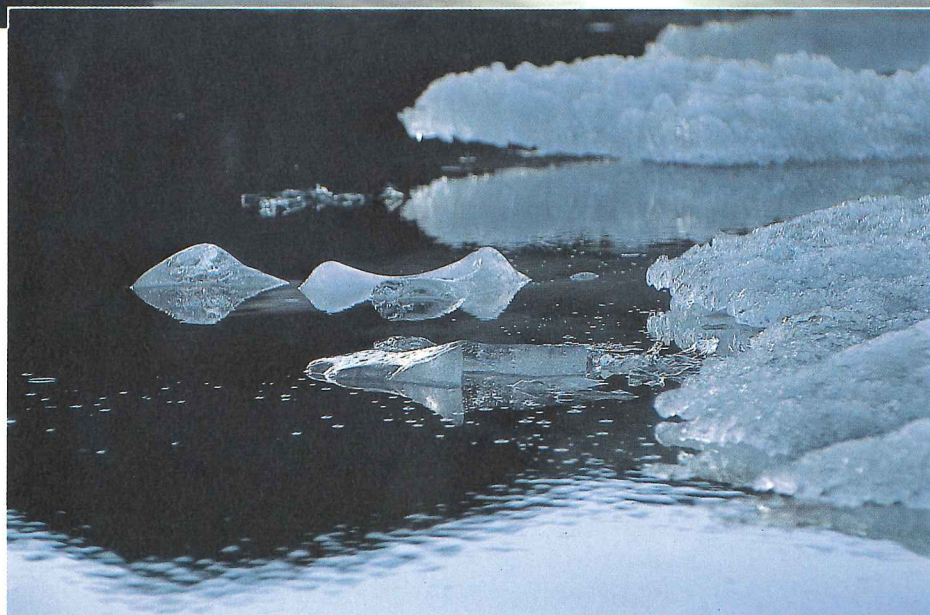
The imperative to survive is nowhere better illustrated than this arctic poppy thrusting its slender stem and petals through a landscape of barren shale. The hairs on its delicate stem, a protection against cold, are laden with melting ice and dew.



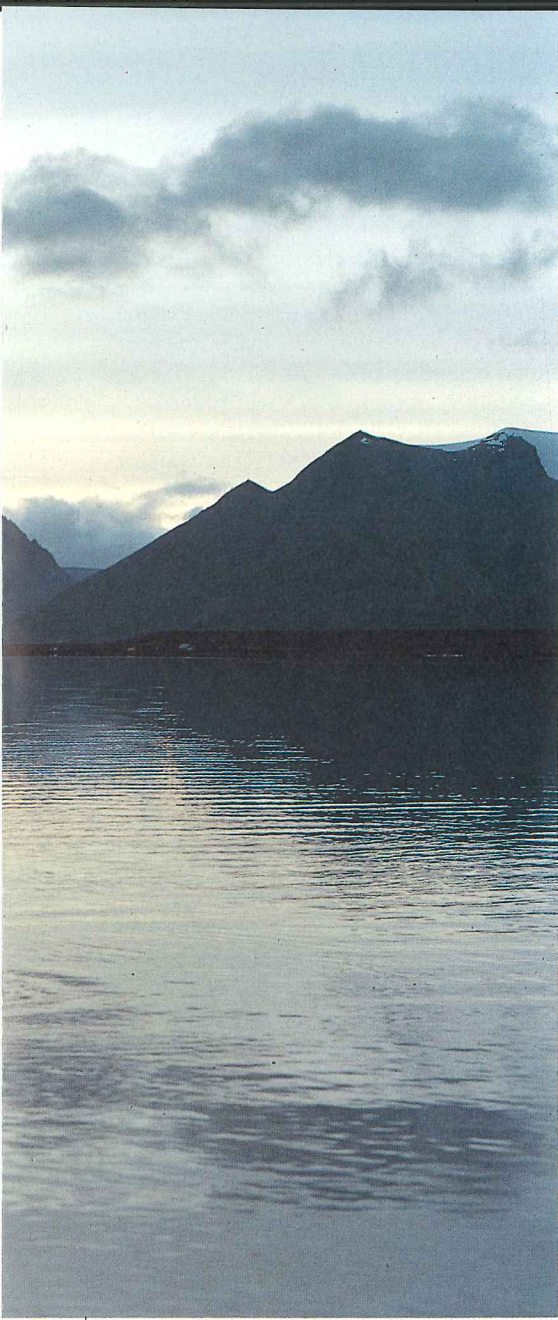
Wind and waves have sculpted smooth the exposed one-tenth of this floating ice castle.

sweep of geography with musk oxen, hare, wolves, foxes, seal and all manner of bird visible from miles away. The fragile and momentary beauty that sprang from such apparently inhospitable surroundings filled me with absolute incredulity. For a photographer, the vision was irresistible.

The second thing I shall always remember about my arctic summers was the sensation of awe as I faced southward. "If I walked for two thousand miles," I remember thinking, "I would still be in my own country." I wish it were possible for more Canadians to have the opportunity of experiencing this sensation. The department offers it as a matter of course each year to a lucky few senior foreign diplomats during their assignment in Ottawa, but all too rarely do ordinary Canadians avail themselves of such a fundamental experience.



In the stillness of a sheltered lake, the tinkling of melting ice fragments signals a brief summer return to movement and life.



The best defence against cold is to hug the ground. Here, purple saxifrage has miraculously survived a midsummer blizzard.



It was startling how close wild creatures such as this basking seal would allow us to approach.

Ministerial Responsibility Left Wounded in Mashat Skirmish

John Hay, *Ottawa Citizen*, 19 June 1991

"Among the several troubling parts of the Mashat affair, none has been uglier than the sudden wounding of a democratic idea — the principle of ministerial responsibility. It is an idea worth saving, if we can.

It is a simple, necessary rule of parliamentary democracy: Ministers, who have the power, answer to Parliament and the public for the use or abuse of that power. The rule applies even when their power is exercised by public servants.

The Mulroney cabinet has breached the principle. Ministers have named and blamed officials for the mistake of letting Mohamed Al-Mashat, a former Iraqi ambassador, into Canada.

The worst harm done is not hurt feelings, damaged careers or injured public service morale — although these are more than insignificant.

The real harm is the disruption of the responsibility that governors owe the governed.

Look at it this way. Operating a democracy requires that we assume all the scoundrels with government power are in the House of Commons — from which we can remove them at the next election. If the elected rascals cannot be held accountable, nobody can be.

External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall was at Immigration the day Mashat got his visa. Testifying at the House external affairs committee May 30, she endorsed the doctrine of ministerial responsibility and briskly summarized it:

"A. Ministers are responsible for the actions of their officials, whether they had prior knowledge of them or not.

"B. When an error is made of which the minister is unaware, the minister acts to establish the facts, correct the error and satisfy herself or himself that it will not recur.

"C. The minister informs the House of the action taken."

McDougall dismissed the injustice of naming names almost as an afterthought. "Given the ministers' commitment to a thorough investigation," she said, and then given

their findings, "it became inevitable that the identity of the officials principally involved would become public."

Naturally enough, McDougall stressed a key point: There is not a single Canadian case since Confederation of a minister resigning because of an official's error.

And for her argument, she relied heavily on the writing of Kenneth Kernaghan, a political scientist at Brock University and a respected authority on public administration.

The honor did not please Professor Kernaghan.

"It is startling and depressing," he lamented in the *Globe and Mail* last week, "to see that even long-serving politicians either don't understand or don't care about what is proper conduct between elected officials and public servants."

He continued: "Cabinet ministers are responsible for what their subordinates do. Why? Primarily because, when things go wrong, there must be one identifiable person in government obliged to answer to Parliament and the public."

It was true that ministers do not traditionally resign on a bureaucrat's mistake. Rather, they "express regret and promise to investigate thoroughly, discipline those responsible and make sure it doesn't happen again."

"However, it is extremely important that ministers do not publicly name and blame whoever is at fault. This is to preserve both the anonymity and political neutrality of public servants. Loyalty, after all, is a two-way street. By tradition, public servants are not permitted to speak out in their own defence against ministerial criticism. By engaging in a public debate with their minister, they would be dragged into the political arena and the public would be confused about just who is running the show."

That is exactly the trouble caused by the Mashat case. The lines of political accountability have been twisted and obscured by ministerial efforts of self-vindication and vilification.

The issue is not just that one of Saddam Hussein's apologists wangled a Canadian visa. It is that ministers have sloughed the blame on to public servants who are neither accountable nor constitutionally armed to defend themselves.

It remains to be seen whether this impedes the impartiality and candor with which public servants advise ministers in future. But it has surely broken a good rule in parliamentary democracy."

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A Swiss Bank Account: Do You Need One?

by Michael Rooney

A recent article on "Swiss Banking" by Betty Lee in the March issue of *Canadian Business* caught my attention. I was always under the impression that Swiss bank accounts were designed exclusively for the very rich or for characters in spy novels such as Ludlum's Jason Bourne. The reason they seemed so intriguing was that they made perfect sense for investors looking for a little asset diversification abroad. I don't know about you, but at the end of each month, I sit in Ottawa developing new financial strategies with all the disposable income I retain on my FS-1 salary.

Actually, my "portfolio" consists of a savings account and a few RRSPs, and presently does not warrant a Swiss bank account. Still, some of you who have slaved over the years by eating at fast food restaurants and socking your overtime cheques away, or those looking for a safe haven for your posting allowances, might consider an offshore bank account.

In today's economic times, long term protection of your permanent portfolio is very important. It is unlikely that Canada will witness major disruptions such as a civil war or an economic catastrophe. However, to a certain extent, political uncertainty does exist, and there is always potential for the government to enact new policies calling for increased personal income tax and a higher marginal tax rate at retirement. These factors, plus others, make Switzerland a natural choice to keep a little cache.

For years, world leaders and prudent investors have enjoyed the use of a Swiss bank account. Switzerland has been a neutral country since the 16th century, and the Swiss do not believe in waging war. Switzerland has never joined NATO, the United Nations, and the International Monetary Fund, nor had it participated in a collective security agreement until last year when it supported the UN embargo against Iraq during the Gulf war. For the last half century, the Government of Switzerland has been formed from a coalition of conservative parties which has provided added stability to a world-renowned banking system. Historically, Switzerland has been so stable and

predictable that one need not worry about an unexpected change in the political mood.

Besides stability, financial freedom is another advantage when contemplating banking in Switzerland. For years the Government of Switzerland has allowed capitalists and the forces of supply and demand to manage the economy. One of Europe's most successful economic stories, Switzerland enjoys GDP per capita of \$34,190, the highest in Europe and an unemployment rate of 1.1 per cent (versus over 10 per cent in Canada). Open market economy principles have worked so well that the extent of intervention by the Swiss Government even today is so attenuated that we in Canada have not experienced a similar hands-off approach in the last twenty to thirty years.

A big advantage of using the Swiss banking system is that Swiss banks can be one-stop financial shopping centres. They provide as many banking services as Canadian banks, while allowing the flexibility of using a single institution to carry out an aggressive financial portfolio abroad. Through a Swiss bank, one can buy short and long term deposits, treasury bills, commodities, gold, all major currencies, and acquire sound investment advice while gaining access to world stock markets. Banks operating in Canada are constrained by law from offering "non-banking" services. (The closest comparable institutions are the "near-banks" or trust companies, which are able to offer a wider range of financial services, but only a limited range of banking services.)

Another advantage of the Swiss system is its secrecy. For years, the Swiss have been very circumspect people who respect financial privacy. By law, Swiss bankers were required to honour the confidentiality of their clients. This feature, together with the undoubted security of these institutions, meant that investors traditionally looked to Switzerland as an attractive and discreet refuge for their money. However, Swiss banking secrecy laws dating back to 1934 are slowly disappearing. In fact, the legend of the totally anonymous Swiss bank account may be finished. There has been a worldwide effort by governments to obtain the

assets of criminals by curtailing the growing number of international financial transactions in which they laundered the money gained through their illegal activities. The perception that the secrecy surrounding Swiss bank accounts fostered international money-laundering was difficult to dispel. As a result, Swiss banks have begun abolishing some of the secrecy behind the majority of their anonymous bank accounts.

According to "Anonymous Swiss Banking Accounts: The End of a Myth?" which appeared in the July *International Financial Law Review*, past practice had allowed an agent (normally a lawyer) to open a private account on behalf of a client. In doing so, the onus was on the agent (and not on the bank) to be satisfied that the client was not abusing bank secrecy laws. The agent would then open what was called a "Form B" Account on behalf of the client (and the client's identity would not be disclosed to the bank). This meant that the only name which a bank would have on the record would be that of the agent.

In turn, the bank was constrained by law to report the identity of a client of a Form B account if ordered to do so by a Swiss Criminal Judge. In the case of revealing the identity of the unidentified client, the bank would only be in a position to reveal the name of the account holder of record (ie. the agent) unless, somehow through some other means, it had learned the name of the anonymous client. Legislation provided that the Court always had the power to order the identity of an account holder to be disclosed if the Court deemed it necessary. Thus, in these circumstances, the bank would turn to the agent, and the agent would be compelled to disclose the name. However, in the case of agents who were lawyers, another issue would come into play; namely that of solicitor-client privilege with its corresponding requirement for maintaining privacy.

This system has now been amended somewhat. Effective 1 July 1991, Form B accounts, which allowed unidentified clients to conduct financial transactions through agents, were abolished. Registration of new accounts is presently under way. Banks with current Form B account holders have until September 1992 to disclose their identity.

However, the privilege of legal anonymity has not completely vanished with the Form B account. Bank secrecy is still available if the client (ie. not an agent on behalf of an unnamed client) seeking to open an account can clearly document that the deposits are directly related to legal proceedings, for example divorce settlements or inheritance. Perhaps one spouse does not want the other to know the full extent of the assets, or their location. Perhaps siblings wish to segregate and safeguard an inheritance from their other assets — who knows. There are many legitimate reasons for maintaining secrecy.

Although the need for privacy is definitely at the investor's discretion, the overall objective for having a Swiss account should not be to hide from the Canadian tax authorities. Canadian tax law does not require you to disclose foreign accounts; however, you are required to report any interest, dividends or capital gains accrued through an offshore account when filing your annual Canadian income tax return. In addition, the Swiss Government, like many others, will impose its own withholding tax (about 35 per cent) on all interest and dividends earned from Swiss savings accounts, stock and bonds. If privacy is your ultimate concern, or tax evasion is your hobby, you will want to forego the option of applying to the Swiss Government for a non-resident refund.

As Betty Lee outlines in her article: "One way of getting around the tax altogether is to plow your funds into non-Swiss certificates of deposit — which are paying 8 per cent in Swiss francs, and 10 per cent on Canadian dollars, for three months — or various investment instruments that are not subject to the levy."

After you have decided to take the plunge, opening a Swiss bank account is relatively painless. There are two types of accounts which are of interest to the average investor. A "current" account, like a regular chequing account, allows you to withdraw money as required. A "safekeeping" account allows you to store separately from the bank's own assets those investments which the bank has acquired on your behalf.

One notable difference from Canadian banks is that clients of Swiss banks must maintain a fairly hefty balance in their account at all times. Minimum deposits for opening and maintaining an account vary from bank to bank, but are usually in the range of \$5,000 to \$90,000. Transaction fees depend on the type of investment. For instance, transaction fees on the purchase of Canadian stocks and bonds would obviously be higher through a Swiss bank than they would be if purchased in Canada.

Opening an account can be done through the mail. There are over 450 commercial

banks in Switzerland, and the "big three" (the Swiss Bank Corporation, the Swiss Credit Bank and the Union Bank of Switzerland) have offices in Canada which can provide information on establishing an account through their parent branches in Switzerland. But bear in mind that opening an account in a Swiss bank in Canada or in another country is not the same as opening the same account in Switzerland. All banks (whether domestic or foreign) operating in Canada are governed by Canadian banking laws.

In addition to the big three, there are approximately two hundred other banks in Switzerland which were formed with the primary purpose of acquiring and storing investments. Smaller and less bureaucratic, these banks may be ideal for the investor with a narrowly defined portfolio.

When choosing a Swiss bank, look for some of the same characteristics one enjoys in Canada: quality and range of services; the value of its assets; its ability to communicate in the language of your choice; and most importantly, its financial solidity. The quickest way to confirm your choice may be to talk to a colleague who has been posted in Switzerland or to your financial advisor, both of whom may have some experience in offshore banking. Should you later become unhappy with your choice, there is no financial penalty for changing from one Swiss institution to another. As Europe '92 approaches and the European financial market deregulates, Swiss banks will find it necessary to improve their services even more with the goal of preserving their first-class reputation.

And if you are not totally convinced that Switzerland is for you, consult the experts. A great read is the chapter on Swiss banking in financial strategist Harry Browne's book *Why the Best-Laid Investment Plans Usually Go Wrong*, or Betty Lee's *Canadian Business* article, "Looking for a Place to Hide Your Money?"

By no means do I warrant the title of "Financial Advisor", and my bank book will corroborate this statement. Being employed in the government, my financial future looks dismal. Yet, one day, I hope to have a diversified portfolio. A portfolio that would allow me the opportunity to park a small part of my money and investments in Switzerland. Research assures me I would find comfort with a little nest egg in Zurich, awaiting my retirement. 

Michael Rooney is a member of the bout Editorial Board. He has served in Detroit as a provincial Commercial Officer from 1986-1990. In October 1990, he joined the Trade Commissioner Service at EAITC and is currently on French language training.

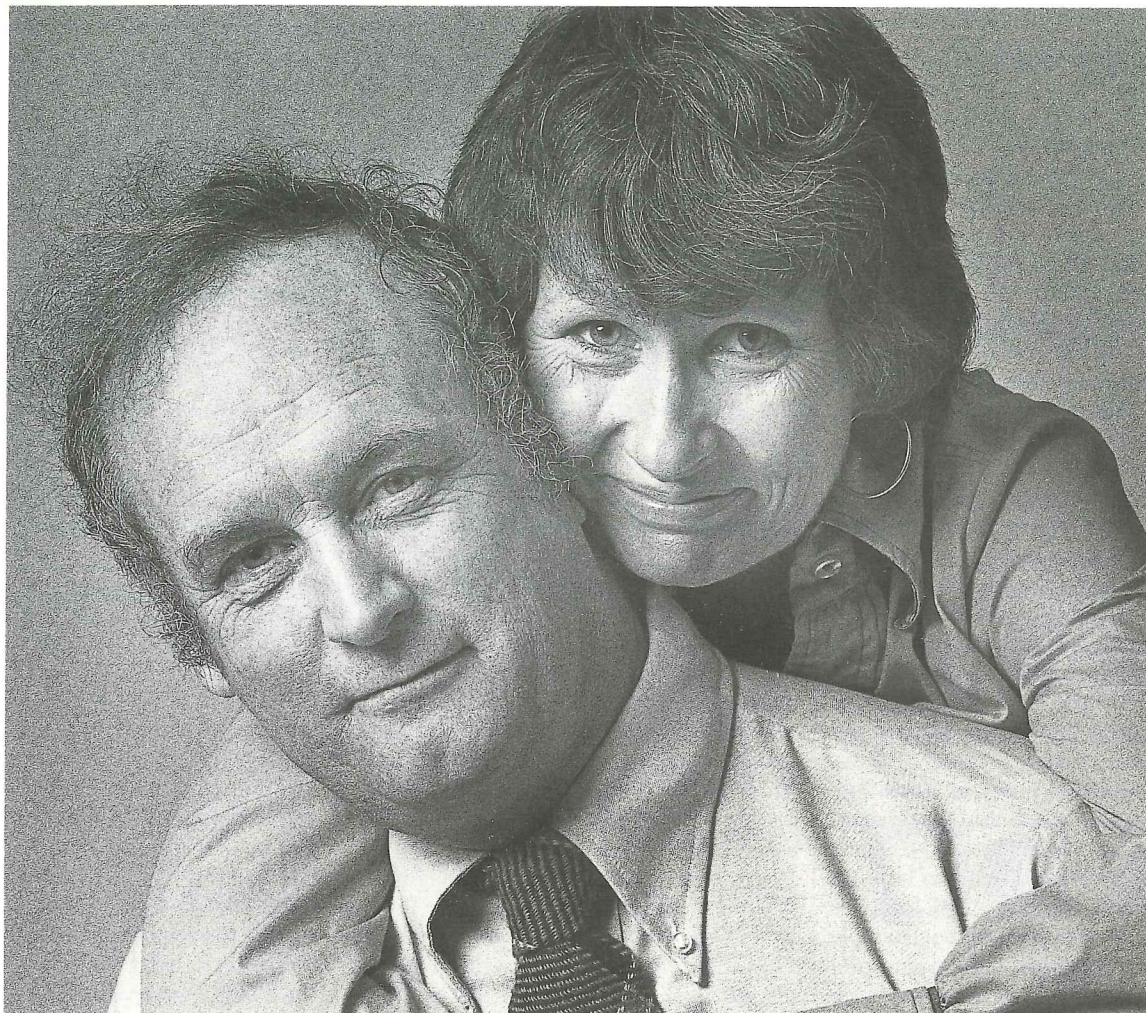
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Distressed Canadian: A Tale

by Harriot Rive

It was no nine days' wonder. It was only a small part of work "as usual" in the life of the Canadian High Commission in Wellington, New Zealand.

It is the practice there, as in all Canada's missions abroad, to give a hand to troubled Canadian travellers who need help. Technically, they are known as "distressed." So nobody in the office was really startled when Jimmy Binningham (all names are fictitious) turned up with his tale of woe.

Jimmy came in off the street, and talked to the Consul. He was a Canadian, he said; a deck-hand in the Canadian merchant marine; he had got some shore leave when his ship docked at Auckland and had come down to the capital hoping to do some brief sightseeing. Last evening he'd stopped into a nice-looking pub for a quick beer. It wasn't very quick. The old story; a fellow-drinker had befriended him; they had had more than a few beers together, and when the pub closed, his new friend suggested he could get a cheap bed for the night at the Sailor's Solace, a men's hostel. Jimmy thought that sounded fine, and there they both spent the night. Jimmy had a good sleep. In the morning he looked around. His new friend had disappeared, as had also Jimmy's wallet, all Jimmy's money and Jimmy's ship's papes. All was gone except a couple of worn envelopes with his name and address on them, letters from his wife in Vancouver. Poor Jimmy was distraught; he now had no way of rejoining his ship in Auckland. He begged for advice and assistance.

For the Consul, this was par for the course. He did some telephoning, and while poor Jimmy waited, learned that there was a ship loading in Wellington, due to sail in two day's time for Canada. Jimmy was delighted. And the High Commissioner, himself from Vancouver, who also knew something about the reputation of the Sailor's Solace, made a suggestion. Would Jimmy come home with him, do a few little jobs of work there, spend a couple of nights and then get safely back to Canada?

"That's a wonderful chance for me, sir, and very, very kind of you" said Jimmy. And so it was. And when, at the end of the day, the High Commissioner went home, Jimmy went with him, sitting with the driver in the big black Canadian official Buick, to the Official Residence on the far side of Wellington Harbour.

Letting them out at the house, the driver remarked, "It looks like rain tonight. Shall I put the car in the garage, if you won't be needing it?" "Yes, do" said the High Commissioner, "I won't be going out tonight", and then he escorted Jimmy into the house, showed him his little room upstairs and pointed out a few ways he could make himself useful with brooms and buckets around the kitchen and back yard.

A little later in the evening the lady of the house also met Jimmy. He was washing up things at the kitchen sink, and she had heard of his problems. She asked about his home and family. "It's a new apartment we've just moved into", he said "and I can't hardly wait to get back and see my wife. I haven't seen her for four months, you know, being at sea all the time. And only two letters from her and the one postcard. I reckon she must've written more that never did catch up with me. Could I show you a snap of my kid?"

"Oh, do show me", said the lady. "What luck the thief didn't get that when he got everything else".

"Oh, he couldn't," said Jimmy. "This envelope and the picture was always in my inside pocket. I was sleeping in my jacket, you see". "What about your wallet, then?" she asked him. "I stuck that under my pillow," Jimmy said ruefully. "I guess I thought that that was a safe place and I was sure fooled by that jerk who was so friendly in the pub. "Anyway," he added, "here's the picture of my little girl. Four years old, she is; Olive. We call her Ollie for short. Isn't she cute?"

"Heavens", said the lady. "You hardly look old enough to have a child so big. She's lovely", as she handed back the picture of the smiling, curly-haired girl.

"Oh, I'm older than you think", said Jimmy, rather embarrassed. "I'm twenty-three, you know. She's a real doll, isn't she?"

The lady agreed, and after wishing him a good night, she left him and rejoined her husband in the living room.

All was quiet for the rest of the evening, until about eleven o'clock, when they were startled by an insistent loud knocking on the front door and a long ring on the doorbell. The High Commissioner went to the door. All his wife could hear was a murmur of voices, and then her husband returned, but briefly.

"I'm taking a couple of people up to Jimmy's room," he said quickly, and she heard them go upstairs.

That was all she knew for some very long twenty minutes. Then the visitors departed by the back door, and her husband returned.

She thought his expression was odd, he looked half horrified, half satisfied and even rather amused.

"What on earth?"

"Well", he said, "that was the police. Two policemen in fact. First they told me that for some days now they have been on the lookout for a young soldier, a private I take it, 18 years old, who has been AWOL from the military training place up the valley. He'd been gone several days. They spotted him an hour ago on the road down. They recognized him immediately from the picture of him which they had. They stopped him, and he told them that he was just making a quick call on his girl-friend somewhere. BUT! Guess what car he was driving! The official car! And of course the police know it well — they know all the diplomatic cars and drivers. So then they let him go, and they followed more slowly, and when he got near here, they thought they had better have a word with me first, before pulling him in. They even said to me, when I told them the car was in the garage, 'Let's go and see'. So we went into the garage, and there was the car! It was there, all right, but there were wet tire tracks on the garage floor. So then, of course, I took them straight upstairs. Jimmy was in bed, all covered up, snoring. I said, 'Jimmy!' No answer. I pulled back the covers. He was fully dressed! He sat up and said 'what do you want?' and then he saw the police. One of them said to me, 'so he's told you he's Jimmy, has he? We all know his real name is Bobby Leonard, and he's no more Canadian than I am!'

"The policemen went through all his pockets and searched the room pretty thoroughly. They didn't find much, but what there was they handed to me. A wallet, some papers and several old envelopes. Everything was in the name of Jimmy Binningham, a Canadian national." The High Commissioner paused.

His wife said, "there was something a little odd about his Canadian accent, but I thought maybe he'd spent some time in the States. Well, so what did they do next?"

"Well, they handcuffed him and took him away in their car. I hope they won't be too hard on him; he's just a boy, only eighteen. I do feel a little foolish: I could have asked him some questions about Vancouver. I could probably have caught him out, somewhere. Too bad I never thought of it."

"Just think," said the lady, "cops and robbers in our own home!" and they went off to bed satisfied that the drama was over.

It wasn't quite, however. The following day, with wallet and papers safely in the Consul's office, the door opened to admit another visitor. He was a sturdy man, the Consul later said, perhaps in his mid-forties, looking very gloomy. He was in trouble. He

was a Canadian from Vancouver. He was a deckhand in the merchant marine. He'd got some shore leave when his ship docked at Auckland, and had come down to the capital to see the sights. He'd had a few beers with a young chap who had taken him to a hostel. While he was asleep he'd been robbed: his wallet and all his papers and even a photo of his little girl had been taken.

"Your name?" asked the Consul. "Jimmy Binningham," said the man. "This is all the I.D. I have left." He pulled out the metal dog-tag that hung on a chain inside his shirt.

The Consul, examining it, saw that it did indeed say "Jimmy Binningham".

"I believe we can help you, Mr. Binningham," said the Consul. He opened his desk drawer, pulled out Jimmy's wallet and papers, and handed them across the desk. "You can probably use these."

Jimmy poured out his thanks and left, apparently too overwhelmed by the efficiency of his government abroad to ask how the Consul had come to have his papers.

If Bobby were equally impressed, it is not known.

Harriot Rive is the widow of the late Alfred Rive, an early officer in the Department of External Affairs. She now lives in Ottawa.

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Political Rights for Public Servants: "A Delicate Balance"

by Peter Cenne

The issue of political rights for public servants has long been a matter of considerable debate resulting primarily from two competing philosophies. On the one hand, the tradition of a politically neutral and impartial public service is viewed as an essential component to the maintenance of professionalism as well as providing administrative stability and efficiency. On the other hand, participation in the political process is considered a basic right of citizenship in a free and democratic society. This article explores the legislative evolution to define the rights of public servants in their conduct of political activity.

The concept of a politically neutral public service is a central tenet of Canadian public administration which derives from the British parliamentary tradition. In accordance with this tradition, if public servants are to service governments of different political orientations equally and effectively, it is imperative that ministers and the public have every confidence that the individual views of public servants do not affect the discharge of their official duties. As a result, the acquired skills and expertise of a professional public servant are transferable to successive ministers, regardless of their political perspective, thereby maintaining administrative stability and efficiency.

The creation of a politically neutral, "professional" public service began with the implementation of a system of recruitment and promotion based on the "merit principle". The *Civil Service Act* of 1918 was the first attempt in Canadian legislation to embrace this concept. Prior to 1918, appointments to the public service largely were politically motivated and were considered to be a reward for faithful service to the governing party. Accordingly, with each change in government, the public service would change with it. Although such a system was an effective method of dispensing political rewards, it did not serve the broader interest of providing service to the public or effective administration of governmental responsibilities.

The *Civil Service Act* of 1918 required public servants to refrain from all partisan political activity other than the right to vote. This limitation on political activity remained

unchanged until the revised *Civil Service Act* of 1961 allowed public servants to participate in municipal elections and to be elected to municipal office. The Act, however, sought to reinforce the principal of political neutrality by forbidding public servants:

- a) to engage in partisan work in connection with any election of a member of the House of Commons or a member of a provincial legislature; or,
- b) to contribute, receive, or in any way deal with any money for the funds of any political party.

The notion of defining political activity by examining the nature of the work which is performed has gained considerable acceptance.

The *Public Service Employment Act* (PSEA) of 1967 marked a significant departure from the belief that a politically neutral public service, which requires the denial of most political rights, is a necessary prerequisite to maintain an efficient and loyal public service. In this regard, the PSEA liberalized the traditional political restrictions by expanding the scope of acceptable political participation. In specific terms, the PSEA confirmed the right of public servants to attend political meetings and to contribute to the financial support of a candidate for municipal, provincial, or federal office. The legislation also provided public servants the opportunity to offer their own candidacy for political office subject to a determination by the Public Service Commission that in so doing, their usefulness as employees of the public service would not be impaired. If the Commission approved such applications, leave without pay would be granted for that stated purpose. A review of the applications submitted to the PSC since 1967, indicates

that approximately 80 per cent have been approved.

Notwithstanding the legislative recognition toward expanded political participation, the PSEA continued to restrict most other forms of political activity by prohibiting deputy heads and public servants from working for or against any candidate for a provincial or federal election or election to a political party. In this way, the PSEA attempted to strike a balance between overt political activity which might compromise, or appear to compromise, the effective, politically impartial exercise of a public servant's duties and the exercise of what can best be described as that individual's private political right.

The question as to whether such legislative restrictions on political activity are reasonable has been the subject of recent judicial review. In *Osborne v. the Queen*, the Federal Court of Canada (Trial Division) essentially affirmed the restrictions on political activity as contained in the PSEA. The Court, however, recognized that certain political activities, previously considered unacceptable, may be permissible provided that a public servant's conduct was not perceived to compromise the ability to perform one's duties in a politically impartial manner. The Court concluded that even if the PSEA infringed the rights of individual public servants under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, in accordance with section 1 of the Charter, these are reasonable limits prescribed by law in a free and democratic society. In coming to this conclusion, the court referred to comments made by the Supreme Court of Canada in *RE Fraser and the Public Staff Relations Board*:

"A person entering the public service or one already employed there must know, or at least be deemed to know, that employment in the public service involves the acceptance of certain restrictions."

In June 1988, the Federal Court of Appeal overturned the Trial Division's decision in *Osborne* and declared section 32(1) (a) of the PSEA to be of no force or effect. The Court essentially concluded that section 32(1) (a), which prohibits public servants from engaging in work for or against a candidate or political party, was too vague, ambiguous and open to discretionary application. The Court viewed the lack of clearly defined prohibitions as

an unreasonable limit to the Charter guarantees of freedom of association and expression. Although the Court recognized the convention of a politically neutral public service, it determined that an appropriate balance had not been achieved between this convention and guaranteed individual rights. In adopting this view, the Federal Court of Appeal relied on one of its previous judgments, *Luscher v. Deputy Minister*. In this decision, the Court stated:

"In my opinion, one of the first characteristics of a reasonable limit prescribed by law is that it should be expressed in terms sufficiently clear to permit a determination of where and what the limit is. A limit which is vague, ambiguous and uncertain, or subject to discretionary determination is, by that fact alone, an unreasonable limit.... While there can never be absolute certainty, a limitation of a guaranteed right must be such as to allow a high degree of predictability of the legal consequences."

Following the Federal Court of Appeal decision, *Osborne* was referred to the Supreme Court of Canada which rendered a decision on June 6, 1991. The Supreme Court confirmed the judgment of the Federal Court of Appeal in that the prohibition against public servants working for or against a candidate or political party violated their Charter right of freedom of expression. The Court stated that the present legislative restriction went further than was necessary to achieve the objective of an impartial and loyal civil service. In this regard, the Court suggested that prohibitions on political activity should consider the nature of the duties performed by the public servant.

In the wake of the Supreme Court of Canada decision, no legislative prohibitions exist to define an acceptable political activity in the context of working for or against a candidate or political party. Legislative restrictions concerning the political rights of deputy ministers remain in force as well as requirements for public servants to seek permission to run for provincial or federal political office. Otherwise, public servants possess the right to be politically active until such time as the government introduces new legislation. Notwithstanding the current legislative void on this issue, it should be noted that existing government policies on conflict of interest may still be used to restrict certain types of political activity involving the public expression of political views or criticism of government policy.

It is not yet known whether the government intends to introduce new legislation to define and restrict political activities. In contemplation of such legislation, it may be useful to examine the British experience.

For the purpose of political participation, the British civil service is divided into three groups. The "politically free" group, consisting of industrial staff and non-office grades, which is free to take part in any political activity including offering their own candidacy for parliament. The "politically restricted" group, consisting of all staff above the executive officer level, which is not allowed to participate in national political activities but may apply for permission to engage in local political activities. The third is the "intermediate" group which consists of all other staff, who may apply to take part in national or local political activity with the exception of seeking candidacy for parliament. As a general rule, permission is granted where the political activity will not call into question the political impartiality of the civil service and where the activity will not conflict with official duties.

Although it is acknowledged that the British model may not be completely transferable to Canada, the notion of defining political activity by examining the nature of the work which is performed has gained considerable acceptance. The *D'Avignon Report on Personnel Management and the Merit Principle* examined the issue of political rights for public servants in 1979. The Committee concluded that the political participation of public servants should only be limited in exceptional circumstances where partisan political interests would compromise the reputation of the public service for impartiality or would damage the individual's effectiveness as a public servant. Based on the British model, the Committee recommended that the Public Service of Canada be divided into three groups defining various levels of acceptable political participation. Since the release of the *D'Avignon Report*, there have been several attempts by individual members of Parliament to introduce legislation based on categories and levels of political participation. The most recent attempt was a private member's bill introduced by David Daubney in 1988. To date, however, these attempts have not proven successful.

In conclusion, it is unclear whether the government intends to introduce new legislation governing political participation by public servants. Nonetheless, further attempts to restrict political participation likely will lead to considerable debate as to what constitutes an acceptable balance between the need to maintain a politically neutral public service while respecting the individual's right for political expression.

Peter Cenne is Executive Director of PAFSO.

Canada and the New World Order / Le Canada et le nouvel ordre mondial

by Richard Belliveau for the PAFSO Professional Committee

In the past year we have been exposed to a barrage of references to a "new world order", and the **PAFSO Professional Committee** was quick off the mark to help members to define what this is all about, and what it means for Canada. On 15 May 1991, the Committee hosted an evening seminar on the theme "Canada and the New World Order", which was moderated by François Taschereau. About 110 members and associate members participated.

The evening was organized into three workshops animated by outstanding speakers, preceded by overview discussions and presentations by: **Bernard Wood**, head of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security; **Jeremy Kinsman**, Assistant Deputy Minister for Political and International Security Affairs; and a wrap-up by **de Montigny Marchand**, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs.

Mr. Kinsman's thesis was that the profound changes that have occurred on the world scene in the past couple of years have given rise to possibilities for Canadian diplomacy unparalleled since the end of the Second World War. The most obvious change is a new Soviet Union, with all its internal problems, that has ended its global competition with the USA and freed its dependent allies in Eastern Europe. He noted that among the integrating factors of the new world were the revolution in communications — which in practice means there is virtually no secret diplomacy — and the victory of democracy which not only demands that leaders respond to public opinion, but also goes a long way to provide leaders with a basis of trust among themselves. With these tendencies, however, there also appear disintegrating features like the revival of ethnic nationalism, growing tensions between the haves and the have-nots, and of course the staggering abundance of armaments in the world. While some observers fear that

the new order is simply a world dominated by the military might and fiat of the USA, **Mr. Kinsman** suggested, on the contrary, that a major problem could be to keep the USA interested and involved in the world at a time when the neglect of its own domestic social and economic problems will force its attention inward.

Bernard Wood noted that the world response to the Kuwait crisis was as close as might have been expected in the classical tradition by the framers of the United Nations Charter. He saw this as a positive precedent, but to sustain an effective international system, it is essential to tune up the machinery of the United Nations while continuing to support it. He mentioned the need to address environmental issues effectively, and expressed support for Canada's initiative on conventional arms trade. There is still a long way to go before we can convince the majority of the world that there are rule-based systems of order.

M. Jocelyn Coulon, rédacteur aux affaires étrangères à *Le Devoir*, a dirigé la discussion à l'atelier I sur des questions d'ordre politique et stratégique connexes portant sur le même thème : « Comment nous régirons-nous ? » Il prévoit un monde relié par des réseaux plus denses d'alliances multilatérales et bilatérales, mais dans lequel les souverainetés nationales restent toujours primordiales. Selon ses prévisions, le Canada jouerait un rôle moins important en Europe et, d'après lui, l'avenir du Canada réside dans le continentalisme; le Canada devrait être disposé à payer pour se doter d'une force militaire souveraine et indépendante afin de conserver sa « marge de manoeuvre » sur le continent. Néanmoins, a-t-il fait remarquer, l'OTAN continuerait à jouer un rôle important et elle doit déjà, d'ailleurs, relever un remarquable défi, soit celui que lui posent certains pays de l'Europe de l'Est qui voudraient en joindre les rangs. La question qui se pose est celle de savoir si des « communautés d'esprit » axées sur la sécurité régionale peuvent grandir ailleurs dans le monde. On commence à penser à un système de sécurité dans le nord-ouest Pacifique, tandis que les efforts de la Ligue arabe et de l'Amérique latine semblent avoir échoué.

Sylvia Ostry, currently chairman of the Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto, led Workshop II through the economic issues in "How will we compete?" She briefly described the three main economic models driving the new world economic order: the pluralist, consumer-driven economy of the USA; the mixed social welfare and market economy of Europe, best exemplified in Germany; and the producer-oriented managerial

market of Japan. These are the very economic giants with which and in which Canada must compete to survive. Mrs Ostry saw Canada as a "muddled" market economy incorporating aspects of the first two systems, while maintaining our more nuanced value system, but lacking the centralized management capability. The key economic problems for Canadian competitiveness are not the cost of capital and exchange rates, but labour productivity. Canadians must make major intangible investments in research and development and in training. The educational support system must be focused on improving the quality of the supply of labour. Indeed, the shortcomings of the Canadian educational system with its lack of country-wide standards and little emphasis on excellence, absence of skilled technical training and high illiteracy rates represent the country's stiffest challenge.

Le troisième atelier, dont les thèmes étaient le Nord-Sud et l'environnement, a vu **M. Marcel Massé**, président de l'Agence canadienne de développement international, se demander « Comment survivrons-nous ? » Il a évoqué les leitmotives de l'interdépendance (verticale et horizontale entre les particuliers et les États) et de l'autosuffisance. Cette dernière notion doit s'appliquer dans plusieurs sens : environnemental, économique, politique (les gouvernements doivent avoir le consentement de ceux qu'ils régissent), social (la gestion des tensions sociales) et culturel (l'accent sur les valeurs des communautés). De fait, les participants à cet atelier sont même allés jusqu'à invoquer le rôle de la moralité et le fait que l'on ne tient souvent pas compte des considérations d'ordre moral. M. Massé a affirmé que nous devons définir des principes moraux pour guider nos actes et qu'il existe des principes d'équité qu'il faut appliquer dans l'utilisation des ressources mondiales.

In each of these discussions, participants also looked at the role that Canada and Canadian foreign policy should be playing in the new world. There was a remarkable consensus, as **Mr. Kinsman** suggested, that there is indeed a distinct opportunity and even a special mission for Canada. The war in the Persian Gulf became a time for reconnection with some of the core values underlying Canada's foreign policy. The Canadian public provided overwhelming support for the government in the crisis because our response was based on a call for the rule of law, fairness and support for the United Nations system. Canada's foreign policy is viewed by much of the world as value-driven, even-handed and non-aggressive, and therefore we can take initiatives like the one on conventional arms proliferation that

other countries either cannot or will not take. **Mr. Massé** spoke in parallel terms, asserting that there is a "Canadian specificity" in the world. Canadians, he said, were willing to pay a share of personal prosperity to ensure social and economic safety nets for the poorest in our society. In like manner, Canada can represent the ideal of developing rules of the game to ensure fairness in development and the distribution of wealth in the world.

Dans son exposé récapitulatif, **M. de Montigny Marchand** a fait observer que le nombre de choses qui pourraient rapidement se gâter dans le « nouvel ordre mondial » est renversant. Il pourrait y avoir implosion de l'URSS; l'échec de la ronde de l'Uruguay risque de bouleverser le système commercial mondial; une réaction brutale à la suite d'espoirs déçus en Europe de l'Est est possible; rien ne garantit que la Conférence des N.-U. sur l'environnement et le développement atteindra ses objectifs cruciaux; et on peut imaginer de nombreux scénarios cauchemardesques dans les pays très volatiles et très peuplés du Tiers-Monde. Néanmoins, comme Pierre Trudeau avant l'habitude de dire, le pire n'est pas sûr. La nouvelle situation mondiale a effectivement imposé des impératifs à Affaires extérieures et Commerce extérieur Canada, notamment sa démarche à l'égard de ses ressources humaines (formation et recrutement) et ses attitudes et démarches relatives à la collectivité canadienne dans son ensemble.

One participant from the floor expressed great scepticism about the apparent recourse to old rhetoric and old ideas in confronting realities in a world that was radically new and different from those of the post-war era. To this, the panellists were pretty solid in replying that the classical responses were not necessarily without use and value. Indeed, as **Mr. Wood** pointed out, the only problem with Wrong and Robertson's world view was that it was forty years ahead of its time. The efforts to build a world system based on rules and fairness through the agency of alliances and organizations like the United Nations had never been truly applied before because of Cold War politics. Perhaps now the new world order would breathe new life into these principles. Canada, both for its own survival as well as that of the world, will be at the forefront of the struggle.

Richard Belliveau has had postings in Jakarta, Hong Kong, Beijing, Algiers, Madrid and Brasilia. He is a member of the Editorial Board and is currently Director of the USA Transboundary Division (URE) at EAITC.

The Foreign Service on Strike!

by Kevin O'Shea

What the Canadian public had long feared finally happened. The Canadian foreign service went on strike, part of the national public service action. As expected, the strike spared no Canadian.

Strike Action

Picket lines quickly formed around selected COSICS machines in the Lester B. Pearson Building. "Our strategy is to stop consultations on Ministerial memos between divisions," explains James R. Bodwell III, U.N. desk officer on Torture and Children's Rights and strike coordinator for Tower A. "We believe if officers cannot consult with the requisite number of divisions, the Department will soon grind to a halt."

"We are not physically preventing those officers who continue to work from doing so, but nothing can prevent the free expression of views. Believe me, there have been frank and far-reaching exchanges of views with those who continue to work and those who are on strike. The two sides have taken note of the differing positions and promised to expand and intensify the dialogue with a view to reaching a solution agreeable to both sides. Yes, I am not kidding — the language has been that rough."

Although this is his first strike, Bodwell dismisses any suggestion that he is inexperienced. "I am well versed in union strategy from watching Canadian postal strikes on T.V. for the last ten years. As well, on my first posting in Chile in the seventies, my American colleagues and I were best friends with the truck drivers union. Believe me, our strike resolve is strong, even if we have to extend the picketing beyond our coffee breaks."

Overseas, François Gravel, second secretary in the Canadian Embassy in the Hague, directs the rotating strikes in different European capitals. "We are trying to interrupt the normal conduct of diplomatic relations by selectively picketing hospitality events in Europe — the U.K. Ambassador's Brunch for MBEs in Copenhagen, the USA reception for Fulbright scholars in Paris, celebrations of Walloon Day at the Belgian consulate in Milan. We do not want any Canadian official to cross our picket lines."

Gravel adds, "Sure, there have been nasty incidents. We have reports of an officer who

had a tray full of prunes and bacon canapés shoved down his trousers at a Danish reception in Rome by a waiter who obviously does not respect picket lines."

The Strike's Impact on Canadians

Wilma Carruthers, a hefty middle-aged matron, is sweeping her front porch in Battleford, Saskatchewan. "It is dreadful. I'll always remember it — sort of like how you will always remember where you were when Kennedy was shot, or the first moon landing or when Paul Henderson scored the winning goal against the Russians."

"When I heard about the public service strike, I immediately thought, 'My goodness, what if External goes out'. I mean, I

can live with cancelled Air Canada flights, no mail, customs officials on strike, no movement of grain shipments but holy Toledo if External goes, who is there to promote international security and peace through bilateral démarches and representation at multilateral meetings?"

Wilma's face shows the stress and anxiety common to all Canadians over the last few harrowing days. "Wilbur, that's my husband, and I did take some precautions. We sent the kids to their aunt's in South Dakota. Before they left, I explained to them what was happening to our once peaceful lives. With External on strike, I told them to expect little progress on the Conventional Arms Reductions in Vienna; not to hold



*Okay, Okay, The place is a dump
but it's very fashionable....*

*T'as raison, c'est un trou mais
c'est très recherché....*

Yves Brodeur

their breath for movement on reform of the Executive Committee of the Office of the U.N. Commissioner on Human Refugees; forget about reforms to Basket II of the CSCE; and only prayers can help get a Canadian elected to the Technical Committee of the IMO on the Dumping of Toxic Wastes in the Oceans. I didn't dare mention to the kids what might not happen at the Third Committee of UNGA on women's issues, drugs and children. I didn't want to scare them."

Losing a Sherpa

Joe's Tavern is packed after the second shift from Stelco. Burly men, their faces and T-shirts soaked with sweat, crowd around small tables, downing pints of draft and looking at the colour television on the wall. Talk soon turns to their common interest — G-7 Summits and sherpas.

"Best all-time European sherpa?" Luigi Pesico pauses. "Sure, Tietmeyer may have had a great season in 1985 in Bonn, but if you're looking for a versatile back to the Prime Minister, one who can scramble at the last moment, you gotta go with Ruggiero. He sherpa-ed those great Italian teams in the eighties."

Frank Hanrathy guffaws brusquely. "You're full of it, Luigi. Gimme Attali any day — a gutsy little player with the defensive moves typical of most French players,

but with great offensive sense and always a 'Hail Mary' initiative up his sleeve at the Summit."

"You guys, always talking about European sherpas." Bobby Todd shakes his head. "But, look at ours. Sylvia is a Hall of Famer. And the big guy in Washington, now he's got potential — a real Bronco Nogorski-type sherpa — up the middle, no prisoners, over bodies, straight on."

Soon the conversation turns somber. Frank looks glumly at the near-empty pitcher. "This strike is really going to screw up the entire season for Canada. Jeez, if External is on strike, who's gonna think up all those nifty Summit initiatives and redraft and practise them for nine months? At this rate, our sherpa might have nothing to huddle about at the next Summit. He will have to call audibles at the line. Someone says, that luckily he's good at audibles."

WIN Some; Lose Some

It's three o'clock in the morning. Jersey Kovak, active member of several Canadian export and small business associations, is feverishly supervising the unloading of an export shipment at the Montreal docks. The shipment is marked for delivery to the Vatican via Libya. Wooden crates, simply marked "Highly Volatile, Do Not Drop" are being whisked onto an unmarked ship.

"Do I miss the import and export services of External Affairs?" Kovaks responds quickly to his own question. "Yeah, Yeah, I miss them like a hole in the head. Ha, Ha. Joke, Joke. Get it? No, really, I do miss them. When you're a pineapple wholesaler like myself, I depend on the Trade Commissioners to open up markets. Even to the Vatican, like this shipment."

Suddenly, Kovak's attention is diverted by the noise of a tumbling crate. "What's the matter with you guys? You trying to blow us up with those Exoc..." Kovaks looks around quickly, "with those exotic fruits for the Vatican. Ha, Ha, Joke, Joke. Get it?"

The Official Line

A departmental spokesman has a worried look in his eyes. "I really wish I could assure Canadians that the department will soon be back to normal, that we'll soon be back on the front pages and before parliamentary committees. But we cannot guarantee anything at this stage. A strike means it is not 'business as usual.'"

He stops for a moment and smiles. Suddenly, he is not so worried.

Kevin O'Shea has served in Accra and Paris (OECD). HE is currently the Executive Assistant to the Associate Under-Secretary for External Affairs.

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Legacies: A Chinese Mosaic by Betty Bao Lord, Random House of Canada Ltd., 1990, 246 pp. \$26.00.

Reviewed by Joseph P. Caron

Chia Chen and Chia Jung were imprisoned in the Prefecture of Chin-yi while the Ning Mansion was confiscated, together with all effects and clothing.

A Dream of Red Mansions (18th century)

The tragedy that befell the Chia Clan in the eighteenth century, in what is China's best known novel, does not surprise contemporary Chinese readers living under Communist rule, any more than it shocked their forbears whose lives were governed by imperial decree and feudal custom. The depredations inflicted on the Chinese people throughout their history have been due in equal measure to man-made, as well as natural, calamities. If official communist ideology explains the downfall of the Chia as well-deserved retribution for having the wrong class origins, it is left today to the Chinese people to draw their own conclusions about the causes of the immense personal as well as national suffering that the country has endured since 1949. As the events of June 1989 made clear, the Chinese are not about to get an honest appraisal from their own government.

Publishers in the West have been more forthcoming. Each ideological spasm and rectification campaign conducted in the PRC since 1949 has produced a wave of emigrants willing to tell their stories, as well as a plethora of political and economic analyses by the armies of China watchers hunkered in their academic and journalistic trenches. Much has been written on the murderous land reform movement, the disaster of the Great Leap Forward, and more recently, Tien An Men. Books on these subjects have always found a willing audience.

The Chinese government, which has relied extensively on the art of mass mobilization for political ends, nevertheless, has failed to develop a formula for governance that does not rely on coercion. From the "Anti-Rightist Campaign" in 1957, to the campaigns against "Spiritual Pollution" and "Bourgeois Liberalization" in the eighties, not to speak of the bloody crack-down in 1989, it has modulated the intensity but never abandoned the indiscriminate use of force in exercising its power over its own people. Given the size of the Chinese population, it has had to rely on the willing participation of at least some of the citizenry to exercise its terrorism. In a country as poor as China, it has found many who are willing to oblige.

Of all the political movements in recent Chinese history, none has been more

ferocious than the "Cultural Revolution". The number of deaths probably exceeds half a million; the number of victims, in the millions. No one appears to have been spared its effects, whether they were members of the Red Guard, Mao's chosen instrument of revenge against the Party, or those with the wrong class connections. A plethora of books and articles has been published which chronicle the devastation that was wrought by the Cultural Revolution on China's institutions, its economy and its people. Liang Heng's *Son of the Revolution* and Nien Cheng's *Life and Death in Shanghai*, are among the most widely read. These and many other narratives of the Cultural Revolution owe their drama to the fact that they place the reader face-to-face and alongside individuals caught in the maelstrom. It is the human condition, not the abstractions of ideological debate, which continue to draw us to these books. The stories they contain are frequently horrific and Brechtian in their absurdity. More often than not, the protagonists are innocent of any conceivable crime. Those who have managed to have their stories told are often the most gifted: doctors, scholars, actors and journalists, people who draw envy and not admiration in today's China, because the fate of those less talented and those without connections is not only to be ignored but to be used.

Bao Lord used her position as the wife of the US Ambassador and her family contacts within China to maximum advantage, letting it be known throughout her three and a half-year stay that she was collecting stories and experiences to be used in a book on modern China.

Now comes another set of stories from the Cultural Revolution, this one gathered together by Betty Bao Lord, a well-known Chinese-American novelist who also happens to be the wife of Winston Lord, a Kissinger protégé, who served from 1985 to 1989 as

US Ambassador to China. Bao Lord, whose father was a Kuomintang official, was born in China in 1938 and followed her parents to New York in 1946. The family decided to remain in the United States after Mao's victory. Betty graduated from P.S. 8 in Brooklyn before moving on to more illustrious studies in the Ivy League, where she met her husband.

Bao Lord, whose earlier novel *Spring Moon* had been translated into Chinese (badly, she says), used her position as the wife of the US Ambassador and her family contacts within China to maximum advantage, letting it be known throughout her three and a half-year stay that she was collecting stories and experiences to be used in a book on modern China. These stories were provided to her directly or frequently slipped to her on audio tape, which provided anonymity to those who sought it.

The result is *Legacies: A Chinese Mosaic*, an aptly titled book which weaves Bao family chronicles with a collection of narratives of pre- and post-Maoist China. Each chapter opens with a brief news flash covering events in Beijing between April 15 and June 5, 1989. These serve as a counterpoint to the descriptions of events that occurred 20 and 30 years earlier. The Bao family, once proud land-owners from Anwei province, had more than their share of the worst that was meted out to "class enemies" during the late 1960s and 1970s. Their stories have an intimacy and immediacy that comes from the fact that they were told first among family members. Bao Lord uses a narrative technique which allows the members of her extended family to speak largely for themselves. They are well served by their chronicler, who writes clearly and unsentimentally. There is little of the self-consciousness that mars Lieng Heng's book (a sort of Chinese *Born on the Fourth of July*). We are also spared the notion that the Bao family, because of its origins, somehow suffered more than others.

The majority of the book consists of first-person narratives of a dozen individuals, identified only as the Peasant, the Petitioner, the Cadre, and so forth. Some were Party members; most were not. Their "crimes" varied: having the wrong class origins; being unable to meet Party-mandated quotas for turning in former landlords (there was only one landlord in the village); or criticizing Chiang Ching's operas. A dedicated surgeon exposes himself to an infectious disease in order to avoid having to criticize his teachers; he is subsequently tortured, imprisoned and later sent to a village for eight years to raise pigs, all because the Red Guards judged his selfless commitment to his work as proof that he put it ahead of devotion to "the people".

A Hui (Muslim Chinese) is caught in the middle of an internecine Red Guard battle, the kind that eventually brought in the PLA and ended the Cultural Revolution. He is imprisoned and beaten. Then, he is released. Later, inexplicably, he is rearrested, placed in solitary confinement, and spends three years in prison. He is eventually released after the fall of the "Gang of Four" and then rehabilitated two years later. He cannot find work; he is estranged from his family, and his sanity is threatened as he ponders with increasing desperation his fate and the events that have brought him such trouble. He cannot fathom what crime he could possibly have committed, or why he was victimized.

In admirable, restrained prose, Bao Lord has conveyed the drama, the desperation, the absurdity and the madness of the Cultural Revolution. She has recorded the authentic and pained voices of the period. Through her pen, anecdotes take on apocryphal significance. A former political prisoner who cannot shake the habits learned during his confinement, breaks a bottle containing the bits of wire he had collected from the prison shop floor. The glass shatters but the clump of wires is frozen in the shape of the bottle. A Westernized Chinese tells Bao Lord that the Government should model itself on the wise counsels of Shang Yang, a noted 4th century official, who obtained the cooperation of his subjects. He neglects to add that Shang Yang subsequently became tyrannical and cruel, and enforced his decrees by means of secret police.

Fang Li-zhi, in a recent article in the *New York Review of Books*, praised the efforts of writers and publishers in the West who record and disseminate works on events in China since 1949. The Chinese Government, he asserts, actively promotes "the technique of forgetting history", an imposed historical amnesia that requires that any detail of history that is not in the interests of the CCP be suppressed. Bao Lord's book will help assure that these voices are not lost to us or to a future Chinese audience.

The answer to the question posed by the Hui Muslim however is one that Bao Lord studiously avoids: why did all of this happen? How could a civilization inflict such pain and cruelty on itself? Surely, someone in Bao Lord's position had numerous opportunities to ask the current Chinese leadership how China could have plunged itself into such disorder. On the other hand, perhaps they do not know. Or, as Fang Li-zhi suggests, they have an institutional interest in keeping the answer to themselves.

Bao Lord does not attempt an answer, and perhaps for this we should be grateful. We are in all likelihood better off being spared the pop psychology and pop history that

such writings frequently invite. As in the *Dream of Red Mansions*, the forces that ordained the fall of the Chia Clan are probably beyond our comprehension, as they were for them. Bao Lord after all is a novelist, not an historian. It is indeed the strengths of the novelist that Bao Lord brings to these Chinese Legacies, and for that, we and her kinsman should be grateful.

Joseph Caron has had postings in Saigon, Ankara and Tokyo (twice). He is currently Director of the International Economic Relations Division at EAITC.

The Domestic Battleground: Canada and the Arab-Israeli Conflict edited by David Taras and David H. Goldberg, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989, 250 pp.

Review by Elizabeth Riddell Dixon

In *The Domestic Battleground*, David Taras and David Goldberg set out to awaken "the reader to the high stakes that Canadians have in the Middle East conflict and to the importance of the domestic battleground in influencing the policies Canada will pursue". The book clearly conveys the contentious and emotionally-charged nature of the debate surrounding the formulation of Canada's Middle East policies. It focuses on the involvement of various domestic actors (the Jewish community, politicians, the Department of External Affairs, the media, corporations and the United Church). The story is told primarily from the perspective of the Jewish community and seeks to show that the latter is less influential in the policy-making process than is frequently assumed to be the case. The book contains no corresponding in-depth study of the Canadian Arab community, its interests or its lobbying activities. Anticipating criticism for this omission, the editors explain early on that they "were unable to entice any scholar who was in a position to write such an article to do so".

The book consists of three parts. The first examines the interests and lobbying activities of some of the domestic actors, most especially the Jewish community, but also Canadian corporations and the United Church. This section concludes with an assessment of the relative satisfaction (not influence) of four sets of domestic actors with Canada's policies toward the Middle East in the period of 1973-88. Of the Canadian Jewish Community, the Canadian Arab community, Canadian corporations and the federal bureaucracy — particularly the Department of External Affairs — Jewish groups are found to be the least sat-

isfied, while Arab groups are said to be the most satisfied. The chapter raises several questions. Is there a strong correlation between satisfaction and influence or is satisfaction more closely linked to perceptions of current influence vis-à-vis past influence? Given the subjective nature of these assessments of satisfaction and in light of the diversity among Arab groups, why was only a single representative of one Arab group interviewed, while interviews were conducted with six representatives of various Jewish groups?

Part two, "The Governmental Stage", examines the performance of several government leaders (in particular Lester Pearson, Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney) and institutions (especially Parliament and the Department of External Affairs). This section presents several interesting findings. For example, politicians are generally more inclined to favour pro-Israeli policies than are public servants in the Department of External Affairs. Furthermore, the media coverage of the Middle East, much of which comes from foreign sources, is seen to exert an unduly strong influence over the views and positions of politicians.

The third and concluding section of the book explores, in interview format, the views of two prominent experts on Canada's Middle East policy. Both John Sigler and Irving Abella agree that the situation in the Middle East is explosive and that Canada should continue to contribute to the process of pacific settlement in the region. Their contrasting opinions on such important issues as Canada's efficacy and, most importantly, Canada's response to the Palestinian question, challenge the reader to draw and to substantiate his or her own conclusions.

On a theoretical level, the editors argue that Canada's Middle East policies are best explained by a modified statist approach in which "the state still wields substantial power but that its actions are constrained by parameters set by public opinion and influential interest groups". While the book argues convincingly for domestic involvement, the linkages between lobbying activities and parameter-setting could be made more explicit.

The Domestic Battleground contributes to our understanding of the domestic politics of Canada's Middle East policy. It is particularly insightful in its discussion of the diversity, interests and activities of the Canadian Jewish Community in the formulation of Canada's Middle East policies during the post World War II era.

Elizabeth Riddell Dixon is an Associate Professor with the Department of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario.

Second World War by Martin Gilbert, Stoddart Publishing, 1989, 800 pp., \$39.95.

Struggle for Survival: The History of the Second World War by P.A.C. Parker, Oxford University Press, 1989, 328 pp., \$24.95.

On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945 edited by Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1989, 282 pp., \$16.25.

A Nation Forged in Fire: Canadians and the Second World War 1939-1945 by J.L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, Lester & Orpen Denys Ltd., 1989, 287 pp., \$35.00.

Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War by Paul Fussell, Oxford University Press, 1989, 330 pp., \$24.95.

Review by Hector Mackenzie

The Second World War has retained its fascination for readers, authors and publishers alike, as the plethora of volumes to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its formal beginning amply indicated. That

interest is certainly understandable. Its imagery, vocabulary, characters and events are seared in our memory through fact and fiction, documentary newsreel and Hollywood romance, experience and mythology (both personal and national). Only recently have we begun to emerge from what one commentator called the war's "long shadow". The books under review here offer an indication of the range of the popular and scholarly treatments of the war as well as the distinct perspectives which these authors bring to their subject.

Martin Gilbert, who has written extensively on the Holocaust and recently completed the official biography of Winston Churchill, not surprisingly provides a comprehensive chronicle of the war which depicts high policy from Churchill's vantage point and yet vividly conveys the horror of war for its less celebrated participants and casualties. "All but a tiny minority of Hitler's victims," Gilbert reminds us, "went to their deaths behind a fog of anonymity; they were numbers, not names; a part of the daily and anonymous statistics of death." Attention to detail and to personal triumph and tragedy is both the strength and weakness of this account, which moves inexorably from day to day, shifting locale and subject at a dizzying pace, from the beginning to the end of the conflict. Unfortunately, that

means that an absurd number of paragraphs are introduced with a specific date but are integrated incompletely at best. To follow any story to its conclusion, the reader must contend with a vast array of unrelated material and an incremental form of presentation which lends itself to critical remarks but not to coherent analysis. Thus, for example, the evacuation of Dunkirk is related in daily episodes, and the increasing totals are scattered over several pages. Criticism that the liberation of Rome served to divert troops from the pursuit and destruction of the German Tenth Army is not addressed. There is also a tendency towards repetition as themes are introduced and reintroduced — American Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, worries about the vulnerability of Pearl Harbor to surprise-attack on page 140, and then again on page 154. On the other hand, Gilbert effectively underlines the importance of signals intelligence as a factor in victory. For anyone familiar with Gilbert's work as a cartographer, the clarity and reliability of the maps will come as no surprise. Like his study of Churchill, this is an impressive achievement, but it is one which fails to provide a sufficient overview and assessment. This is especially unfortunate when the author is one who has added so much to our understanding of the global conflict.

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By way of contrast, R.A.C. Parker's study is shorter, more critical and necessarily more selective in its treatment of the subject. Sometimes that leads to over-simplification (as in the presentation of the background to the attack on Pearl Harbor), error (the mistaken comparison of Canadian with American finance of war orders in 1940), or omission (the absence of a convincing assessment of the weather's impact on Germany's invasion of Russia). Effective maps enable an author to compensate for brevity — unfortunately, the maps in this book are virtually useless as descriptive instruments. However, Parker writes very well and he makes his arguments clearly, and usually, persuasively. For example, his examination of the North African campaign restores some balance as to its value. Parker also provides an excellent critique of the combined bomber offensive without falling prey to the personality clashes which surround that controversy. Three interpretative chapters (on the emergence of the cold war, the fate of the Jews and the cost of the war generally) demonstrate Parker's ability to master what has already been written on this subject yet contribute a distinct critical perspective. This book would make an excellent companion to one of the comprehensive histories of the Second World War.

On Guard for Thee is a collection of essays drawn from a conference held by the Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War about the effect of the war on different "ethnic" minorities within Canada. The editors and contributors have achieved a remarkable degree of cohesion in this volume, though most of the articles retain their specialized academic character. For most of the groups studied, national attitudes and government policy represented a threat to their identity, interests, and for some, their freedom and property. Generally, the tone of these papers is highly critical of the King government, which is depicted as ignorant, insensitive and incompetent. Even an attempt to place the internment of the Japanese-Canadians in its appropriate context, and thereby to explain the action of the government, provides ample evidence for critics. That article, by J.L. Granatstein and Greg Johnson, provoked controversy at the conference, as participants can attest. Indeed, there is one wry moment when Howard Palmer quotes from Granatstein's biography of Norman Robertson to rebut the views espoused by Granatstein and Johnson in this forum.

There are some excellent contributions to this collection, particularly Robert Keyserlingk on policy toward the German-Canadians; David Fransen on the split in the

Mennonite community; Paula Draper on the treatment of Jewish refugees; Fred Dreisziger on the development of the Nationalities Branch; and Bob Bothwell on the peculiar experience of foreign scientists in wartime Canada. One curious feature which arises from the transposition from conference proceedings to a published volume is that the concluding commentaries approximate internal book reviews (particularly the critique by Harold Troper). There is a tendency to judge the past using the values of the present and to criticize the government for its failure to pursue policies which would have earned it the plaudits of later historians but the wrath of contemporary Canadians. Still, it is important to be reminded that the zealous pursuit of victory was not without its consequences for those Canadians who, on the basis of their racial or ethnic origins, were viewed as having questionable loyalty.

Yet another type of work is represented by a volume produced by two of Canada's most prolific historians, J.L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton. This is a fine example of a much-maligned format, the illustrated popular history. It is clearly written, with a judicious mixture of anecdotes and overviews. Within the limitations of its national perspective, it presents a generally reliable and thorough account, paying appropriate attention to the home front as well as the battlefield. The illustrations provide a superb reminder of the exceptional quality of Canada's war art as well as an excellent selection from the available images of Canada's involvement in various realms. Ultimately, however, there is little that is novel here and still less that is controversial: the authors equivocate over the debacle at Hong Kong and accept the notion that the disastrous raid at Dieppe taught the Allies "valuable lessons". Certain myths are repeated, such as the notion that the Americans favoured greater Canadian representation in Allied wartime agencies, while the British opposed Canada's ambitions. But the objective of this book (and the companion volume on the Great War) is certainly achieved without sensationalism or sterility. And the conclusion is emphatic, if brief: "The Second World War was a just war."

Paul Fussell would not agree with that valedictory note. For him, as a distinguished literary critic and veteran of the war, the reality of war contrasts starkly with the lofty idealism of a noble cause. *Wartime* is an ambitious study, which covers a wider range of material than had been available or necessary for his earlier book, *The Great War and Modern Memory*. It has been justly praised for its masterful examination of the interrelationship between literature and experience in the First World War. Perhaps,

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because of its ambit, *Wartime* is less convincing and Fussell's touch less sure.

While Fussell is devastating in his discussion of euphemisms, false romanticism, rumours and blunders, the anecdotal evidence provided does not always substantiate his conclusions. Fussell seriously overstates the "disillusionment" with the purpose of war and generally does not comprehend the idealism which motivated many individuals. Consequently, he exaggerates the contrast in motivation and morale between the Allied and Axis forces. Fussell misunderstands "Lend-Lease" and consequently overplays it as a euphemism. Similarly, he underestimates the pre-war American fascination with China as a factor in its inflated wartime importance. Many readers will question whether Cyril Connolly and *Horizon* merit the attention which they receive. Anyone familiar with Noel Coward's savagely sarcastic lyric, "Don't Let's Be Beastly to the Germans", would be astounded by Fussell's suggestion that it depicted Hitler as "really more absurd than sinister". Apart from these lapses, the other limitation of *Wartime* is that it is not particularly well organized. For those who admired *The Great War and Modern Memory*, this book will be a disappointment. Yet it still offers an excellent, if iconoclastic, assessment of the depiction of war in various media.

What we are currently witnessing today, particularly the reunification of Germany, the reconciliation of Japan with its neighbours, the relative decline of American economic power, and the retreat of the Soviet Union from Eastern Europe, could be better depicted as a long drawn-out dénouement of the Second World War. Indeed, a significant aspect of these changes has been a reassessment of the consequences of the most costly war in history. Although these books were produced to mark a particular anniversary, their quality and the importance of the event which they commemorate ensure that they will make a lasting contribution to our knowledge of the past.

Hector Mackenzie is a member of the Historical Section, Academic Relations Division at EAIC. His research specialties are the history of the Second World War and Canadian policy in the early years of the Cold War.

Pressure: How America Runs NATO by Dan Smith, London: Bloomsbury, 1989, 276 pp., £16.95.

Reviewed by Fen Osler Hampson

Who really runs NATO? That is the question that Dan Smith, associate director of the

Transnational Institute in Amsterdam, addresses in his book *Pressure: How America Runs NATO*. Smith's argument is a more subtle variation of the conspiracy theories one finds in certain accounts of American foreign policy, but unlike many of these theories his treatment is subtle, nuanced, and on the whole tries to balance the evidence rather than force it into an artificial, pre-conceived ideological framework. His account is based on an in-depth examination of numerous case-studies of NATO decision-making and interviews with some of the principals involved in those decisions.

Smith argues that "the USA is consistently able to prevail [in NATO], to win on policies which are unpopular with allied governments or their electorates, or both."

Smith's main contention can be summarized as follows. He argues that "the USA is consistently able to prevail [in NATO], to win on policies which are unpopular with allied governments or their electorates, or both." That the United States is able to do so lies in a number of factors including "the varied repertoire of means which [it] has developed over the years for getting its own way" such as speeches by the president or other senior administration officials, by coordinated lobbying visits, briefings, meetings, and by pressure directed at "those people who shape opinion and set the terms of debate — journalists, pundits, experts, politicians not in government." At the same time, Smith argues, the United States has found an all-too-responsive and willing audience among the leaders of the NATO governments who, he asserts, "listen more attentively and responsively to US opinions than to others." But the real explanation for American influence lies in power politics or what Smith calls "the simple strategic fact: the security policies of European NATO governments are predicated on the continuing US military commitment to NATO and Europe. It is a system of dependent partnership, sought by the western governments at its inception, for which they were prepared to make concessions on sovereignty and policy."

Smith is willing to concede that the United States does not always get its way. For example, he observes that in the 1960s it was unsuccessful in its dealings in a longstanding series of disputes with French leader General de Gaulle — a conflict which culminated in France pulling out of NATO's integrated military command (although not out of NATO itself). Similarly, when France, West Germany, and Italy sought to build a pipeline to import natural gas from the Soviet Union, the United States was unsuccessful in its bid to prevent construction of the pipeline. Smith does manage to find numerous instances where the United States did get its way such as: the neutron bomb controversy in the late 1970s; the debate over and the eventual deployment of ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) and the Pershing II intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe; the Montebello decision to restructure NATO's tactical nuclear weapons arsenal; and European "compliance" with Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" or Strategic Defense Initiative.

Although Smith's discussion of these and other examples of NATO decision-making is lively and spirited, his argument suffers from several serious conceptual shortcomings as well as a rather selective interpretation of the historical record. A serious problem with Smith's argument is that he fails to define or to develop adequate tests for the question



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of "influence." Influence is notoriously difficult to measure in any sort of social or political situation. If allied and American preferences on key policy issues in NATO converge is that because the United States has successfully pressured its allies or simply because the allies really do not disagree on fundamental matters of policy? To devise a convincing or meaningful test of American pressure and influence over its allies one would have to examine cases where preferences clearly *diverged* and then explain the processes whereby the dominant partner in the alliance coerced its weaker partners. Unfortunately, this sort of analytical rigor is missing from Smith's argument.

Many of the political instruments or means by which the United States makes its presence felt in NATO that Smith discusses are not unique to the United States. Lobbying, pressure group tactics, seeking out key opinion leaders in foreign capitals, are tactics that all modern governments do. Moreover, Smith fails to point out that the allies are at a real advantage in pursuing these tactics when it comes to dealing with Washington. The division of powers between the legislative and executive branches of government in the American political system (what some have called a system of "checks" and "balances") offers multiple points of access for domestic and foreign lobbyists to make

their views known and their presence felt. Decisions are "made" in Washington only to be undone. For the allies, the major problem in their dealings with Washington is not so much American pressure (which admittedly can be overwhelming in some instances) but the *incoherence* of the American decision-making process which often leads to crossed signals, confusion, and a lack of clear-cut commitment. Weak or vacillating presidential leadership can also be a problem for the allies. The fiasco resulting from Jimmy Carter's flip-flop over the neutron bomb decision is more a case of alliance mismanagement than the successful application of American pressure over its European allies.

Also missing from Dan Smith's analysis are those instances when the allies have successfully prevailed on the United States to do things it otherwise might not have wanted to do. Regardless of what one thinks about who initially came up with the idea of deploying INF forces to counter the growing threat of Soviet SS-20s to Western Europe (whether it was Helmut Schmidt in his much-noted speech to the International Institute of Strategic Studies in October 1976 or someone else), the subsequent invention of the zero-option arms control proposal was a direct response to the strong domestic political backlash generated by INF deployments in Britain, West Germany, and the

Netherlands. Although one can legitimately question the sincerity of the first Reagan administration's commitment to arms control, there is little doubt that strong pressure from Britain's Margaret Thatcher also helped bring the United States to the negotiating table much earlier than it had wanted. To the question, "who has co-opted whom?" one might just as well ask, "who wagged the dog's tail?"

Perhaps the greatest weakness of Dan Smith's book is his failure to address the impact of the relative decline of the United States (particularly in the economic realm) on its ability to continue to exercise effective leadership in the Atlantic Alliance. The implication of Smith's argument is that, regardless of whether the United States is in decline or not, it is still a superpower and it will continue to call the piper's tune in NATO. As he observes in the introduction to his book: "[The USA] wins on such issues because it is a superpower; it is a superpower because it wins." If we overlook the tautology in Smith's assertion, his proposition is highly questionable and ignores the major impact that the economic decline of the United States, the rise of the European Community and the earth-shaking changes that are occurring in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are now having on alliance politics. As long as the Warsaw Pact posed a major threat to European security (as it did for most of the post-war period up to and including the 1970s), then it is perhaps not too surprising that American and Western European security interests converged. But as that threat diminishes, and new political and economic forces begin to restructure the map of Europe, the nature of American commitment is bound to change not only in response to changing pressures abroad but also to new fiscal and economic pressures at home. Admittedly some of these changes could not have been anticipated when Smith's book went to press but some of them could have. If there is a lesson to be drawn from recent developments, it is that the new Germany and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev are the prime forces of change — not the United States. Though NATO is unlikely to disappear from the world stage, its role in Western security will surely change. This is more than likely to lead to a new division of labour in the trans-Atlantic partnership and to a diminished American military presence in Europe. This will surely lead to a decline in American influence or, at the very least, to a more equal partnership and sharing of responsibilities. Unfortunately this conclusion falls outside the scope of Mr. Smith's analysis.

Professor Hampson teaches at The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. His most recent book

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is *Unguided Missiles: How America Buys Its Weapons* (W.W. Norton and Penguin Books, 1989).

Sovereignty or Security: Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950 by Shelagh D. Grant, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988, 385 pp., \$29.95.

Reviewed by Curtis Nordman

This book has been eagerly awaited since 1982 when Ms. Grant first presented her views in a paper entitled *The Northern Nationalists: Crusaders and Supporters of a 'New North': 1940-1950*. Without trying to be condescending, this is a competent book and one that will be of particular interest to those concerned with joint Canadian-American defence planning and the question of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. From the perspective of the more general reader, this detailed study of the struggle to assert Canadian sovereignty in the North against almost overwhelming continental and international pressures provides insight into the fragile nature of Canada's being.

Practitioners of foreign affairs will find some aspects of this book particularly fascinating. Indeed, they will marvel at the sections dealing with the role played by Malcolm Macdonald, the British High Commissioner during World War II, in alerting the Canadian Government to the challenge that American military involvement in the North represented. Rarely do diplomats insert themselves so daringly into the affairs of their host country. Clandestine meetings with the Prime Minister, secret briefs to the Canadian Cabinet, and the like, all of which are amply documented by British and Canadian sources employed in this study, are nothing short of remarkable. Diplomats, then and now, can only dream of such an influential role.

Unfortunately, the book is not without flaws. Perhaps its major drawback is its lack of methodology. This is old school history in that it plods chronologically through the official, albeit extensive, government documentation. This volume should have been soundly grounded in political economy and, amazingly, contains much of the evidence upon which such an analytical framework could have been supported; British and American designs on Canadian uranium, petroleum, air routes, and the like. This valuable information, however, is not properly tied together with, in some instances, disastrous results. For example, David Bercuson in his review of the book has accused Ms. Grant of "a conspiratorial view of history". He bases this opinion on

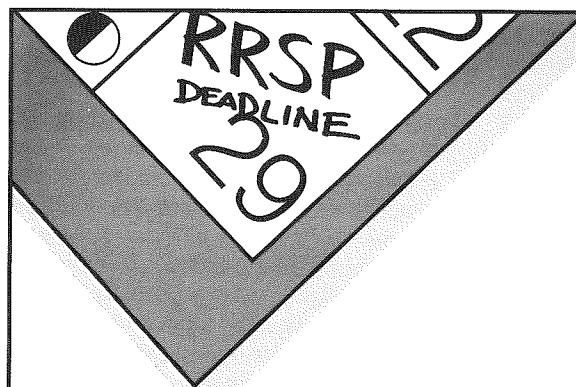
Ms. Grant's use of internal U.S. Air Force documents which advocate American seizure of certain uninhabited northern islands. Correctly, Bercuson points out that these are "think pieces", not the stuff of policy, and therefore, not the kind of evidence to support Grant's view of American designs in the Canadian North. Sadly, what we have here is not necessarily an incorrect view, but a poor selection of evidence to support this view. A better use of Grant's ample evidence of the economic motives for American activities in the Canadian North could have made her point with greater impact and would have protected her from the academic nitpicking of "eminent" Canadian historians. After all, as the British colonial period for Canada so aptly demonstrates, "informal" Empire is often the most profitable.

Another area in which this book is somewhat flawed, and one that will be recognizable to any bureaucrat, is its lack of understanding of the mechanics of government. For example, Grant is astonished when after the 1945 election a change in Minister did not result in a change in rhetoric. The new Minister's speeches were "almost identical to those of his Deputy Minister"! For those of us whose trade is to write briefing and speaking notes for politicians and senior bureaucrats this does not come as any great shock. Bureaucratic inertia, as John

Diefenbaker well knew, was and is a major problem and is one which any historian must understand.

The problem of Ms. Grant's lack of understanding of the mechanics of government is compounded by her tendency to adopt the "Great Man", or in this case "Great Men", theory. By basing her book on her "Northern Nationalists", we get what British Empire historians would have termed the "official mind" of Canadian interests in the North. Unfortunately, British history would indicate that the gap between what the "official mind" thought and the practical realities of a situation was often significant. Or to put it more simply, "Great Men" appear only when circumstances allow them to appear. Grant's "Northern Nationalists" were unquestionably a dedicated lot, but in the last analysis they were a small group of intellectuals operating in a context that allowed them only minimal latitude. Again, we have a solid reason for wanting to place this study within the context of political economy.

The British Empire theme is also one that is neglected in this study. Indeed, Canadian historians generally fail to place their work into the broader context of British colonialism which continued to influence Canadian policy-making long after Canada had achieved nationhood. Yet that context was clearly there and existed in the minds of



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Canadian bureaucrats either consciously or subconsciously. Often Oxbridge trained these mandarins who then operated a colonial system of British making. The mentality of the Canadian versus the British variant is often indistinguishable. Ms. Grant notes, for example, that in the 1930s the by-word of northern administration was "without expense to the department". At precisely the same time the British Empire was being governed with "due regard for economy". Moreover, the recurrent theme of "northern exploitation for southern benefit" with which the "Northern Nationalists" took issue was little more than a variant on the British model of imperialism. In the Canadian context it is based upon the phrase "for the purposes of the Dominion" and we all know where the centre of gravity of the Dominion is located.

In the last analysis, this work reminds me of one of those many graduate school pieces that are rushed to print under the publish or perish dictum. Often these competent pieces need a few years to simmer — years in which their authors can acquire the additional insight, not to mention distance from graduate school, that allows their work to be spun into historical gold.

Curtis Nordman was the organizer of and a contributor to the 40th Anniversary Symposium on the Building of the Alaska Highway. He is currently Director of Intergovernmental Relations with the Manitoba Department of Education and Training.

Daylight Upon Magic: The Royal Tour of Canada — 1939 by Tom MacDonell, Toronto, MacMillan of Canada, 1989, 292 pp., \$26.95.

Reviewed by James A. Gibson

The title of this absorbing book comes from Walter Bagehot who, a century and a quarter ago, was gently warning his mid-Victorian contemporaries, *à propos* of the reverential mystique of the monarchy, "we must not let in daylight upon magic".

The Royal Tour of Canada had variable daylight, and a good deal of magic, a more widespread sense of wonderment, and an immense surging of emotion that suffused eight thousand miles of travel within a spring-time month by two individuals who rather wanted to be, and who tried during an unremittingly busy four weeks to be, "ordinary people".

An undertaking on this nation-wide scale, never before attempted, raised myriad questions, not all of which were answered. Whose idea was the Royal Tour? Could it

be done? Was it really designed to solidify public sentiment behind and around the King and Queen and the Royal Family? Was it envisaged as an antidote to the trailing edge of economic depression? Was one result a clarifying of the somewhat stilted relations between Downing Street and the East Block, and more particularly if less publicly, between Laurier House and Government House?

One short answer to all these questions is that the displays of pageantry (superbly well managed), the sheer momentum of events as day succeeded day and spontaneous outpourings of public goodwill tended to push into the background, at least for the time being, the pettiness, the grumbling, the curmudgeonly attitude of some representatives of the working press. The larger questions of solidarity — the implication that the visit to Canada *and* to the United States, even for four days, would counteract isolationist attitudes south of the border and would influence American opinion to back Britain in the spectacle of European war which many observers (the King included) by June, 1939 regarded as inevitable — was within a matter of months subsumed into what became a world-wide conflict.

One comes away from reading Tom MacDonell's lively account with a feeling that the effort was enormously worthwhile for 1939, for the future, and for the re-evocation, 50 years later, of many stirring occasions.

The Royal Tour may have been the idea of Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General. He knew when he returned to Ottawa after his vacation in August 1938 that the visit was to take place. It may equally have been the idea of the Prime Minister, who appears to have raised the possibility during the Coronation proceedings in London in 1937.

Lord Tweedsmuir certainly gave sound and necessary advice to Buckingham Palace, and he drafted some of the public addresses which the King was to give in Canada. But his working (and I think correct) answer to the question of what happened when George VI came physically into "His Majesty's Realm of Canada" was "I shall go into hiding (i.e. go fishing)", which he did.

The Prime Minister wanted to make the arrangements for the entire visit his particular concern. There was a Cabinet Committee (which I fancy never met by that title), an Interdepartmental Committee of seasoned public servants accustomed to working together, and a small army of anonymous facilitators. The Prime Minister was also to be cast as "Minister-in-Attendance" upon the King of Canada, and (though MacDonell does not mention it), Mr. Mackenzie King himself drafted a veritable pamphlet,

ostensibly for the guidance of the press, outlining the constitutional significance of the Royal Visit and of his serving as Minister-in-Attendance. (This went through five revisions, and entered the East Block vocabulary as the "Five Star Finale.") The Prime Minister persisted in leaving Downing Street out of the picture, even though he resented being "shouldered aside" in Washington by a somewhat insensitive British Ambassador and the Ambassador's wife. One supposes that the most consistent strand in his Royal Visit behaviour was, as it were, to teach the courtiers a lesson; though perhaps this made only a scant difference in the public perception of the overall success of the visit and the spontaneous generosity of the public welcome.

The Department of External Affairs entered into the arrangements in particular ways. Mr. Mackenzie King appeared in his role as Secretary of State for External Affairs at the presentation of his Letters of Credence as Minister of the United States by the Hon. Daniel C. Roper, and at the exchange of ratifications of certain Conventions. The assiduous Secretary of the Interdepartmental Committee was H.L. Keenleyside; Howard Measures, Protocol Officer (though he is incorrectly identified at one point) stayed the course with discretion and tact; and a more junior Foreign Service Officer seconded to the Prime Minister's staff dutifully took notes in advance of public occasions in the Ottawa programs, and was responsible for the personal detail prepared for the Prime Minister (throughout Canada this stood up well; in Washington, in particular, it was riddled with changes). One other senior officer had been heard to remark that *if* he had been doing it, he would have met the King and Queen at Halifax, armed each of them with a return ticket to Victoria and two compartments on the train, together with a copy of Bruce Hutchison's *The Unknown Country*, and waved Their Majesties on their way.

One passage in the narrative perhaps deserves more than a passing reference. Certain strands of opinion in Britain seemed to have supposed that "disloyal" elements were exerting influence in Canada, and that "isolationists" were conditioning an uncertain public opinion. But MacDonell writes, [The British] ... had given too much credence to the comments of O.D. Skelton's bright young men ... who expressed leftist, pacifist sentiments that were honest reactions to both the rise of the fascists abroad and the scarring experience of the Depression at home ... [and suffering] from the habitual condescension of British officers.

The only comment I can usefully make is that I worked (early and late) at the East Block throughout that spring and summer. I do not recollect any difficulties arising from "one-on-one" negotiations. The complications arose if one tried to circumvent (on grounds of common sense) the laboured and rather turgid memoranda dictated by Mr. Mackenzie King with which he intended to inhibit verbal (as distinct from written) communications from "British" sources, especially staff members at Government House. We survived; so, mostly, did they.

A few minor errors may be noted. There are references in 1939 to Ambassadors in Ottawa when, formally, there were none until 1943. E.J. Harding deserves to be styled Sir Edgar Harding, and to have his correct title as Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office. The reference to "late winter of 1939" evidently means 1938. And having admired the resplendent Royal Train engines — the CPR Royal Hudsons 2850 and 2851 and the massive streamlined CNR 6400 and 6401 — I wonder whether CNR 6057 (which I knew in my train-travelling days) actually hauled the Royal Train. These are really very minor matters.

The major matters are the attractiveness of the personal vignettes in the narrative: the postal clerk from Moose Jaw who travelled throughout; one of the RCMP constables whose journal stopped abruptly; and the sensible housewife who served tea to the Royal party at Doaktown, New Brunswick. I would also add scenes which I was fortunate to witness at first hand: the pageantry of the ceremony of Royal Assent in Parliament; the 6000 voices singing 'God Save the King' at the Garden Party at Government House; and the unprecedented mingling amongst the throng after the dedication of the National War Memorial.

Daylight Upon Magic is to my eyes and ears, a more attractive and captivating recital of a Royal Progress and of the celebrations nationwide than is any other published account. The lapse of 50 years has taken nothing away from what was then — as it remains now — "The Country of the Larger Air".

Dr. Gibson joined External Affairs in July, 1938. Throughout the period of the Royal Visit (and until July, 1947) he was seconded to the Office of the Prime Minister and was responsible for the "personal detail" drawn up for the Prime Minister and for a variety of other ceremonial requirements. Since 1974 he has lived in retirement, as President Emeritus of Brock University, near Vineland, Ontario.

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives edited by Francis Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, \$96.75.

Reviewed by John Hilliker

Its title notwithstanding, this book is not an encyclopedia in the conventional sense, but rather a reference work produced in a manner that will be familiar to readers of, for example, the *New Cambridge Modern History*. That is, it is a collection of essays by a variety of authorities, in this instance drawn mainly from South Asia, Britain and the United States, but with representation also from Canada and Australia. The contributions are not arranged alphabetically by subject, but are grouped according to topic: Land, Peoples, History, Politics, Foreign Relations and so on. As the editor points out in his preface, one result is to enable the reader to "absorb a large chunk of knowledge" about a single topic. At the same time, an excellent index makes it possible to extract information on specific subjects as one would from an encyclopedia organized in the usual way.

The individual essays are admirably concise, but one may wonder whether they offer the scope to fulfil the editor's "aim of offering new knowledge to the specialist". Nor does the organization lead to new insights: the periodization of the "History" section, for example, does not encourage the exploration of underlying continuities. This section, moreover, ends with independence in 1947; to find out what happened afterwards, one must turn to "Politics". There is also the occasional irritating error, such as the misspelling of the name of Simon Fraser University in the list of contributors. Canada's relations with South Asia receive little attention, the index referring only to brief mentions of immigration policy and a few figures on aid.

These, however, are minor complaints. This is an excellent reference book, beautifully produced and lavishly embellished with illustrations and graphics. It would be an admirable starting point for anyone planning to visit or take up residence in South Asia or just curious about the region. Brief but carefully chosen suggestions for further reading at the end of each essay will encourage the reader to expand his or her knowledge further.

John Hilliker is Head of the Historical Section, Academic Relations Division. He studied Indian history at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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Who Shot Lorenzo Tonti??

Another Murderous Puzzle by A Aalto

"Know what a tontine is, Liebnitz?" said Detective Superintendent de Toombs. "Mmm yes," his friend replied. "It's a lottery where people put money into a pool and the last one left alive collects it all. Why?"

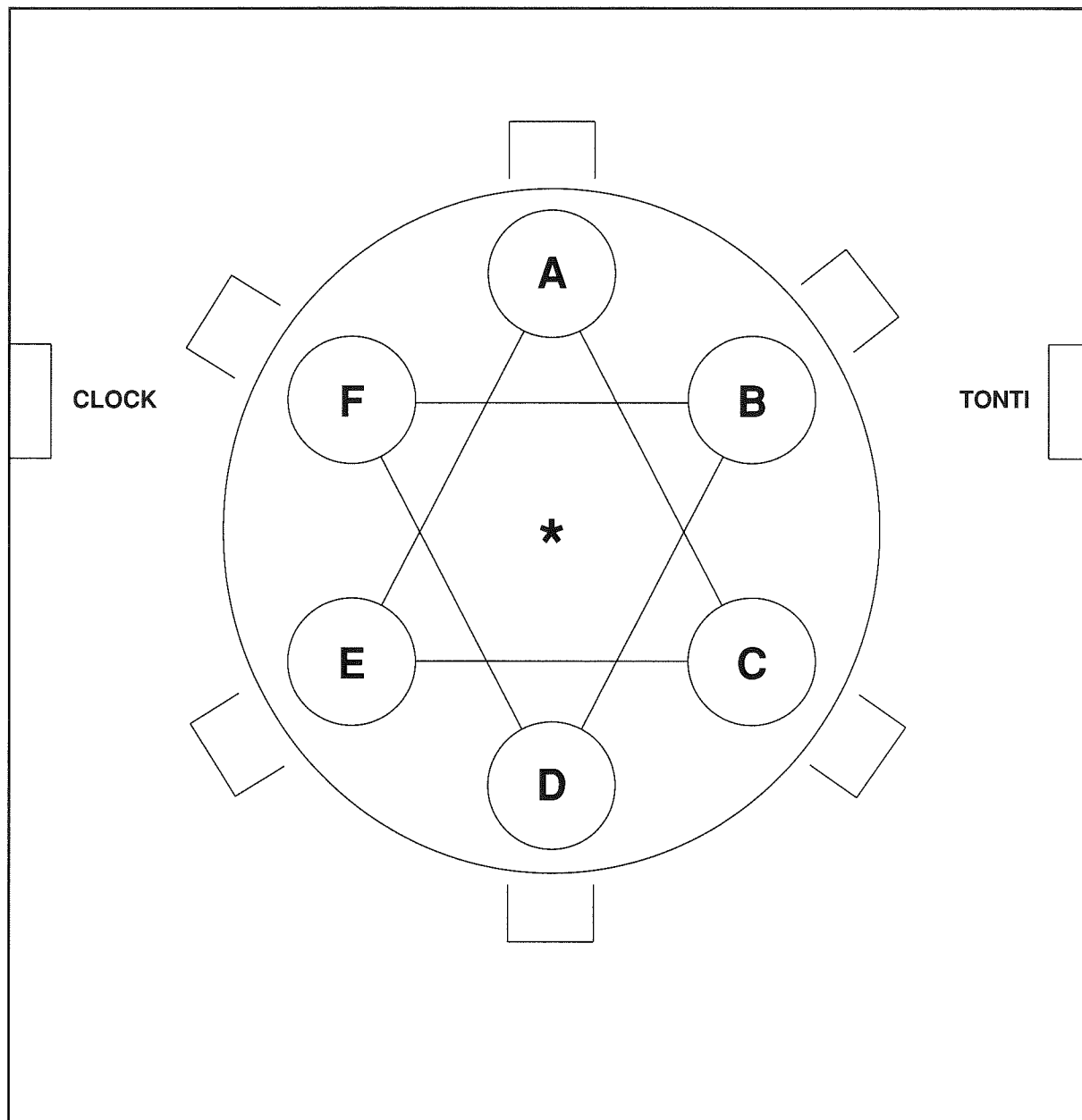
"It figures in a case. And frankly, I need your help on it. Interested? Good. Let me explain. Two nights ago, we were called to the residence of one Edward Evans by his butler, Flanders. When we got there, we found Evans shot dead in an inner room. Locked in with him were five other men. We grilled them all, and finally pieced together the story."

"The six, including Evans, were the last members of the Ascot Tontine, set up in

England in 1928 by thirty-one wealthy men. Each put in \$100,000. The beneficiary was to be the last survivor among their sons, each born during 1927. The pool was to be handled by a firm of lawyers, who have done a wonderful job — the trust fund is now worth almost fifty million. With that big a payoff, homicide was bound to happen. In fact, that was the reason the six came together. Evans contacted them via the lawyers — I should add that the potential winners are not allowed to know each other's real names, so they all use aliases. None of them wanted to wait for the money, so they joined in a kind of Russian roulette murder pact."

"Look at this sketch map of the inner room. In the middle is a large round table with six chairs spaced evenly around it. Inscribed in its surface is a six-pointed star with one point in front of each chair. Attached to a bolt in the centre of the table are six heavy elastic cords, each with an identical single-shot pistol attached to the other end. On a tripod screwed to the table directly above each point is a white-painted globe. These globes all look alike, but each is made of a different substance; they are all tightly fixed in place and can't move or even rotate.

"After arriving at Evans' place, the men drew lots to decide seats (A to F). They dressed in identical tuxedos, ski masks and white gloves, so no-one would know which was which. Each had to sit down without speaking and pull a gun from the pile in the centre. Each placed his head directly behind



the middle of the globe in front of him (hoping it was made of something very hard) and held his gun right under the globe. Then each one was allowed to fire at one of the others, but not at the man on either side of him, which for some reason was considered "unsporting". Five guns contained real bullets, but one contained a blank, so each man could pretend he was not really a murderer. Once the shots were fired, the elastic cords pulled all the guns back into the middle, so no-one could tell who had fired which one — and the gloves meant no fingerprints."

"So no way to tell who nailed Evans," remarked Liebnitz.

"Right," sighed de Toombs. "Although the bullet that killed him was so flattened that ballistics really couldn't have done anything with it. In any event, the survivors were going to leave quietly, while Evans, who was an undertaker, had made arrangements to dispose of any bodies. What no-one figured was the actual outcome. Evans was the only one killed, and when Flanders found out, he locked everyone in and called the police."

"Bizarre," noted Liebnitz. "But surely they are all guilty of conspiracy, regardless of who actually fired the gun that killed Evans."

"True enough," admitted the Superintendent, "but the Prosecutor wants to know all the details, and I made the mistake of giving the investigation to that idiot Clousseau. He put the results on a computer disk, which he

tried to amend on a COSICS workstation. Parts of the report wound up all over the world, and the only facts we're still sure of are the following:

- (a) Each man had a different real name, alias (printed below in CAPITAL LETTERS) and country of current residence.
- (b) Evans was in chair D, shot right through the centre of the forehead. Wanting to make sure that he at least killed someone, he had palmed the ticket for this chair and then ordered Flanders, before the others arrived, to place the fragile glass globe in front of chair A right opposite. Unfortunately, Flanders asked the footman Swann to do this; Swann, who is nearly deaf, mis-heard the order and put the wrong globe there.
- (c) Axel Adams shot at one of the others but missed. His bullet passed between AL-ISLAMABULI and the man immediately counter-clockwise from him, and also between the globes in front of them, hitting nothing on the table. Everyone but Adams was a crack shot and aimed accurately.
- (d) Frank Frost shot directly at WHELAN, who sat two chairs to his left.
- (e) The globe in front of Barry Barton, a tightly-inflated balloon, exploded, but neither he nor his high-backed chair were hit.
- (f) CZOLGOSZ, the man from the USA and Douglas Dunleavy all shot accurately

at the centre of the globes right opposite them.

- (g) The man from Egypt in Chair C was wounded by a bullet in the arm, but survived. He was the only one hit aside from Evans.
- (h) The man from Canada had the marble glove immediately to his right and the steel globe immediately to his left.
- (i) One bullet hit a clock on the wall and stopped it at midnight. Another smashed into this portrait of Lorenzo Tonti, who invented the tontine. We recovered both bullets from the walls behind.
- (j) GODSE from Yugoslavia deliberately fired between Colin Cameron and the man clockwise from him, and between the globes in front of them.
- (k) The wooden sphere had a bullet buried in it and the brass sphere had a heavy gouge, both precisely in the middle of the side facing the centre of the table and neither present before the shots were fired.
- (l) The glass globe in front of MERCADOR was shattered.
- (m) PRINCIP, the man from Mexico and the man from India were in three adjacent chairs, not necessarily in that order, but with the Indian higher in alphabetic order than the Mexican.

"Hmm, a pretty puzzle," said Liebnitz, "but there seems to have been too much damage. Could there have been any other shots fired?"

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Caption That Photo Contest



Editor's Note: We are grateful to Colin Robertson (Hong Kong) who sent us this photo for the Photo Caption Contest.

Are you sure one was blank? And how tough were the globes that shattered?"

Replied the Superintendent, "We're sure about the blank, and while the paper was from a blank cartridge has occasionally been known to cut someone's cheek or maybe blind an eye, all of the wounds we got were definitely caused by bullets. No other shots were fired — there were no unaccounted-for bullets at all and no unexplained marks other than those noted on the list. The glass and balloon globes were about as fragile as they could be and still hold the paint — they'd have to be hit to break but they'd be no kind of obstacle for a bullet. Think you can help?"

Twenty minutes later, Ludwig looked up, nodded and murmured "Nice irony." Can you duplicate his feat by giving for positions A to F the real name, ALIAS and country of each tontine participant plus the nature of the globe in front of him? Can you also give the real names for (1) The man who killed Edward Evans? (2) The man who stopped the clock? (3) The man who wounded the Egyptian? (4) The man who burst the balloon? and (5) The man who shot Lorenzo Tonti? Finally (but *not* necessary as part of the solution), can you say what specific acts link each of the aliases?

JIMMY THE TURK'S TRIVIAL PURSUITS: ANSWERS

The answers to the 31 clues are: (a) THIRD BASE (b) THIRD DEGREE (c) THIRD INTERNATIONAL (d) THIRD REICH (e) THREE BLIND MICE (f) THREE DOG NIGHT (g) THREE FRENCH HENS (h) THREE LEGGED RACE (i) THREE MILE LIMIT (j) THREEPENNY OPERA (k) THREE PIPE PROBLEM (l) THREE POINT LANDING (m) THREE RING CIRCUS (n) THREE'S A CROWD (o) THREE SCORE YEARS AND TEN (p) THREE SHEETS TO THE WIND (q) THREE STOOGES (r) TNT (s) TREBLE (t) TRICEPS (u) TRICERATOPS (v) TRILOBITE (w) TRILOGY (x) TRINIDAD (y) TRIPLANE (z) TRIPLE PLAY (aa) TRIPOD (bb) TRIPOS (cc) TRIPTYCH (dd) TRIREME (ee) TROIS RIVIERES.

The three remaining chains, with no clues, unscramble to read THREE WISE MEN, THREE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES and TRIPLE CROWN. The three wise men by tradition were named Balthazar, Caspar and Melchior. The three virtues are Faith, Hope and Charity. The (US) Triple Crown of racing is the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness Stakes and the Belmont Stakes. Hence Jones is using the name BALTHAZAR HOPE BELMONT.

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 Paradise (Pennsylvania). His last lottery ticket was swallowed by a python near Hobart, Tasmania.

**A AALTO PUZZLE WINNER,
Vol. 8, No. 3:**

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