

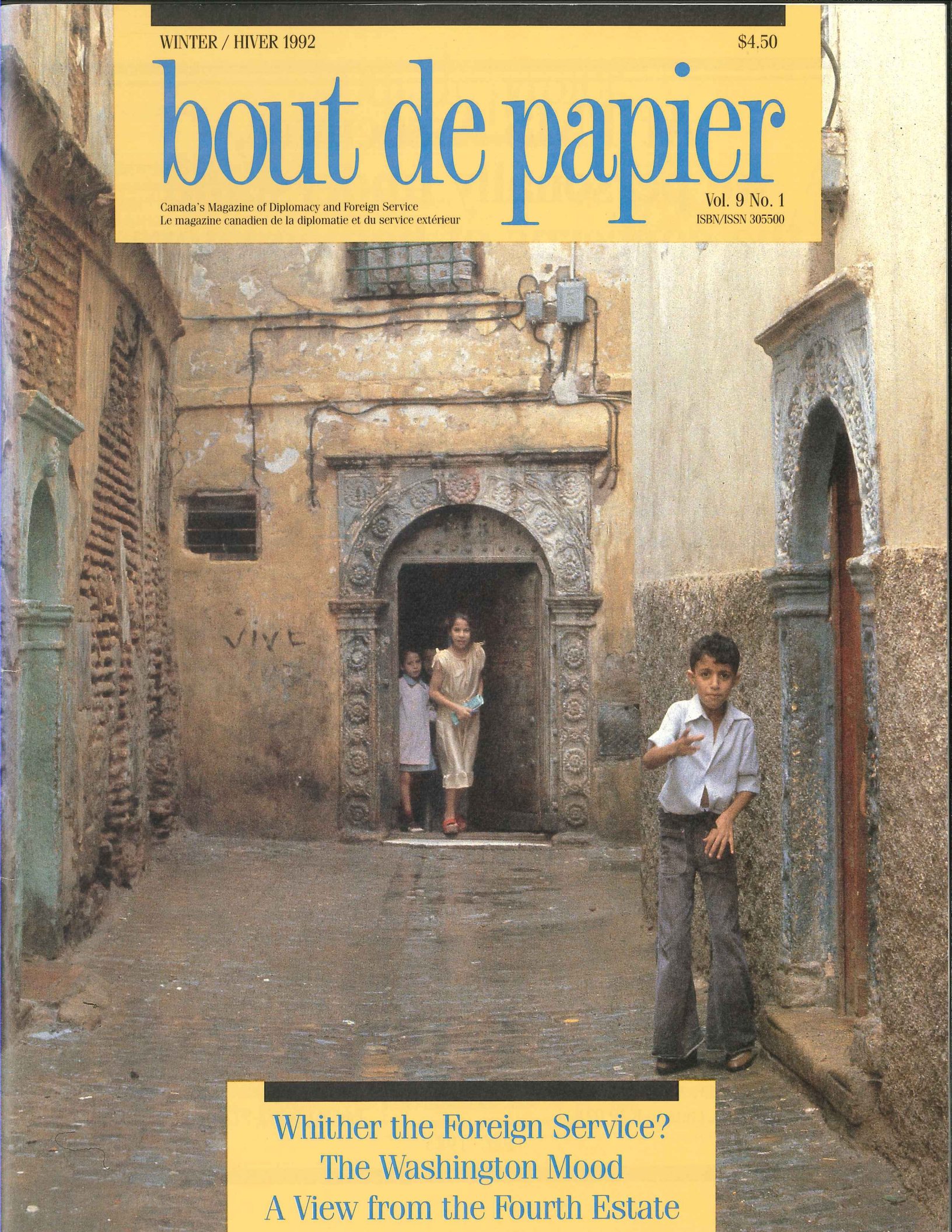
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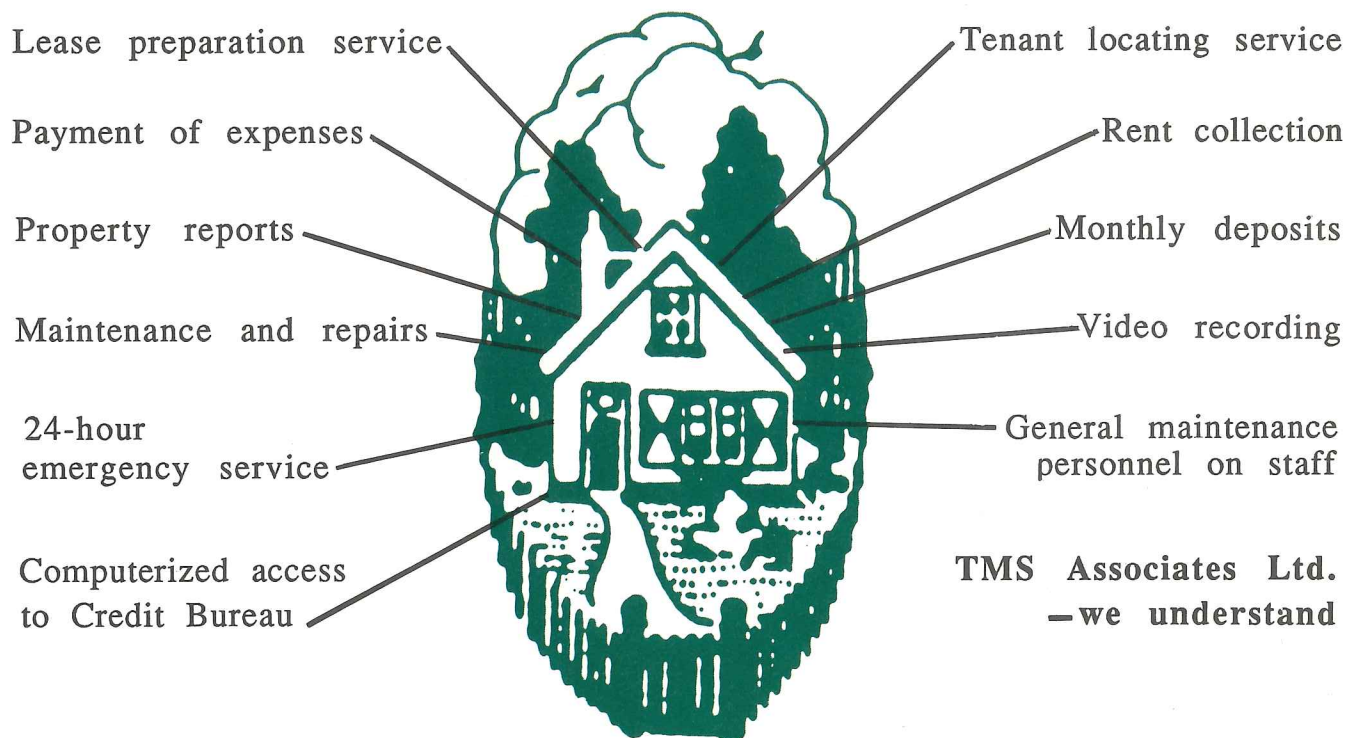
Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

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Whither the Foreign Service?
The Washington Mood
A View from the Fourth Estate

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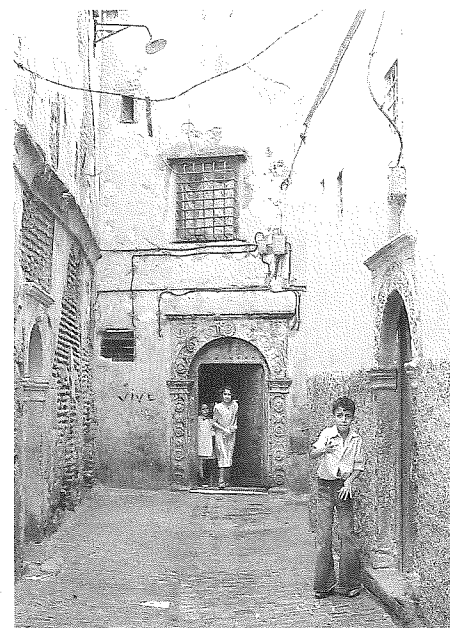
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Our cover photo, by Richard Belliveau, is of an entrance to a home in the Casbah in Algiers.



Things you find in the Sahara. (see page 23)

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Photo Contest Winners
Nationalist Gobbledegook

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When the Music Stops!

A strike brings out a number of sensitive issues in addition to the major point over which it is called, and the public service strike last fall certainly revealed a dark side at this Department.

External Affairs exhibited its own style of protest. On the one hand, there appeared to be more collegiality among employees. Many PAFSO members offered moral support to those on the line: provided refreshments; wore pins; walked in solidarity; leant umbrellas during the heavy rains; or donated financially to PSAC. This was the "positive" side of the strike — the "human" face of which was a difficult, expensive and bitter situation that continues to reverberate.

A disturbing side to the strike, however, remarked upon at the time by many on both sides of the line, was the evident sexism that occurred repeatedly. This aspect is the more worrisome fallout from the strike, and it crystallized concretely a problem in the Department that requires immediate remedial action.

Time after time, it was women, either on the line or trying to cross it, who were singled out as specific targets of physical and verbal abuse. This was particularly exhibited at External Affairs which, according to a government survey, has the ignominy of the second worst record throughout the federal government for its treatment of women employees. When it comes to a penchant for systemic sexism or sexual stereotyping, only the record of National Defence is worse.

Some PSAC women members themselves targetted other women, probably because they also suffer from the same myopia as do many of their male colleagues about the sexual stereotype at External Affairs. The media image of the Department on television and in the newspapers (even the *Financial Post*) became the blonde in the hockey mask who lunged obligingly at her targets in front of the cameras.

In one instance, a female member of senior management was accosted by a male PSAC member who shouted at her not to cross her union's picket line. When she indicated who she was, and that she was not a PSAC member, the angry striker then yelled that she was "just a 'damn' secretary trying to cross the line"! This was not an isolated incident. Several female PAFSO members were similarly attacked, verbally and physically, and were restrained from crossing the line for several hours.

Perhaps the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings in the USA have helped to diagnose an overall atmosphere and strong misogynist chord at External Affairs. Although the allegation in the Thomas/Hill instance

was clearly one of sexual harassment, the broader, subtler and more pervasive issue is one of *sexist* harassment, sexism or sexual stereotyping. Sexism is a gender-based difference in the treatment of women to the detriment of the values placed on their abilities, accomplishments, and sense of self-worth.

Glamour stated that the Thomas/Hill case demonstrated concretely to American women that "when the equality of rights music stopped, it was women who found themselves without chairs." Flashbacks of the media coverage support this view. President Bush made a public statement on nationwide television supporting Thomas even before Hill was given a chance to state her case. This is surely a fundamental denial of natural justice, if not an abuse of human rights. The most vocal male senators shouted that now Hill would feel "real" harassment and not "just" sexual harassment!

This case has angered women across North America. As women now know, if they are not in the room, their views are not being supported. If women are not in middle and senior management, women's ideals are not being put forward.

In *Esquire*, Roger Rosenblatt equates sexual harassment with bigotry, and notes that the issue is ultimately one of power. When a man calls a female colleague "honey", but does nothing else suggestive other than drop the term into the middle of a professional work situation, disagreement, or competition among views, there is no sexual intent. Rather, the intent is to attack the woman by using a term of endearment as a form of derision and as a deliberate belittling of her.

The man is really saying, "O.K. You've got a big, responsible job now. But this is a man's world, *honey*, and I'm going to try and make you as uncomfortable in it as I possibly can." The idea is to make the woman feel that she does not belong, or that she exists at his sufferance. This is the real and brutal motive behind most sexual bigotry — to keep a woman in her "place" whenever she emerges into a "man's place". Rosenblatt concludes, "No law can prove it, but the heart knows when it is being assaulted as something less, not worthy, not human. The man who does anything ... to intentionally make a woman feel not human is no different from the coward Klansman hiding his hatred under a sheet. He's not making love, he's making war."

What is sexism? It is automatic, even unconscious behaviour in multitudes of incidents which cloud the work atmosphere and bombard women continually. Laura Fraser

(*Vogue*) describes these "micro-inequities" or little instances of subtle discrimination which are difficult to respond to because, taken individually, they seem so trivial. In the same article, Mary Rowe, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who has studied micro-inequities in the workplace for nearly two decades, says that small things — using degrading language, ignoring people, leaving them out of important meetings — have made it difficult for women and minorities to succeed in professions. "Micro-inequities work by excluding a person and making her less self-confident and less productive."

The *Vogue* article refers to Robin Lakoff, linguistics professor at the University of California (Berkeley), who says that such seemingly trivial comments have a profound effect on ability to succeed. "Workplaces are defined by language, and sexist language is a covert definition of who belongs there and who does not." Sexism increases in professions where women have the fewest numbers. "In all occupations that were previously closed to women, the blatant barriers have been removed before the environment has substantially changed." Behaviour and attitudes always lag behind. Demeaning language, hints and clues from colleagues that women do not belong, can not perform the job, or should not be in charge — these attitudes are pervasive and entrenched in the profession of diplomacy and in particular personalities.

Why should External Affairs worry about this problem? Aside from its legal obligation, sexism is a debilitating phenomenon which detracts from the abilities of women to perform their jobs, lessens their commitment to their work and to the organization, and undermines the institution. As the *Globe and Mail* indicated recently, sexism is also expensive in terms of lost productivity, high turnover and absenteeism, the expense of outside assistance, defending against complaints, damages awarded in lawsuits, and the damage to the organization's reputation.

How can External Affairs become a more "woman-friendly workplace?" *Report on Business* provided a number of steps. All employees must be trained about what sexism is. A policy statement should "make clear that [sexism] involves unwelcome, sexually-oriented conduct, comments, gestures, or contact that is offensive, hostile, threatening or demeaning to people — usually women. It includes not just demands for sexual favours, but also sexist jokes and comments, leering, sexually suggestive gestures, visual displays ... and derogatory comments, even if no job-related threats or benefits are associated with these."

continued on page 3

Solidarity

PAFSO's annual cycle of re-election and renewal occurs every year in early October at our Annual General Meeting (AGM). It is always a sign of our members' confidence in PAFSO when there are more nominees than vacancies on the Executive. PAFSO only began selecting its Executive in 1986.

One notable result this year was the election of the first FS1(D) to the Executive. The Executive is always sensitive to maintaining a balance between streams — but we also need to maintain a balance in our representation by rank as well. PAFSO needs to reach out more than we have to the FS1(D) and FS1 groups in the Department. Our junior officers have, comparatively, more time and energy for the after-hours work that PAFSO requires (although they may be surprised to hear this). They also bring a stronger sense of outside employment standards and a more concrete perception of where the Department falls short of the mark, than do the longer-term "inmates" of this institution. This is clear, for example, in the area of spousal employment. Six years ago almost half of the Executive's members

were FS1s. Today, it is comprised of 14 FS2s and 1 FS1(D). Next year, I hope we can add a number of FS1s to the Board.

This year's AGM passed three significant motions with large majorities. **The first motion approved the implementation of a percentage dues system for PAFSO.** Starting on 1 April 1992, members' dues will be assessed at 0.8% of their salary — rather than at a fixed dollar amount as in the past. This arrangement has a number of advantages. It puts our dues on a more equitable basis, since the FS1(D)s and the junior FS1s were in effect subsidizing FS2s under our previous arrangement. It results in automatic annual increases in PAFSO revenues which are tied to the economic increases PAFSO is able to negotiate for our members.

The second motion instructed the Executive to examine the feasibility of establishing a strike fund. The example of the PSAC strike, which was ended by Parliament on the day of our meeting, lent force to the AGM debate on this issue. The case was made that PAFSO's bargaining leverage is diminished if the lack of such a fund always obliges us to opt for binding arbitration. No one expects that it will be quick or cheap to establish such a fund. The Executive has begun investigating various financial scenarios involved, and plans to report back to the membership in the first half of 1992.

The third motion approved a \$5,000 donation by PAFSO to the Strike Fund of the External Affairs PSAC local. This contribution by PAFSO has been very well received by PSAC — and it builds upon the substantive support that individual PAFSO members had given to PSAC throughout the strike. Many members were moved by the fact that our less well-paid colleagues gave up ten days' pay to stand on the line outside the Pearson Building, striking in defence of principles of collective bargaining that benefit us all. During the strike, individual PAFSO members wore buttons of support, walked in solidarity with PSAC members on the line and gave personal financial donations to the Strike Fund. This experience did more than anything else in recent years in the Pearson Building to bring together the membership of our two bargaining agents. As the public sector moves into a period of increasingly uncertain times, solidarity among the different public sector unions will become more important for the survival of our bargaining rights.

The final issue, of course, that dominated the AGM was the FS contract which had been negotiated twelve minutes before the

legislative deadline expired (two nights before the AGM). The fact that we had reached an agreement at all came as a surprise to members who attended the meeting — and it was not universally received as a pleasant surprise. Some members indicated strongly that PAFSO should have refused to reach any settlement at all at the table, given the imposed constraints on our collective bargaining. After a lengthy and spirited debate, a motion directing the Executive to recommend rejection of the newly negotiated contract was defeated.

As events turned out, **PAFSO members overwhelmingly approved the negotiated contract when we sent it out for ratification — by a margin of 88 percent.** Faced with the alternative — an extension of our existing contract for another two years — the majority opted for the improvements in the negotiated package. It is significant to note that there has been no adverse reaction to date from other bargaining agents, including PSAC, to our decision to reach agreement. On the one hand, PAFSO was not in a legal position to strike; on the other hand, negotiations had reached a point where a settlement was within reach when the back-to-work legislation was tabled in the House. Both sides took advantage of this brief window of opportunity to conclude a deal.

As President of PAFSO, I took no satisfaction in having to bargain under the constraints that we faced on this occasion. The elimination of our right to go to binding arbitration particularly weakened our hand. Nevertheless, I am pleased that we were able to obtain some modest monetary improvements in the contract, and that we made very significant gains in many non-monetary clauses (such as the clauses on discrimination and on Department/PAFSO consultation).

In the aftermath of this round of bargaining, it is clear that PAFSO has its work cut out to ensure that our contract is perceived by all as the basis of professional employer/employee relations for the FS group — rather than as a hindrance to a "professional" working environment. Part of our job will be to use the much more substantial formal consultation clause in this contract to increase the Department's communications with PAFSO and to hold it more publicly accountable for the way it manages our contract. PAFSO has recently tabled a formal proposal for a consultation framework with the Department, which is designed to achieve these goals. The other part of our job will be to educate members to *use* the contract more effectively. **It is all a matter of professional labour/management relations.**

Michael Small

Michael Small

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

continued from page 2

The Department's position should be made a matter of record. Employees must become familiar with the policy; managers and personnel must be trained to deal with it; complaints must be handled with sensitivity; unions must be involved in the process; appropriate penalties must be imposed; and the policy must be audited to ensure compliance. In essence, management must become good role models.

Everyone has a right to work in an atmosphere of sexual equality. To develop a new ethos in the department, senior management must be openly committed to change; must continue in their positions for several years; must hold managers and employees alike accountable for their actions; and (together with all levels of the organization) must draw up an action plan which outlines specific goals and timeframes to achieve them. Only in this manner will External Affairs become a woman-friendly workplace.

Carol N. Markham

Carol N. Markham, Editor

Canadian Foreign Service Officer Award Night

For the second annual PAFSO **Canadian Foreign Service Officer Award**, we decided to hold an Awards Dinner at the National Arts Centre.

The SSEA, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, making her first address to officers of the Department since assuming office, became ill the day before our event.

As events turned out, PAFSO had also invited a distinguished Canadian, Maurice Strong, Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to attend the ceremony. In the end, the SSEA delivered her statement to PAFSO immediately after the dinner and then exited stage right, leaving Mr. Strong to present the Award.

Alexandra Bezeredi received the 1991 Foreign Service Officer Award (and \$1000) for her dedication and commitment in pursuing Canada's foreign policy objectives in international environment and development issues in the United Nations.

In addition to this Award, PAFSO also presented two Citations and a Special Commendation. **Gil Rishchynski received the first Citation**, presented by one of our judges, Frank Petrie, for his exemplary work promoting Latin American trade.

Claude Baillargeon received the other Citation from another judge, Blair Seaborn, for his behind-the-scenes skills with regard to La Francophonie.

Viggy Ring, also a judge, and Scott Mullin, one of last year's Citation winners, jointly presented a **Special Commendation awarded to Bill Bowden, our former Chargé d'Affaires in Kuwait**.

Nominations are now open for the 1992 Award. If you know a colleague whose professional dedication merits wider recognition in the Department, please consider sending PAFSO a nomination, before 30 April 1992. All nominations will be acknowledged by PAFSO and all candidates nominated will be informed afterwards by PAFSO that they were considered for the Award. Your support will help PAFSO continue to build upon the success of our newest tradition. See you at the 1992 Awards Dinner!

L to R: Gil Rishchynski, winner of Citation; Alexandra Bezeredi, winner of 1991 Canadian Foreign Service Officer Award; Bill Bowden, recipient of Special Citation; and Ferry de Kerckhove accepting Citation for Claude Baillargeon.

Lest We Forget: In Memory of John W. Holmes

I was privileged to be a good friend and colleague of John W. Holmes when I served with the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA) as a Director of Branch Relations and Development, while he was still the Director-General in the early '70s. [...]

Lester B. Pearson was his mentor when he entered External Affairs. One one occasion, as a junior officer, John wrote a position paper which was to come across Mr. Pearson's desk in which he used the term "I feel". He received a stern note back stating: "An External Affairs' officer is not supposed to feel; he thinks." In later years, particularly after Mr. Pearson's retirement from politics, they became good friends, meeting frequently and exchanging analysis and assessments of international relations, especially on the role of the United Nations, which they both strongly supported.

In the early '70s ... Pearson was a speaker at a CIIA dinner and John was given the task of introducing him. Holmes came onto the podium armed with a multitude of papers, shuffling them in apparent confusion back and forth, muttering to himself, until finally he pulled on out with a victorious smile, and then said, "Ah, here it is. Our speaker graduated from the Newtonbrook High School in Willowdale, worked for the Armor Company in Chicago, and played shortstop for the Louisville Sluggers" — and then sat down.

On another occasion, John was to speak in Bahia, Brazil at an international conference dealing with the attitudes of other nations in Latin America. He was preceded by Gerard Pelletier, who emphasized on two or three occasions that his analysis was given from the perspective of a Francophone. When John's turn came, he commented wryly that his views would be those of an Anglosaxophone. [...]

John Holmes was a kind-hearted person and always tried to help his fellow human beings in distress. In 1967, along with a half dozen other Canadians, we attended a colloquium on Mexico-Canada relations in Mexico. On the flight south, one member of our delegation introduced another passenger, a presentable young man whom he knew well. After the colloquium, John and I spent an extra day in Mexico and enjoyed a delightful evening and overnight stay at the residence of the Canadian Ambassador, also a good friend of John's, Mr. Saul Rae, father of the current Premier of Ontario. On the way back, we discovered the same young man whom we had met on our earlier flight, with both legs injured and obviously in great pain. Apparently, he dove into unfamiliar waters, hit a hidden rock, and was lucky to come out alive. John arranged for a wheelchair, himself pushed him around to collect his luggage, and made sure he arrived home safely. This was a fine act of kindness, rendered to a person whom he barely knew. This person later entered federal politics, was elected to the House of Commons, served as a Minister in the Liberal Government, and is still an opposition member in Parliament. His name was Robert Kaplan. [...]

Our birthdays happened to be just a few days apart (at the end of June). Often, when we were both in town, we had lunch together to celebrate somewhere in a quiet relaxed atmosphere with good food. The last such occasion was in 1988. It was both pleasant and sad. Pleasant, since due to my frequent travel abroad as a consultant, we had not seen each other for over a year and thus had much news to relate. Sad, because John at that time knew well that he was dying of cancer and that this would be our very last such lunch together. He passed away about six weeks later.

Bless you, John, we all miss you!

John F. Sokol
Willowdale, Ontario



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The Ghosts Among Us

Anonymous

The Department of External Affairs has made laudable strides in recognizing the particular problems placed on spouses of Foreign Service staff serving abroad. To its credit, it has been gradually implementing solutions as a result of both legal requirements and administrative means. We went from a period when spouses were merely extensions of the employee to the implementation of directives (FSDs) which fully recognized the existence of the very real difficulties which individuals encounter and which significantly affect their relationships and their lives when working abroad in the service of their country.

The general public has long held false conceptions as to what life abroad is really like. Possibly, at one time, the Department was negatively influenced by these public myths and considered it dare not provide "advantages" to a group already deemed advantaged by an ignorant public. But we knew the truth because we had to live it. We can be thankful that it is now the employee's best interest which drives departmental changes in the Foreign Service Directives, for it is not so certain that the average Canadian, even now, understands the professional uprooting as well as the living and financial difficulties which go along with living abroad in the Foreign Service today.

The focus has also been extended to common-law relationships when dealing with the non-employee half of couples, thus recognizing that most elemental fact that employees will naturally choose to settle with lifetime companions, whether or not they are bound by a legal document. To be human is to prefer to share with another human being one's life, experiences, joys and sorrows.

It would have been unfair and uncaring of the Department to continue ignoring this when revising and adapting the FSDs. Clearly, the Department was protecting its own best interests, dealing with employee needs above any unwarranted public prejudice which might potentially be lurking in the background.

Imagine what it would be like if your lifetime companion were deemed not to exist at all in the eyes of the Department. Would you

abandon him or her? Of course not. Well then go on to think what it might be like to have to pursue your entire career, especially when living abroad, under such circumstances. In fact, imagine all the worst experiences which couples suffered in the past when little or no recognition or assistance was provided to help ease the uprooting and difficulties for the non-employee half. Then, to make it a real nightmare, imagine not being able to reveal that she or he is living with you and consequently having to pay *all* costs related to him or her accompanying you at your post (although all such costs could be generously covered for your dog

It is now the employee's best interest which drives departmental changes in the Foreign Service Directives, for it is not so certain that the average Canadian, even now, understands the professional uprooting as well as the living and financial difficulties which go along with living abroad in the Foreign Service today.

under FSD15); having to make all the administrative and financial arrangements, unassisted, for some type of visa; and not having any possibility of including him or her within any of the directives (such as) aimed at easing the burden of living abroad, some-

times in very difficult or culturally very foreign environments. The list of unending difficulties and frustrations can be left to the reader's imagination. But for a significant number of employees the point, and the shame of this article, is that a good many of these "ghosts" do live among us. There may be a few common-law relationships in the Department, but there can be absolutely no doubt that there are significantly more gay relationships.

The Department has always been aware of the fact that the number of gay support and officer members in its ranks was significant. For example, it is known that not so many years ago, when ignorance and prejudice made our 'security' services their own worst enemy, a plan for identifying and then firing gay personnel had to be abandoned after preliminary investigations unexpectedly revealed a significant level of gay staff, including some of the brightest and most prominent individuals of the time. At least we can be thankful that those dark and awful days have gone. Being gay no longer prevents one from being hired, security-cleared, and being able to contribute as a professional to the work of the Department.

But it still makes one's life terribly complicated and frustrating if one shares that life with another human being of the same gender. As most Foreign Service employees, I only really know colleagues in my own stream. But even in that limited spectrum, it has been obvious from my own experience that despite all difficulties a good number of departmental personnel have continued to maintain long-standing gay relationships. And this has been despite the Department's and the staff unions' inability or unwillingness to come to grips with this reality and their mandated responsibilities. I recall an earlier posting at a larger mission where I knew of six Canada-based gay employees (one secretary, two clerks and three officers) all living with a companion with whom they had been sharing their lives for three to ten years. I am in touch with other similar couples at a variety of posts because they happen to be my friends. Total numbers would be most revealing to those who have chosen not to see the obvious. But what do numbers have to do with doing what is right and what is fair?

At a time when minority rights have become a priority in advanced societies such as ours, when the governments of the two major provinces of Quebec and Ontario recognize equal rights for all lifetime relationships among their employees, when some countries have already shown that it is only prejudice which stands in the way of easing the burden silently carried by gay Foreign Service couples, and when the Department has shown its ability to play a leadership role and use imagination to meet the real needs of its employees in general, and its minorities in particular, one can only wonder why, and for how long, management and staff unions will continue to remain silent and to ignore the plight of all employees serving their country abroad while having to share their lives with a "ghost".

*Imagine what
it would be like
if your lifetime
companion were
deemed not to exist
at all in the eyes of
the Department.
Would you abandon
him or her?*

The triannual FSD review will finish shortly. It is an exercise of major importance for the well-being and the morale of all rotational employees irrespective of level. To be at all meaningful and sincere, neither management nor the unions can any longer accept or permit that the employees of the Department of External Affairs and International Trade continue to be subjected to conditions of life and work abroad which are based on their lifetime companions remaining as ghosts among us. 

Editor's Note: Although it is not the policy of **bout** to print articles by unnamed individuals, both our Senior and Editorial Boards have unanimously agreed to print this particular article by an individual who is clearly an employee of EAIRC. Our policy is, on request, to withhold an individual's name as long as the author personally provides a valid reason for doing so to the Editor.



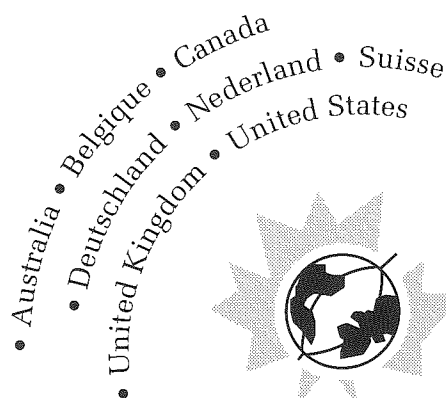
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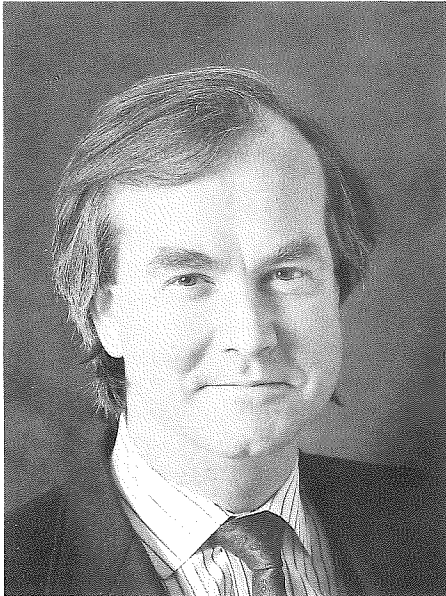


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Canadian Diplomacy: A View from the Fourth Estate



by John Cruickshank

It is so easy to figure out what the Americans are thinking about the latest coup, declaration of war or arms cut proposals from abroad.

They tell you.

James Baker goes on *Meet the Press*, Dick Cheney chats with the gang at *CNN* and Barbara Bush does *Oprah*. As long as it is not a domestic matter, even the President will do an availability session.

But what is the Canadian take on the latest disaster/disorder/desirable outcome?

"I'm sorry, the Minister is involved in constitutional discussions — call back after the deal is signed," an apologetic aide will explain.

What does the Prime Minister think?

"He's on the phone with Robert Bourassa and he's already got Ovide Mercredi, Bob Rae, Clyde Wells and Mila on hold. Why don't you ask him at the New Years levee?" a bemused assistant in the PMO will say.

So, what is a poor foreign affairs writer on deadline to do?

There is always the academic option. You can try your luck phoning an expert and hope they will not appear on *The Journal* before they appear in *your* journal.

But academics tend to be ambling along a different timescape from the daily news-

paper writer. Ask about the political crisis in Greece and you are as likely to hear about the ancient Peloponnesian War as about the recent parliamentary instability.

So, you break down and call the desk officer at External and promise on the head of your first-born never to tell anyone — especially not your readers or the officer's Director General — that the conversation ever took place. And you get an insightful, nuanced, humane account of what is going on in Moscow, Rio, Lagos or Tokyo. *Anywhere*, but in Ottawa.

For a country with as complex and as significant an international role as Canada, there is an astonishing lack of discussion or debate of foreign policy issues in the public forum. There almost seems to be a conspiracy of indifference to the public interest between news-makers and news-gatherers.

The Canadian government is strangely passive about seeking attention for its foreign policy agenda. And the Canadian media is strangely dismissive of those few issues for which the government or its critics aggressively seek attention.

You cannot say that the press does not cover foreign policy matters because they are dull. Nothing could be as dull as our extraordinarily well-documented and apparently endless constitutional crisis.

Press conferences are called daily in Canada to discuss constitutional matters so arcane that only a very few sages with a cabalistic grasp of the nation's legal and historical underpinnings could have any hope of comprehending the issues. And from these events, news stories of baffling complexity and overwhelming length appear in even the most popular Canadian papers.

The net effect of this want of information about foreign policy matters or debate about what Canada's policies should be in the public forum is the general impression that not much is going on. And of course, that is not true but, in some sense because the public is rarely prodded to think about foreign policy matters, there really is less going on in this country than there might be.

Some of this is probably pretty easy to explain. The leaders of our friendly neighbourhood superpower have views

about almost everything in the world, because they unabashedly define their sphere of interest to be almost everywhere in the world.

And they *want* to get their views out.

An activist middle-power like Canada, uneasily cohabiting a continent with the world's leading power, does not and cannot have views about everything the way the Americans can and do. And by force of circumstance, Canadian diplomacy puts a much higher value on discretion than on disclosure.

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When Canada acts internationally, it tends to be in a more sophisticated and very private way. Canadian diplomacy proceeds more successfully by confidential communication than by rostrum rant.

What that means is that on the big, evolving story of the day, Canadian news-makers are not really interested in talking to Canadian news-gatherers. In fact, to accomplish the ends of their diplomacy, they feel they cannot do their work with the press and the public looking over their shoulders.

The media, for its part, is not particularly well organized to pursue foreign policy issues. Most of the journalists in the gallery in Ottawa are hard pressed to fulfill their

primary responsibilities — telling the story of the nation and relating the place of their city or region in the national story.

Editorialists and columnists who do bring analytic energies to foreign policy issues mostly live outside Ottawa. And although they are anxious to explore and explain Canada's place in the world, they face frequent frustrations.

Texts of policy statements by the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State for External Affairs or the Minister for External Relations and International Development are rarely made available outside Canada. Formal notice that policy changes or real news are about to come out rarely filters out much further than the parliamentary press gallery.

Opportunities to question the ministers or their deputies are infrequent for the luckiest outside the capital and almost non-existent for the majority.

Many of these problems get solved for the short term at least when journalists, civil servants and politicians develop personal working relationships. But those relationships grow slowly at the end of a phone line or a fax machine. And then, one of the players moves along to a new assignment and the confidence-building process must start all over again.

None of these problems is unresolvable. More members of the media could, and ought to, show more consistent interest in the evolution of Canadian foreign policy and seek more passionately to understand and explain the country's role in the world. For their part, External and the PMO could find more creative ways to give the media — and through the media, the Canadian people — a continuing sense of how the government's foreign policy thinking and its international agenda are evolving.

The constitutional negotiation process both reflects and reinforces Canadians' lamentable tendency toward insecure self-questioning. We seem destined to endure many months of national self-absorption.

But, unless we reflect upon our interests and our responsibilities in the world beyond our borders, we will be unable to understand ourselves or even to trace reliably the indelible image of Canada's international presence.

The challenge for all of us involved in the foreign policy process is to provide Canadians with the information they need to understand their country and even to imagine its future.

John Cruickshank is Managing Editor of The Globe and Mail and writes a weekly column on Canada's place in the world. He is located in Toronto, Ontario.



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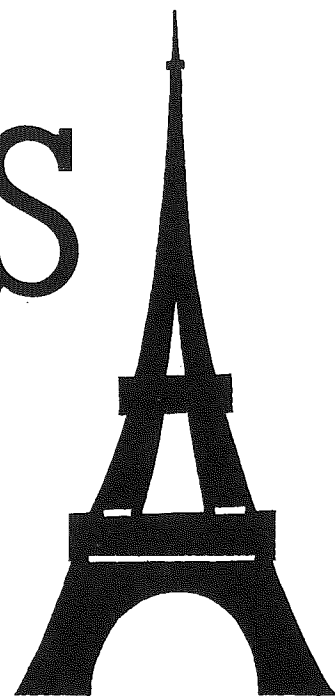
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Home Sweet Home

by Laurel Pardy

"Memsahib!" "Señora!" "Fraülein!"
"Madame!" "Lady!" "‘ey, Meester!"

"Wan' change dollar?" "I look car, yes?"
"Whud you wan'?" "yes we 'ave; sorry is finish."

"Sorry, this stamp is missing. Please, you go the long line over there." "We are not giving this stamp today. Next week is Holy Week; you wait and come back after."

"Good Morning. We have more passengers than seats on this flight; we can offer you..."

Stop! In Canada, this would not happen. In Canada, this would be so simple to do. In Canada, no one will stare at me. In Canada, I could... I want to go home.

Home. Where is home? What is home anyway? Wherever it is, it probably is not in Walton's Mountain, so why this overwhelming urge to go there? More than a physical place, it is a place where one is protected from the stress of being faced with the unfamiliar or the threatening. It is a place where one knows what is expected and what to expect, where one can bask in the comfort of a common culture, or sub-culture at least, and language.

The elastic apron strings of the maternal hearth loosen with the approach of independence and stretch apparently endlessly during the early flush of adulthood. The onset of stiffening joints and shoulder twinges, however, seems to coincide with a tautening of the ties to the sights and sounds of youth. The apron strings start twitching again and the pursuit of what was, or what should have been, begins.

A few people find this early in life; others never leave home in the first place. Not so in the Foreign Service. For whatever reasons, this group of people succumbs to the lure of exotic places and a wandering life. Eventually though, even the most peripatetic succumb to the homing instinct and begin nesting, surrounding themselves with these objects, services and people which bring about feelings of familiarity and belonging that create a home.

The Foreign Service is not the only wandering tribe. Every consular officer has dealt with at least one member of the frustratingly eccentric Canadian expatriate community. In their search for home, they fled the irritation of government regulation by investing in bureaucratically moribund Costa Rica; escaped the pressures of bilingualism by retiring to a condo in Puerto Rico; or fled the discomfort of increased immigration by

becoming an immigrant themselves. Embassy staff avoid looking too closely at this latter group lest they find themselves looking into a mirror.

The energy required to adjust to constant change becomes harder to generate after a while. Despite the acquisition of skills at cultural adaptation and language learning, the desire to live in a familiar milieu, to speak a familiar language, to be oneself, to have a shared and accepted history with one's community all coalesce into the decision to settle down at "home".

*How many times did
you have to bite your
tongue on your last
home leave? If you did
not, how many times
did you put your foot in
your mouth?*

Whether it is marriage, money, divorce or retirement that initiates this homing instinct, the motivation is the same. Humans are social creatures with a fundamental need to belong to a group, to know their place in it, and to seek to participate in the activities of that group. The group provides security. On a personal level, it is the security of familiar ways; on a larger scale, it provides security from outside threat.

Life in the Foreign Service brings a refinement in this dynamic that borders on the absurd. Once removed from the broader Canadian social context and shoved into a revolving-door system of home again — gone again, the group to which one belongs becomes very small. So small, in fact, it takes on aspects of a pre-industrial tribe in which adherence to artificial codes and mores becomes essential to survival, and in which habit becomes law. This group, with its artificial homogeneity, becomes, over the course of a thirty-year career, the one in which Foreign Service people are most comfortable.

The irony is twofold. Although the Foreign Service does offer the comfort of familiarity, it no longer provides protection from

outside threat. As a respected segment of the public service, members of the Foreign Service used to be secure in their job prospects, could reasonably expect regular advancement and were able to retire on an adequate pension. This is no longer true. The group is divided, demoralized and at odds with itself, intent on individual survival and vulnerable to outside manipulation. Group members are not so comfortable anymore. Nevertheless, any decision to remain at home means leaving the group to which one belongs.

Secondly, a career of roaming the globe peering through someone else's cultural glasses tends to warp one's eyesight and skew one's thinking.

How many times did you have to bite your tongue on your last home leave? If you did not, how many times did you put your foot in your mouth? Going home can cause grievous bodily harm to the unwary. Granted, there are those who can spend half a lifetime abroad and then return home to Lower Shubenacadie, NS, without blinking an eye or feeling an intellectual pinch. Of course, they do not belong to the Foreign Service.

Thus, when the homing instinct strikes, people of the Foreign Service find themselves hoist on their own petard. Seeking a life of change, that is what they have achieved. Unlike our goods in storage, although even there time is inexorable, everything we left behind went about changing, too. While our books acquired silverfish and our carpets grew mildew, relatives and friends moved away, the old neighbourhood expanded and the corner grocery closed.

Not all these changes are minor or perceptual. Great size does not protect Canada from the realities of global dynamics — migration, armed conflict, depleted resources, natural catastrophes, economic dependency — and modern information services make sure everyone shares the good news. Even the mind-numbing balm of CNN cannot prevent the spread of information. This is bad news for those who want to stop the world and get off: they cannot out-run their Visa card.

Neither can you avoid the consequences of being in the Foreign Service. Those who never leave home will always be wary of those who do. No one, except other colleagues or your Mother, wants to hear your stories. You can go home, but you can not turn back time.

I went home recently. Nothing was changed; yet all was changed. The price of food was shocking. The GST/PST combination

was a nasty surprise. There were more street beggars. During a walk through the old neighbourhood, I did not meet *anyone* I knew. The sweaters on sale were made in Ecuador, just as they are in the market in San José. The Food Bank Drive had come up short and yet expected increased demands.

Colleagues at home wanted to be abroad; colleagues abroad dreamt of the easy life at home. The clerks in Eaton's still hid behind the ties; the lines at Boko Bakery had grown longer. The Commissionaires at the front desk were strangers, while tellers in the bank only remembered one as "Oh, yeah. Costa Rica." There was not a familiar soul in the lobby of EAITC.

Last week, we had a house guest; the culmination of an apparently random series of events. First, the earthquake. Not the one that ripped apart the residence; the next one, the one that raised the east coast of Costa Rica by a meter and a half. One of the groups affected was the students of a small school in which the computer room was destroyed. As it happened, these students were paired through electronic mail and the good graces of the Fundación Omar Dengi with a Canadian school. And where is this Canadian school? In the village where close family lives. And who happens to be the Canadian teacher? A woman from New Delhi with whom we have acquaintances in common.

And then what happened? The myriad of previously invisible threads began to come together. The Canadian children raised money to help the Costa Rican students; the Canada Fund gave money to help the school; the Canadian teacher came to visit Costa Rica; and the Costa Rican teacher came to San José. We all got together one afternoon to walk around the city. I was struck by a sense of *déjà vu*. I had done this very thing in every city I ever called home — whether in Ottawa or Nairobi.

If I were at "home", that is if I were in Canada, what would be different? Would I know the streets any better? Could I speak to people any easier? Would more people know me? Would I fit in any better? Would life be any different? Would going home now solve problems or merely replace old ones?

I may come home a stranger, but put an October-blue sky over my head, or a spring crocus under my window sill, and I *know* where I belong. Moving home will not solve problems nor bring an end to daily irritations, but I am very glad it is there waiting for me — not just yet, but someday. And if there is at least one gray-haired colleague to swap stories with, I will be content.

Laurel Pardy has been an observer of Foreign Service life for twenty years. This time, she does so from a hillside in Costa Rica.

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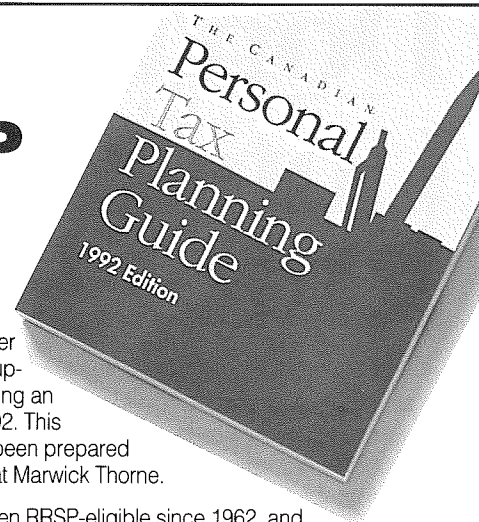
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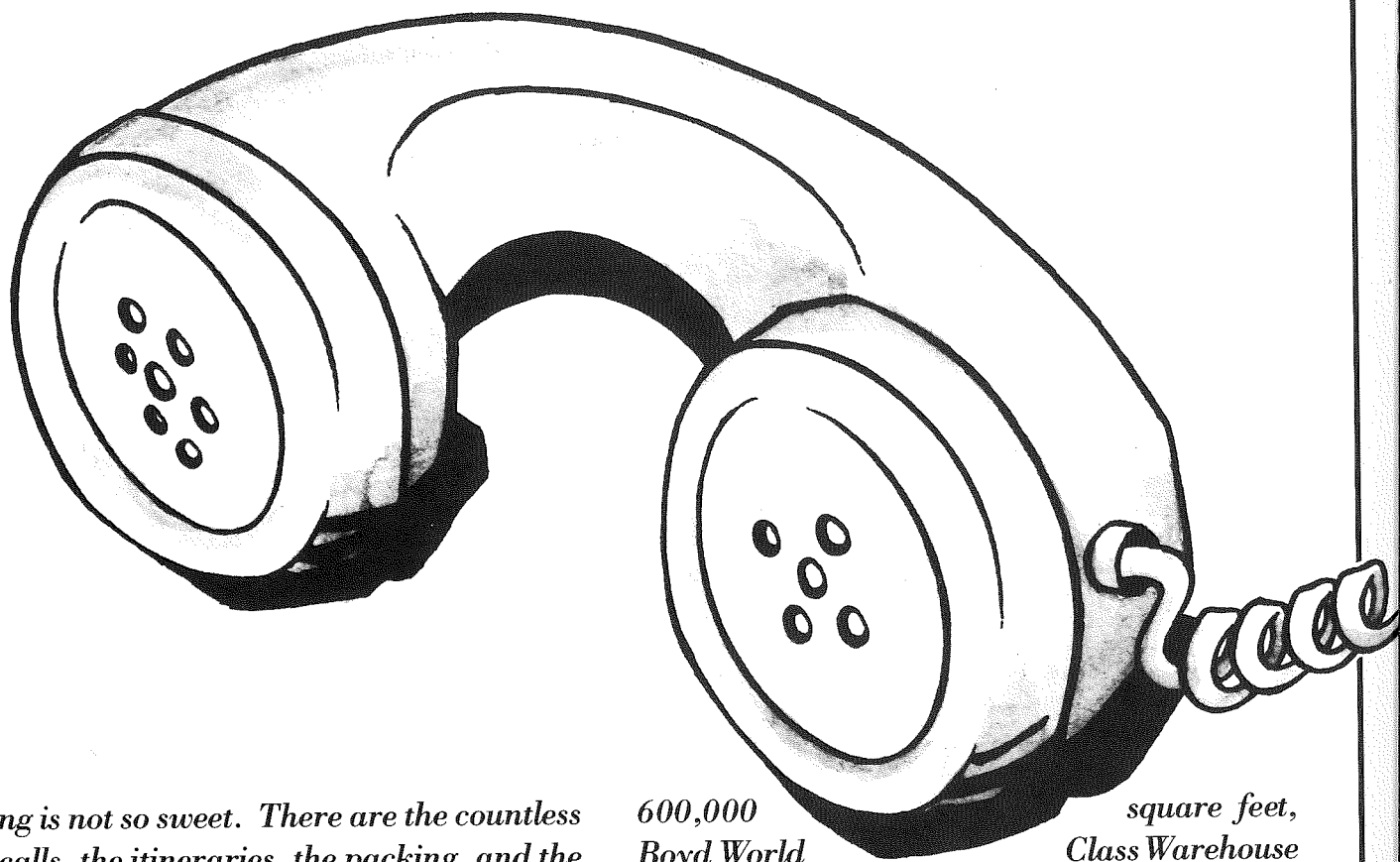
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Apartment Hunting in Paris — A Liberal Education

*The editors of **bout** have scored a fine coup in securing for publication this personal letter written in February 1947 from Paris by Charles Ritchie to the then Under-Secretary Mike Pearson, relating his incredibly humorous vicissitudes in finding lodging in the early post-war years in the French capital. Charles, then still a bachelor, had been posted to Paris at the beginning of 1947, to serve as Number Two — with the rank of Counsellor — to Ambassador Georges Vanier.*

This was long before the days of Crown leases or government ownership of residences to be assigned to staff on arrival. In those earlier days, when you were posted abroad you were quite on your own, and you were lucky if you could get advice, let alone a few leads, from your new mission. And, to communicate, this was long before the days of word processors, facsimiles or Cosics. Charles' 2,500 word letter appears to have been typed up on a machine similar to the 60-year-old Royal on which I typed this note.

*When Charles finally found accommodation in Paris, it was for three months only and he wrote Mr. Pearson that before two months would be over "I must begin again my endless search. You will readily appreciate that it will be **at least a year** before I can devote any of my time to my official duties..." And he expressed the hope that "my experiences may be of benefit to other members of the service proceeding to European posts."*

*Charles Ritchie's wonderful letter about housing in Paris, unearthed for **bout de papier** by Don Barry and John Hilliker, co-authors of the second volume of the departmental history, surely equals in tongue-in-cheek humour the finest and funniest of his writings in the four volumes of his **Diaries** already published.*

Imagine an officer in today's External writing to Under-Secretary Reid J. Morden about housing the way Charles Ritchie wrote to Mike Pearson in 1947.

by Charles Ritchie

Introduction by Sidney Freifeld

Paris, 24th February 1947

Dear Mike

It is about time that I gave you the first instalment of my Parisian adventure, which is comprised almost entirely under the heading of "Apartment Hunting". The last month has certainly been a liberal education for me. I arrived here fresh, innocent and unsullied; now you would find me aged in corruption and wise in all the stratagems required to

support life in Paris. I trust that my experiences may be of benefit to other members of the service proceeding to European posts.

I started out naïvely enough with the idea that all I had to do was to find an apartment, move in, and pay the rent. That was my initial mistake. I did not realize that every business transaction in this city involves one in a labyrinth of intrigue. At first, things looked exceptionally bright for me. A French businessman I had met during the Paris Conference rang me up on arrival and asked me whether I wanted a flat or a house. He owned, he said, a house which he thought might just suit me. He would take me out to see it. On the way out in the car I was somewhat surprised by my friend's altruistic attitude.

Rent, he said, was to him a matter of little or no importance. He would let me have the house free of rent, unless I found that embarrassing, in which case I could pay a nominal rent. He would, he said, like to do something for Canada, something to show his appreciation for the many kindnesses he had received in the past from Canadians. I was surprised and touched. I said that it would **not** embarrass me not to pay any rent at all.

I was still more surprised when I arrived at the house. I had thought it might have some conspicuous flaw. Instead, it was a charming small 18th Century house, directly in the Bois, surrounded by a courtyard and set in a very pretty little garden. It was only as we were crossing the courtyard to approach the house that my friend mentioned that there was one minor difficulty concerning the house, which he should perhaps bring to my attention. It had been requisitioned at the time of the Liberation by the Chinese Military Attaché. The Military Attaché was still established in the house. He was, however, away in Washington for the time being. He had not proven a good tenant. If, however, I were to put in a requisition order with the Protocol Division of the Quai d'Orsay, he was quite convinced that they would be willing to expel the Chinese Military Attaché and install me.

The truth then broke upon me that, under the present regulations, the only hope which the owner of the house had of expelling his undesirable tenant was to get another diplomat to put in a requisition. A rapid mental picture of the result of such intervention on my part rose before my eyes. Civil war between the Chinese and Canadian Embassies, and an infuriated Chinese Ambassador coming to call on General Vanier to complain of the treatment accorded to his Military Attaché and probably a distinct cooling in Sino-Canadian relations over a period of years. "No," I said to the owner of the house, "certainly not. Nothing would induce me." But, by that time, we had reached the front door, which was opened

by an extremely pretty Chinese girl in a kimono.

Then ensued one of the most embarrassing five minutes in my life. The Chinese Military Attaché is a bachelor. Far from being in Washington, he was in his house in Paris, in his dressing gown having breakfast in his bedroom. His charming girl friend in the kimono had been having breakfast opposite him when we burst in upon him. I could not but feel that this was an awkward beginning to my relations with my Chinese colleague. I hastily whispered to the owner of the house not on any account to introduce me. He for his part made a rapid but ruthless tour of the house, pointing out in caustic language the various forms of damage which the Military Attaché had inflicted on his furniture and possessions. The Military Attaché and the girl friend trailed after him apologetically.

*I arrived here
fresh, innocent and
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in all the stratagems
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life in Paris. I trust
that my experiences
may be of benefit
to other members
of the service
proceeding to
European posts.*

I, for my part, had decided to assume the role of business agent to the owner of the house as there had to be some excuse for my presence. I did not speak, but restricted myself to tapping the wall and furniture in a professional manner as though I were some kind of furniture appraiser hired for the occasion. At last we escaped, but not before the owner of the house had heightened the general embarrassment by observing sourly to the Military Attaché that he had not realized that he was a married man. This malicious dig appeared to be the only revenge which he could take for the destruction which

had taken over a good deal of his valuable 18th Century furniture. When we got away, I politely but firmly explained the impossibility of my proceeding further in the matter of the house. The next day at the diplomatic reception at the Élysée, as luck would have it, I found myself standing directly beside the Chinese Military Attaché. He gave me a startled and open look of recognition which I met with a blank and glassy eye.

During the course of the next two weeks, a number of minor incidents took place which I have not the time to record in the detail which they deserve. Each had its own peculiar aspect. Every variety of black market operation, payment in every conceivable currency and combination of currencies, was suggested to me by various apartment owners who had seen my advertisement in the papers or who had been told that I was looking for a flat.

There was the proposal that I should pay for the flat (30,000 francs a month) in American dollars, plus the privilege of the owner using the diplomatic bag to import such goods as he might require from across the Atlantic. There was the suggestion that I should pay 40,000 francs a month for a flat with no kitchen, but that the bathroom could be converted into a kitchen in a few months if I could get the priorities and labour and materials. There were numerous invitations to pay fantastic sums for the privilege of keeping people's houses or flats heated and occupied while they had the use of one, two or three rooms in them. There were kind and pressing invitations from members of the French aristocracy, derelict baronesses and fading marquises, to make room in their *hotel particulier* at a rent which would pay the up-keep of the entire house and share the amenities of their distinguished social existence.

Then came something serious. An English spinster, long resident in Paris, telephoned to tell me that she could let me have her flat at a very remarkably reduced rate. I went to visit her. She gave me weak tea and chatted about the weather. I reflected on the wonderful power of the English character to withstand foreign influences. I might well have been taking tea with the Vicar's sister in rural England. We arranged the details regarding the flat (I was to take possession the following day). As I was leaving she dropped the remark (ominous, although I did not realize it at the time) that she had always been much interested in psychic phenomena and that if I were interested in dreams, table turning, or thought transmission, I would find an interesting collection of books on the subject in the flat.

The next day, having packed all my possessions and made my arrangements to

leave my hotel, I arrived key in hand to take possession of the flat. What was my surprise and mounting irritation when the lady told me that during the preceding night she had had a particularly impressive dream in which she had been distinctly warned by a voice coming from "the other side" not on any account to leave her flat. In the circumstances, she knew that I would not wish her to go against her psychic guide. I can only bow before a Higher Force and withdraw.

*A rapid mental picture
of the result of such
intervention
on my part rose
before my eyes.
Civil war between
the Chinese and
Canadian Embassies,
and an infuriated
Chinese Ambassador
coming to call on
General Vanier to
complain of the
treatment accorded to
his Military Attaché.*

Very different was my experience with an Hungarian Lady resident in the Avenue Bugeaud. I called to see her flat one morning about 11 and was greeted by an aging beauty, clad in trousers, over which she wore a long embroidered coat. She wafted me graciously into a large salon hung with portraits of herself at various stages of what appeared to have been a highly successful career. 40,000 francs per month was the sacrifice price at which she was willing to let me have her flat. This, she explained, did not include the sheets, indicating a luxurious upholstered Louis XV bed, she pointed out to me that the sheets were of black silk. On alternate weeks she employed black silk and pink silk sheets. I would understand that she could not let me have the use of either. I eagerly agreed.

A little further conversation revealed that the lady was an Hungarian. Her life, she told

me, had been full of adventure but had of late become rather sad. It would be a convenience, however, if I could let her retain one room in her flat. She could then let me have the entire apartment at a much reduced rent. Moreover, if she were in the flat while I was settling in, she could help in many little ways. Perhaps I did not know, she said, that women of the higher aristocracy in Hungary were taught to cook, but such indeed was the case. She, for example, could whip up very good pastry, if she had a mind to, and she would do that for me. She could even assist me at presiding at any dinner parties which I might give.

At this point I rose poised for flight, when looking at me earnestly she said "There is one very delicate question which I think I should mention. You certainly do not intend to live here long." She took my silence for consent. "In that case" she said, "the arrangement which I am going to suggest depends on your character and I have not had time to learn what your character is. (Not surprising, as I had only been there for eight minutes). If you have great need for change in matters of love, the proposal which I am about to make to you will not prove satisfactory, but if you do not require many women in your life you could always depend on me. I should always be here — 'Comptez sur moi'." All this was said in a business-like manner as if the facilities

which she was offering went with the pastry, as extra comforts supplied with the flat. As I was leaving, however, she imparted her final touch. "If we could come to the arrangement" she said "which I have just suggested to you there would of course be no further difficulty over the sheets — they would be available."

*Well, my dear Mike ...
you will readily
appreciate that
it will be at least
a year before
I can devote any of
my time to my
official duties.*

I know there may be scepticism about the truth of some of these experiences but I can only assure you that they are a literal record of what took place.

Well, my dear Mike, I am not living between black silk sheets and eating Hungarian pastries, nor have I involved the Canadian Government in any black market transactions. I have, however, found a flat — too expensive for me; too large for me; too cold for me; but, all the same, a very attractive flat on the left bank in the Boulevard St. Germain. But, there is a snag about that too. I only have it for three months, so that before two months are over I must begin again my endless search. You will readily appreciate that it will be at least a year before I can devote any of my time to my official duties; but I shall keep you in touch with my unofficial activities by means of further low level communications. 

Yours,
Charles

Charles Ritchie served as Ambassador to Germany, Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador to the United States, Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.

Sidney Freifeld served as Chargé d'Affaires in Uruguay and Ambassador to Colombia and Ecuador.

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The Washington Mood

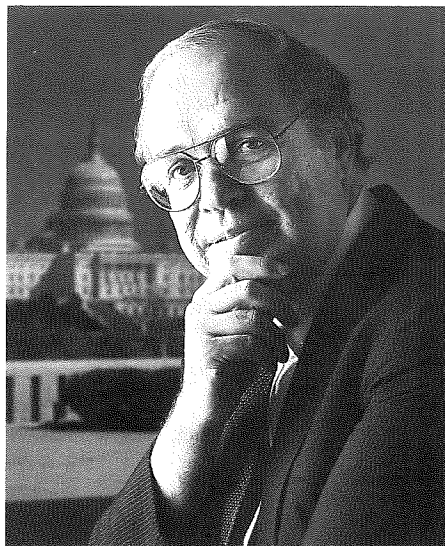
The following article was adapted from informal remarks made by Derek Burney, Ambassador to the USA, on May 14 in Ottawa to the PAFSO Professional Committee. These written remarks were provided Neil Reeder, Executive Assistant to the Ambassador. Editor

Unquestionably, success in the Gulf War gave Americans a surge of national pride; self-confidence and satisfaction in their military victory; in their advanced technology; and in their leaders, some of whom, like General Schartzkopf, became heroes on a scale usually reserved only for athletes! That was one level of the prevailing mood and it was authentically American: one of unabashed emotion and genuine pride.

Beneath the euphoria, however, were signs of a less confident and more querulous America. The sweetness of military victory was diluted somewhat by the unforeseen plight of the Kurdish refugees, the staying power of Saddam Hussein and the seemingly unchanged rigidity of Middle East political problems. More to the point, underneath the high gloss of victory in the Gulf, then as now, the USA faces serious domestic challenges: education, urban and infrastructure decay, crime, drugs, race and a stagnant economy. Neither the necessary solutions nor the required resources are readily at hand and the competition for what resources are available is becoming more vocal and stronger than ever.

It is ironic that, as the walls come down elsewhere, as democratic and capitalistic values increasingly are in the ascendancy virtually everywhere, even in Albania, there are now growing doubts in the USA itself about its future, and doubts in particular about whether things will indeed continue to get better. The remaining superpower is also in a real sense a lonely superpower. It is still determined to take the lead internationally (and is doing so) but it is less certain and even less committed than when the world was defined more simply, and

more sharply, in two camps. The USA sees itself today as being threatened more by the growing economic power of its friends, such as Japan and Germany, than it was by the military power of its former arch-rival. Not surprisingly, public polls in the USA suggest that the protection of American jobs is considered to be the number one foreign policy concern of Americans. In the public's mind, the major threat to the USA is Japan's economic power and, ironically, the USSR is now viewed as fourth on the list of "most-liked" nations. Canada continues to be ranked as number one in the "most-liked" category, but that is not necessarily a source of satisfaction for some of our compatriots.



Ambassador Derek Burney

The Bush Administration remains confident, coherent and competent in managing what has suddenly become a vastly different international situation than the one it inherited. The overwhelming success in the Gulf war and American management of the coalition forces were singular successes for the President and for his foreign policy team. While doubts may persist about his national strategic vision, few find fault with Bush's decisive leadership or with his tactical skills. (And, as the pundits say, you cannot discount his numbers!)

International Priorities are Clear

The USA search for success in the Middle East persisted even with limited signs of progress. The window of opportunity was thought to be narrowing, yet most observers continued to see Bush and Baker as the best equipped American team ever to cajole something useful from their unprecedented Gulf venture. Their creative dynamism also achieved something in parallel on strategic arms control.

That being said, the disintegration of the USSR poses a very different challenge for the USA and for all Western governments. How to find the right balance between support for democratic and economic reform in the USSR and at the same time support the Republics is a key question for the USA and Canada alike. Our European colleagues formerly attached less significance to the aspirations of the Republics. For different reasons, such as geography, they placed a much higher premium on political stability for stability's sake. There was also a strong desire in Germany to ensure the speedy departure of Soviet troops.

Washington, or the Administration at least (and never forget that there is not really a single government in Washington — negotiations between the Administration and Congress can often be as arduous as are the negotiations between the USA and foreign entities), wants to achieve what it can while it can from Moscow. At the same time, it seems to push arms agreements ahead, support real reform where it finds it, and continue to build on the new thinking in Moscow on many international political issues. This is a delicate and tricky manoeuvre, fraught with risk and uncertainty, but one which does not lend itself to the tidy strategies which academics or pundits prefer.

As the global equation shifts dramatically from Cold War security issues and alliances to global economic competitiveness, I suspect that American relations with Europe and with Japan are likely to become rather more difficult and more fractious. The Gulf war triggered new debates about international burden-sharing, and new rounds of finger-pointing, at Japan in particular. Pre-emptive lunges of unilateralism by the

American Congress (without the Administration's blessing) may become more tempting than ever. This helps explain in part why the Uruguay Round on tariff negotiations remains a priority for the Administration (if not for Congress) and creates a continuing source of American tension with Europe and Japan. This explains, as well, the current friction over monetary policy. The USA remains determined to stimulate economic growth through the means of lower interest rates. Others in the G-7, including Canada but particularly Germany, are putting more emphasis and faith in measures to check inflation.

Remember too that American leadership on international economics used to be accepted as more or less automatic. It is not so today and this is now becoming most evident in the G-7 Economic Summit context. (Surely the most privileged association membership which we Canadians have!)

Grassroots America tends to see an unfair world out there which is buying up large chunks of America, squeezing American imports through so-called "unfair" subsidies and non-tariff barriers to US trade of one kind or another — all protectionist measures which are claimed not to exist in the "land of the free".

Remember too that Congress, because it is closer to the grassroots' sentiments of America, tends to be very parochial on economic matters. It is equally leery of America's global responsibility for maintaining and defending the open global trading system (or even trans-national institutions). Grassroots America tends to see an unfair world out there which is buying up large chunks of America, squeezing American imports through so-called "unfair" subsidies and non-tariff barriers to US trade of one kind or another — all protectionist measures which are claimed not to exist in the "land

of the free" — or so they would like us to believe.

Where Does Canada Fit?

Fortunately, I believe Canada is well positioned in Washington these days to deal with the good, the bad, and the ugly. Relations at the top are excellent and set the standard for constructive effort. Access is unprecedented in quality and frequency and can lead to influence if, and as, we choose to exercise it.

However, this may not last as Canada too could become a victim of the parochial whims and whips of Congress. Accordingly, we need to be more vigilant to use the instruments and the leverage which is available to us to defend and promote our national and foreign policy interests. The *Free Trade Agreement* gives us a unique bilateral instrument to that end, but is not now, nor ever will be, a universal solvent. The relationship will continue to evolve. The recent action by the USA Administration in challenging the binational panel decision on pork (a decision which had been in Canada's favour) was a classic example of the politics of domestic interest groups and parochial expedience in Washington prevailing over the principles and obligations of an international agreement. (The incident had relatively little to do with pork and more to do with the somewhat desperate attempt by the Administration to shore up support for the Fast Track).

The recent renewal of NORAD (title amended in 1991 to the North American Aerospace Defence Command), unheralded and unreported as it was, represents one of the quiet successes of our bilateral partnership. Frankly, it places the two countries in a unique category of cost-efficient cooperation on defence and security issues which no other two countries come close to having.

The success in Congress on the *Clean Air Act* and the negotiation of the *Acid Rain Accord* were singular achievements for which many individuals on both sides of the 49th parallel struggled persistently for more than a decade. They represent the triumph of reason over parochialism, constitute a tribute to perseverance and unrelenting political pressure, and guarantee a major dividend of the bilateral relationship as a whole.

Now, if I may, let me conclude with a pet theme which may verge on being a sermon of sorts. Some choose to measure success with the USA by the extent of our political differences. I find that a very shallow standard and one that achieves very little if anything for Canada's interests, let alone Canadian foreign policy objectives. I have no difficulty defining myself as a Canadian in positive terms to Americans and I have no difficulty in celebrating the success of our most vital relationship; whether on trade, environment, or

defence, or on more nuanced international issues. Nor do I have any problem in expressing our real differences to Americans which reflect Canadian interests or views.

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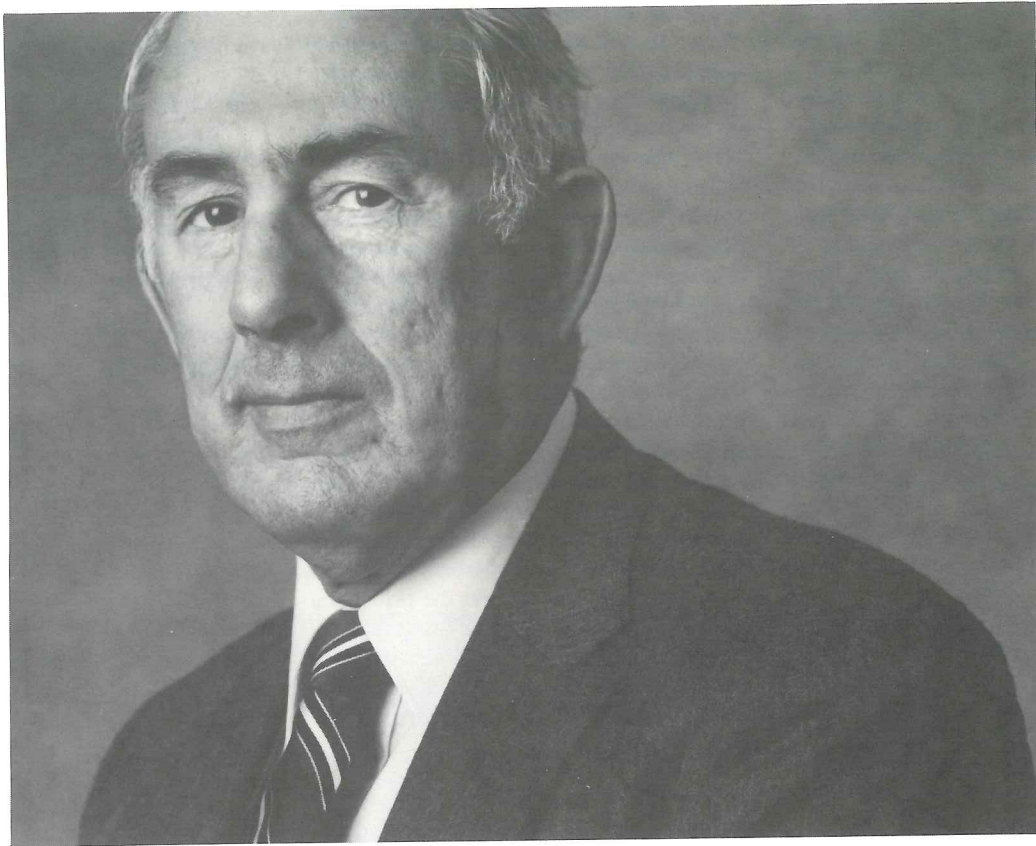
Where and when we differ, we must assert our differences clearly, confidently and firmly in the hope that in doing so we can influence the USA to adapt to, to share, or even to accept our reasoning. We should not, however, assert our differences simply for the sake of a headline or in some false attempt to shore up our separate identity. This would be folly.

We are different. Canadians have different attitudes about running a country and a different outlook on the world which reflect our very different role and capacity in that world. I can say confidently that Canada is very different in many ways — most of them good differences. If you do not believe me, come on down and see for yourself.

We Canadians also have a country worth preserving and I hope that is something on which we can all agree. 

Derek Burney joined External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer in 1963. He has had postings in Wellington and Tokyo, and served as Ambassador to Korea. From March 1987 until December 1988, Mr. Burney served as Chief of Staff to the Prime Minister, and was directly involved in the negotiation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. In January 1989, Mr. Burney became Canada's fifteenth Ambassador to the United States. At the same time he has served since 1991 as the Prime Minister's personal representative for the Economic Summit.

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Whither the Canadian Foreign Service?

by John Hadwen

The Canadian Foreign Service will not survive as an effective instrument of national interest if current trends persist. After a glance at the past and a shudder for the present, possible solutions for the future are suggested.

The Past

Nostalgia has no particular usefulness in this context. Generations of participants have died and the retired have marginal responsibility. Historians cannot help much.

Since World War II, External Affairs (DEA) has been able, within reason, to promote Canada's national objectives. It enjoyed an administrative structure which, on the whole, worked. When Canada made an enviable reputation for itself abroad, the Foreign Service was a small group who chose foreign policy as a life-long vocation. They were civil servants, but they had to be different from other civil servants in order to cope with the demands of living in foreign environments and dealing with external factors. Reflecting these unique requirements were a special entrance examination, a separate classification system, an allowance system to meet the needs of life abroad, and the principle of rotationality. However, the most important reward that members of the Foreign Service received was recognition in the form of influence in policy-making.

One of the most essential features of the Foreign Service was the separate public service classifications of its members. This once involved, for its officers, a career path from FSO-1 to FSO-10 which created a distinctive community with identifiable responsibilities and regular periods of domestic and overseas service. The result was a committed group of employees at all levels who were promoted on the basis of a system designed to ensure that individuals, whether at home or abroad, were treated equitably. Ottawa public service authorities recognized that DEA was a square peg and put it into a square hole.

Another characteristic was a departmental emphasis on the ability to use both official languages. This had two main origins. The

first was that this policy was considered to be an important contribution to national unity. The Foreign Service, as an exposed element of the public service in Canada and especially abroad, was expected to attain as high a level as possible in bilingual capability in French and in English and to support Canada's French-language culture. The history of DEA reflects efforts to achieve this objective. Some were more, some were less, successful. The objective was usually there, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, when it was not present in equal measure in other parts of the public service. Secondly, the ability to use French was considered essential in most foreign service environments.

The Canadian Foreign Service will not survive as an effective instrument of national interest if current trends persist.

The Foreign Service was also noted for its professionalism which produced a good record in the protection of official confidences both in Canada and abroad. The political leadership of varying kinds and qualities was served without public controversy.

A recognized quality was the ability to use relatively modest administrative resources under a flexible system for determining priorities. That system relied to a large degree on ministerial statements and policy papers but was also heavily influenced by the need to adapt to rapid change. Thus the use of personnel and funding featured a reliance on *ad hoc* arrangements within the established government patterns. A balance was maintained between civil service advice and ministerial direction.

From its initiation until the last ten years, DEA had a sometimes decisive but always significant influence on all aspects of Canada's

foreign policy. The resources available to the Department and the support it received within government and from the Canadian public were sufficient to enable it to perform its duties in Ottawa and overseas.

The Present

Little of this past remains. The public service classification of the elements of the Canadian Foreign Service has greatly changed and now constitutes an uncertain instrument on which to build long-term loyalties. The Foreign Service officer classification now comprises two virtually separate systems: the FS and the EX(FS) categories. The objective was to enable the senior levels to move in and out of the domestic public service and to "open up" the Department of External Affairs to other departments. The result, however, has been to diminish the commitment to the Foreign Service policy process and to make a long-term career progression virtually impossible to achieve or even to imagine. At the same time, the principle of rotationality has been seriously eroded. Although strenuous efforts are made to maintain it, the fact remains that there are few assignments abroad at the FS-1 level. In addition, the promotion system no longer appears to satisfy the merit principle. Career advancement is slow. The division of the service into three (formerly four) separate streams also produced rigidities. It can be argued that a much reduced political/economic stream is the only remaining overall foreign policy instrument, while the development (until recently), social affairs and now probably the trade streams are essentially controlled by other departments.

What has happened in more recent years is that, one by one, the unique features of the Foreign Service have been either deliberately whittled away or allowed to wither. This has been due partly to a misguided effort begun in the Trudeau years to force the Foreign Service into the general civil service mold.

In terms of French language and culture, DEA is following the pattern of other Government departments under which bilingualism is given a priority that can be easily overridden by other perceived program

requirements. The recognition of the importance of French as an international language has been diminished. DEA, acting on its own, cannot defend bilingualism. An even more significant change, however, has been the reduced priority of French language and culture in Canadian foreign policy. The national unity objective has not been given emphasis in the public development of foreign policy. Canadian uncertainties regarding national unity deeply affect the foreign policy expression of Canada's interests, whether we admit it or not. Foreign governments will be paying greater attention to our current domestic problems.

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The tradition of loyalty to political leadership is *still* being maintained. (However, see the conclusion of the Al-Mashat case). During their study of the Trudeau years, Granatstein and Bothwell said that they had tried to determine whether there was any tendency toward undermining his policies within the Department. They were unable to find evidence to this effect. One should read Basil Robinson's book on Diefenbaker to see the way in which DEA resolutely carries out the decisions of the Canadian political leadership. Some may regard this as a lack of individual integrity, but it is good democratic practice.

On the administrative and resource fronts, DEA has absorbed a long series of draconian cuts. As a result of integration, its current size is much greater than was that of the former External Affairs, but consolidation has not brought notable efficiencies or coordination. The focus and the thrust of Canadian foreign policy have been reduced. The capability of the Department to respond to its overall responsibilities is in question. It is true that, at the present time, DEA is still able to respond to *major* crises as they arise. However, it is done by drawing from non-crises areas and by neglecting core training and policy work. A comparison could be made to a business in financial danger using

desperation measures to juggle its accounts. Furthermore, as a result of pressures from the central agencies (and External never was one and should not have tried to be one) and the swings of the pendulum of centralization and decentralization, administrative requirements have risen. Substantive capacities are reduced. There are statistics available to demonstrate that the cuts which have been made to the overall DEA establishment, when adjusted for the addition of the trade component, have produced real losses in the capability of the Department to develop foreign policy.

The particular difficulty the Department faces at the moment is that it has not been able to shed functional *or area* responsibilities as resources are reduced, resulting in "the Department which cannot say no". The negative experience with closing posts abroad for budgetary reasons has meant that some operate with skeleton staff, sometimes below effective levels, but these missions still have to be maintained. The reasons for this inability to adjust priorities lie in a peculiarity of the Canadian political process. If there is virtually *any* domestic political constituency for almost any special interest, DEA must currently maintain at least, in theory, the capacity to respond. An example might be the decision to join the Organization of American States, while simultaneously reducing the long-term personnel and financial resources required to fulfill the commitment to Latin America. Heavy pressure has developed on existing staff to fulfill objectives far beyond their capacity to achieve.

A further problem exists in terms of priorities. Noble studies have been made of the Department, notably the recent Corporate Review. Enormous effort was put into an analysis of all aspects of the Department's role which produced exemplary recommendations. Regrettably, these recommendations have floundered for the lack of available resources and for the fact that the Department continues to be cut in precisely the same way as have all other elements of the Public Service. Have additional resources been made available from the centre to enable the Department to prepare for the long-term requirements of Middle East changes?

It can be argued that the Department has become efficient and effective in supporting its Ministers and in enabling the Prime Minister and the Government as a whole to present foreign policy developments in the best possible public light. This is a commendable achievement. Proof of success lies in the fact that foreign policy is not a controversial aspect of the current Canadian governmental reputation. There have been successes in managing domestic

media relations, but this is not at all times the same as influencing international foreign policy realities.

At the same time, however, mainly because of the reduction in human and financial resources, the Department's role in many foreign policy areas has significantly declined. Aid policy, which is now one of our most important element in relations with the expanding Third World, is currently managed and controlled by CIDA. Since DEA cannot produce foreign policy studies, CIDA has begun to contract these out for itself. There are other fields in which this same decline is obvious. These include multilateral relations policy, immigration policy, security and intelligence policy. There is an essential Departmental training program under preparation, but it is hard to believe that other priorities will not prevent it from being implemented as originally planned.

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In the international trade field, the Department had, until now, been able to maintain a significant role in bilateral and related trade negotiations because of its clearly established mandate, and considerable authority on international economic issues. Dispersal of authority over international trade policy to regional authorities has concurrently reduced effectiveness at a time of unusual international economic and commercial danger. The void created by the reduction in international trade capability in other federal departments has, to some extent, been filled by the Department. DEA has less influence than it should have on international financial policy whether at the IBRD and the IMF or in other more general

contexts. However, even this comparatively positive record has been jeopardized by the Cabinet changes of 21 April, 1991.

The Future

There may be some agreement on the above assessments about the past and the present condition of DEA. There will be less agreement on the prospects for the future described below and on the remedial measures proposed.

The Foreign Service is now structured on terms which may make it impossible to maintain a professional career Foreign Service of the kind required. In the distant past, when individuals were asked if they would consider transfer to some other government department, there was a general tendency to refuse. (If Cadieux could speak!) It is hard to imagine that there would be many officers at any level in the present Department who would resist such offers today. There is a danger now that there will soon not be available the kind of experienced overseas representation at all levels which Canada's national interest will require. There is even a revived support for the threadbare thesis that the development of modern communications and improved media coverage mean that there is less requirement for experienced foreign policy representation both abroad and in Ottawa. If anything, the latest Middle East crisis reveals that Canada requires its own distinctive representation abroad if it is to avoid being manipulated by other powers or taken for granted. Current classifications and career patterns have to be changed.

A particularly dangerous situation arises in terms of the relationship between French language and culture in Canada and national unity. The requirement for bilingualism in the Foreign Service is greatly increased, not decreased, by the tensions developing within Canada. Representatives abroad are exposed to major public and private pressures as national unity problems increase. Thus, a declining recognition of the importance of French language and culture to national unity is a special danger to the Canadian Foreign Service. The need for French as a second working international language remains, of course, as acute as it always has been. In DEA, there must be a renewed concentration on French language capabilities, notwithstanding cost or domestic uncertainty.

It is still possible to predict that the Canadian Foreign Service will continue to support loyally whichever political party comes to power. However, as professionalism and commitment change, new attitudes could develop that would be less favourable to this tradition. Foreign Service, like military service, continues to have for Canadians

distinctive characteristics but, like modern business ethics and medical traditions, they are eroding with time. There is more cynicism in DEA now than is healthy. Thus, in times of reduced resources, those facilities which protect and encourage staff and which foster professional pride should not be neglected by government.

If resources continue to be spread thinner and thinner, minor errors will be made and as time goes by, major errors will be committed. If administrative resources continue to be increased while policy formulation resources are reduced, the effectiveness of DEA will be jeopardized. A bitter controversy arose over cuts to the CBC. A similar debate for DEA is hardly possible given the sensitivities of the foreign policy process. If there were to be a CBC-like public discussion on External cuts, it would feature, in part, issues like the abandonment of many missions abroad, a wholesale reduction in service to the travelling public and to Canadian business interests, and a major decline in immigration and refugee responses. A concentration of Canadian effort in a few regions and subject areas might have to be made. While such a CBC-like debate is unthinkable, we may be dealing with the situation by relying on quiet desperation, willful obfuscation, dignified confusion and enforced inertia.

Foreign policy is not susceptible to the kind of orderly management which can be applied (more or less) to other Canadian government situations.

The difficulty with foreign policy, however, is that careful reviews (including the recent departmental Corporate Review) are outdated the moment they are completed. No one in any country fully anticipated the nature of developments in Eastern Europe. No one anticipated the way the Middle East has changed. No one could have anticipated the way in which our relations with China have developed. No one could have anticipated the way our relations with the USSR have altered. No one planned for the Kurds.

Foreign policy is not susceptible to the kind of orderly management which can be applied (more or less) to other Canadian government situations. DEA should now be making a major effort to train greater numbers of officers in a wide variety of non-traditional languages. If these resources are not made available, we will have to live with the adverse consequences.

The politicization of the Canadian Foreign Service along the lines of that in the USA, in contrast to the British and French patterns let alone Canadian traditions, must be resisted. Minister's offices have greatly expanded as has domestic political involvement in all aspects of DEA life. Within the Department there is now probably more tendency to tailor foreign policy recommendations to what the government is known or believed to want than there has been in the past. It may now be necessary to insert arbitrarily into policy papers a section for rejected options so as to record alternative or unpalatable views. It is necessary to revive independent thought and relatively fearless recommendations inside the foreign policy process by deliberate measures, if they do not flourish on their own. There is thought of uniting the foreign policy intelligence effort and the policy planning functions. This could reduce the objectivity of intelligence work in a way which has brought danger to other countries.

The influence of DEA within the Canadian Government could decline further. This would be an adverse development given the fact that Canada is ever more dependent on developments in international affairs than almost any other country. We are especially dependent for our economic welfare on international economic conditions. Our geographic and strategic location make foreign policy matters unusually important for Canadian national interests. Unless the resource picture changes, External's reputation and influence within Ottawa will continue to decrease with increasingly negative results.

Why has this decline occurred? There is envy at the fact that External personnel are required to proceed on foreign assignments and to undertake foreign travel to a much greater extent than any other part of the Government. There is, of course, no alternative but to undertake these assignments in the Foreign Service but they are fundamentally resented by those who would like, or think they would like, to be so required. There is also an assumption that members of the Foreign Service living and working abroad do so in luxury and in a style to which the average Canadian would like to be accustomed. These attitudes are ingrained and cannot be expected to change except,

perhaps, by widespread exposure to overseas conditions. There are many who cannot distinguish between Hong Kong as a tourist stopover in the best seasons and Hong Kong as a place of work or home for a family with limited resources on a multi-year assignment. Within central agencies in Ottawa, there is a wide-spread view that "DEA is fat" and that additional responsibilities can be met by redeploying resources. DEA has no allies amongst the current interdepartmental power centers in Ottawa.

To date, these pressures have been absorbed without causing major Canadian domestic political discomfort but, in the future, the assignment of new functions to DEA, without additional resources, will almost certainly produce controversy. It is possible in 1992 to go into the Department at any level and find elements so greatly reduced in person-years and funds that they cannot function adequately. Because of the necessity to protect the confidences of other governments, even if we are not concerned to protect our own, there is little of the foreign policy process to privatize. For the same reason, DEA will not be able to contract out as much of its work as can other departments. If it did so, the government would end up being dependent for national security policy on resources outside its direct control.

Not only are human resources spread too thin, but additional administrative demands are being put on those remaining at the expense of the substantive work. It may be difficult to argue that resources for DEA should be increased at a time when they are being controlled or reduced elsewhere through the public service, but that is no reason to abdicate. Recent debates in the media and the House of Commons, however, have emphasized again and again the importance of continuing diplomacy as an alternative to war. What "continuing diplomacy" means in the Canadian context is that we must maintain and support an efficient, well-managed, well-financed, and professional Foreign Service. A public constituency **must** be developed.

At the present time, signs are against the maintenance of an effective Foreign Service. It is, of course, for the Government to decide what it wants and how its priorities are to be adjusted when resources are declining and economic conditions are worsening. Nevertheless, perhaps even more in such conditions than in times of prosperity, there is an urgent requirement for effective performance in the bilateral and multilateral foreign policy fields in Canada and abroad. There should be a reassertion of DEA authority in areas in which it appears to be rapidly

abandoning to others responsibilities mandated by Parliament. There is also a requirement, within Ottawa and within Canada, to rise above ill-informed envy and unreasoned prejudice.

In sum, the following factors, many of which were highlighted during the Al-Mashat Affair, illustrate the thesis of this paper. There has been a failure of ministers and some senior public servants to respect Canadian traditions of ministerial and public service responsibility; a breakdown in cooperation between political elements in ministerial offices and public service elements in the same offices; a disaffection between the political level and the public service generally in Ottawa; a loss of DEA employees having senior experience in Ottawa and abroad; an inadequacy of channels to ensure interdepartmental coordination at the policy and the operational levels; an excessive crisis pressure for too long on understaffed departmental resources; uneasy relations between External, PCO and PMO; and growing reductions in public service, morale and self-confidence. Unless resolved, these factors do not portend a long or healthy future for the Foreign Service role in Canada. 

John Hadwen was a Foreign Service Officer from 1950 to 1987.

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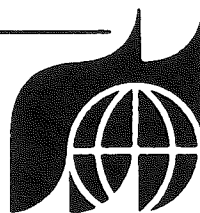
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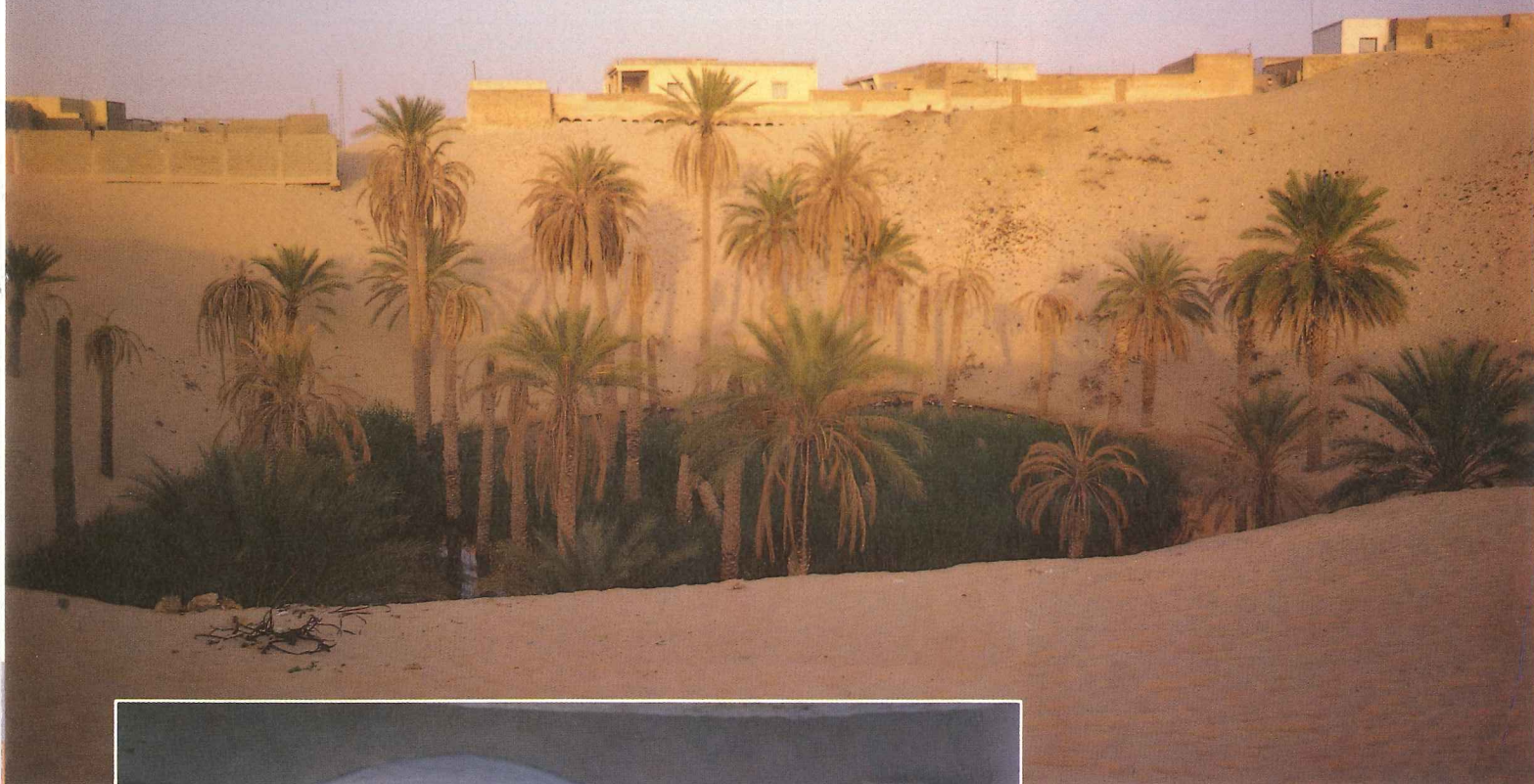
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Things You Find in the Sahara



The sand dunes endlessly threaten to close in on the palm groves in the Oasis.

Ghardais (Algeria)

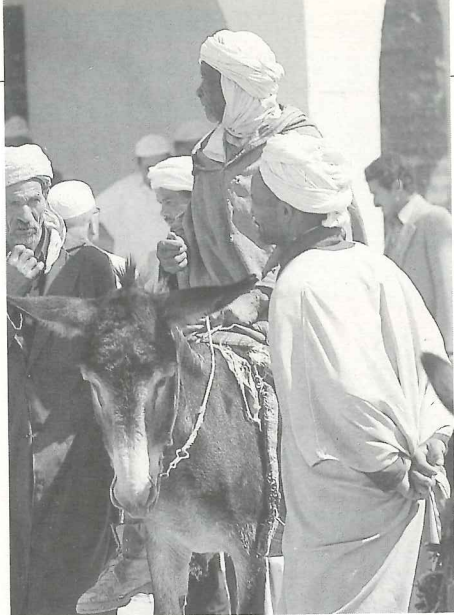
In a cleft in the desert floor, some 600 kilometres beyond the mountains and south of Algiers, lies the group of blue-tinted villages known as Ghardaia.

This oasis town on the crossroads of the north-south trail between Algiers and Tamenrasset and the east-west caravan routes from Morocco to the Mediterranean is the home of a Berber sect of Muslims known as the M'Zab — the Mozabites.

The architecture of this town was adapted to the special conditions of the place and the private life of the M'Zab. The houses cover hills in rising levels, making a sort of collective pyramid topped by the obelisk-shaped minaret of the local mosque. The walls are thick and windowless, preserving the intimacy of life inside and protecting the cool interior from the Sahara sun. Yet, those walls are soft and voluptuous, tinted in varying pastel shades of blue to ward off the rays, and rising sinuously to unopinionated turrets. Just to walk among these village lanes is a sensual pleasure.

The side alleys and side streets all lead to the main market in Ghardaia.





Donkeys are still the most efficient means of transportation between the villages of Ghardaia.

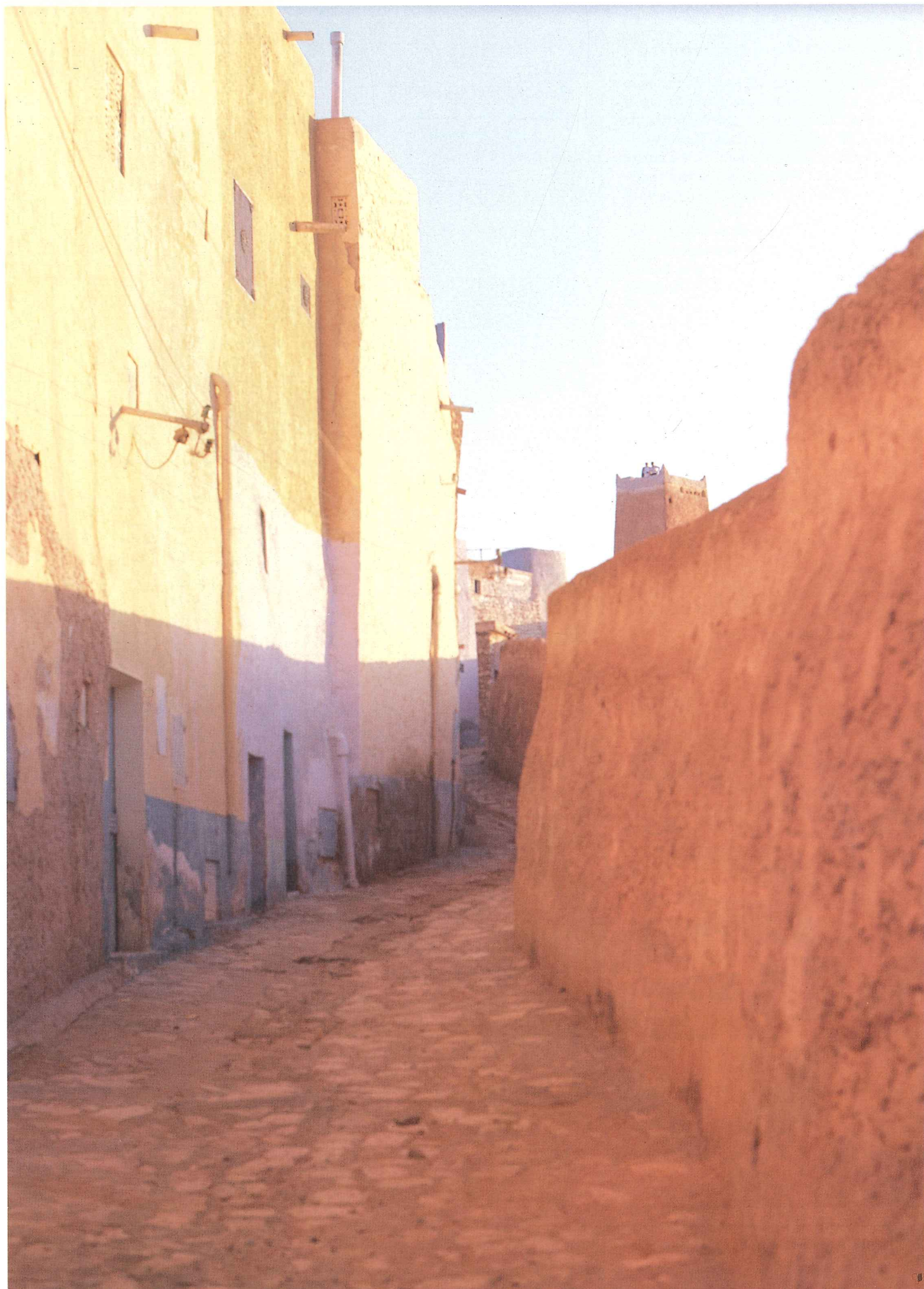
It is rare to see women in the street, even women fully covered and veiled in their white *haïks*. If you were to encounter a woman in the narrow alleys, coming from the market, she would quickly slip out of the way, into a doorstep or down a side way. Yet, the Mozabites are hospitable, and the guide easily contacted a family that welcomed us into their home for tea — where the women were charming, chatty (or giggly according to age) and, even, unveiled.



Hand crafts of quality perfected over the centuries are on sale in myriad market stalls.

Below, The market is the man's world: and opposite, The walls of Beni Isguen are tinted to dispel the intensity of the desert sun.





More and more Algerian women are returning to traditional dress — the haik and veil.

The narrow streets all lead into the main square and the main market, something of a surprise after pushing past the tiny little shops with carpets, copper and leatherwork. The market is the man's domain. It is ablaze with sunlight and colour — the fruits and vegetables that have been brought in from surrounding oases, the polychromatic textiles and carpets on display, and, surprisingly, the range of skin tone — from the darkest-skinned African and Tuareg desert dwellers, to the light-skinned, almost blond-haired Berbers.

The picture of the turbaned fellow on the donkey only proved the accuracy of the guidebook which said, "il n'est pas rare également de rencontrer ceux-ci assis sur un âne bâti, seul moyen de transport possible dans la vieille ville ou de la palmeraie."

Beni Isguen, one of the five towns that make up the city of Ghardhaïa. Each one dominated by mosque and minaret.



Diplomatic Anecdotes

by Gordon Martel
Broadview Press, Peterborough, 1991,
322 pages, \$27.95. (See ad pg. 41.)

A history professor at Royal Roads Military College in Victoria, B.C., Gordon Martel has combed nearly three hundred diplomatic memoirs for anecdotes illustrative of the life and work of Foreign Service officers abroad over the past century. Six excerpts from this collection have been selected by Arthur Menzies, Member of the Senior Board.

The Exchange Rate on Swiss Francs

Canadian Louis Rasminsky had remarkably little difficulty in winning a post on the League of Nations staff in 1930, when Rasminsky was only 22. He later attributed this early success to his "sheer effrontery" in applying. His mind, however, was not entirely on the new job. As Rasminsky tells it, he immediately sent a telegram to Lyla Rotenberg in Toronto: "Have accepted job League of Nations at 13,700 Swiss francs. Will you marry me?" The reply was swift: "What is exchange rate on Swiss francs?"

According to all reports the marriage was long, happy, and filled with a sense of humour. In later years the Rasminskys became distinguished among civil servant families for tooting about drab Ottawa in a red convertible — but by that time Rasminsky was Deputy Governor of the Bank of Canada.

Source: J.L. Granatstein, *"The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins"*, 1935-57.

A Diplomatic Walkout

An interesting variation on this theme occurred at the San Francisco conference to establish the United Nations. Not surprisingly, the diplomatic jousting between the United States and the Soviets was intense, with particularly bitter quarrels arising over procedures.

At one juncture, when the British delegate was making a statement immediately after the Soviet delegate, Gromyko, had been overruled by the Chairman, Gromyko rose from his seat, looked around, and proceeded to walk up the centre aisle of the auditorium. He was soon followed by all the other delegates representing communist states, including one lady delegate from Czechoslovakia. Photographers began snapping pictures of the walkout, the television cameras began to roll, the other delegates stood up to watch the procession. The British delegate, although he could not be heard above the din created by the movement, continued to speak.

Gromyko eventually reached the end of the aisle, turned, and disappeared into the gentlemen's restroom; the male delegates from the communist states followed him in, but the lady was left on her own. Reporters raced for telephones to transmit the news; the British delegate ceased his address.

After some time, Gromyko re-emerged and proceeded down the aisle to his seat, with his sympathetic colleagues following in his wake, including the lady who, by this time, was blushing at the applause coming from the galleries.

Source: Dean Acheson, *"Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department"*.

Is Charlie There?

As Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker had liked to keep the Red Phone displayed prominently to impress visitors. His successor preferred to set a different tone; Lester 'Mike' Pearson hid the "hotline" to the President of the United States from view when elected to office in 1963. A little more than a year later he could no longer remember where it was so when it rang one afternoon during a consultation with External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, Pearson could not locate the phone.

"My God, Mike, don't you realize this could mean war?" Martin exclaimed as they scrambled frantically around the room.

Pearson's reply was entirely calm, "They can't start a war if we don't answer the phone."

The phone was finally located and when the Prime Minister answered, he heard a voice asking "Is Charlie there?" The caller was informed he had the wrong number.

Source: Peter C. Newman, *"The Distemper of Our Times"*.

"My God, Mike, don't you realize this could mean war?" Martin exclaimed as they scrambled frantically around the room. Pearson's reply was entirely calm, "They can't start a war if we don't answer the phone."

A Diplomatic Mouthful

One American Consul in Greece, George Horton, recalled how a particularly overwhelming and pompous European diplomat finished each meal by taking a mouthful of water from the finger-bowl, rinsing his teeth, and then spitting the water back into the bowl. But this curious procedure seemed quite restrained when compared with the Secretary of a Legation who later dined with Horton. The American Consul happened to mention, during the course of the meal, that he needed to have some dental work done, and that he was encountering some difficulty in finding a reputable dentist. His dinner companion immediately snapped a dental plate, which contained three or four teeth, out of his mouth, rinsed it in a finger-bowl, dried it on his napkin and placed it in front of the startled Horton.

"I had that done here," he explained. "It would be hard to find better work than that." Seeing that Horton was more than slightly

taken aback, he exclaimed: "Pick it up, it won't bite you!"

Source: George Horton, "Recollections Grave and Gay: The Story of Mediterranean Consul".

"I have one piece of advice to give you," the President said "read the columnists ... and if they call a member of your staff thoughtful, dedicated, or any other friendly adjective, fire him immediately. He is your leaker."

Stopping Leaks

Henry Kissinger tells the story of the advice he got from the outgoing President, Lyndon Johnson, on how to stop leaks....

"I have one piece of advice to give you, Professor," the President said — and here Kissinger leaned forward to profit from the advice of a man who had been engaged in the public service for decades — "read the columnists ... and if they call a member of your staff thoughtful, dedicated, or any other friendly adjective, fire him immediately. He is your leaker."

Source: Henry Kissinger, "White House Years".

Precious Stones

The eccentricities of Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada for some twenty years, are well-known: ... [he] constructed over the course of several years an artificial ruin at his Kingsmere estate, collecting the raw materials from a variety of sources.

His oddity emerged in dealing with his diplomatic corps in the darkest days of the war in 1940. On the day after Westminster Hall had been bombed, a telegram marked 'Secret and Most Immediate' was received at Canada House in London. The telegram from the Prime Minister requested that, as a matter of the highest priority, a few stones from the rubble of Westminster be dispatched to him personally. It fell to future Prime Minister 'Mike' Pearson, then a diplomat at Canada House, to arrange for

the shipment. Remarkably, the Office of Works complied with the request promptly and, as Pearson puts it in his Memoirs, "this historic and heavy freight was shipped safely through submarines to add a new distinction to Mr. King's ruins at Kingsmere."

Source: Lester B. Pearson, "Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Honourable Lester B. Pearson".

Dining in Style

The Council of Foreign Ministers met in Moscow in November 1948, and the meeting proved to be yet another disastrous affair in the early days of the Cold War. The British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, returned to London in a gloomy mood; he had hoped to create a workable Four-Power system or, at the very least — as a Labour Minister — to act as some sort of a bridge between East and West. Not long after the conference ended, a couple of his friends spotted him coming in to lunch in the dining room of the House of Commons and, seeing his apparent despair, joined him to see if they could cheer him up a bit.

One of them remarked that, although the conference might have been a failure, they must have had some nice things to eat and drink, especially in comparison with the limitations that diners still faced in London, where rationing was still in full force.

"No," Bevin bitterly told them, "You see, I was at the embassy." Of course, with rationing still in effect in the British Isles itself, the British embassy could hardly be seen to be providing a flow of champagne and caviar to its own people. The Foreign Secretary concurred with the principle of the policy, so he was in no position to complain. With a twinkle in his eye, Bevin surprisingly asked his companions, "Do you know Brindle?"

Brindle, it turned out, was the elderly Scottie dog that was the pet of the British Ambassador and his wife. How did Brindle come into the story of rationing in the British embassy?

"Well," said Bevin, "it was like this. Towards the end of our little meal, they gave me, with the cheese, what I took to be dog biscuits.... By way of a joke, and quite unsuspecting, the Foreign Secretary said, he had turned to his hostess and asked, "Lady Peterson, these look to me like dog biscuits?"

"As a matter of fact they are, Secretary of State, but we like them."

After a brief pause, Bevin responded. "Lady Peterson, I 'ope I'm not depriving Brindle of his dinner?"

"That's quite all right, Secretary of State, Brindle won't eat 'em."

Source: Hubert M.G.B. Gladwyn, "The Memoirs of Lord Gladwyn"

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Workplace not very civil in the government service: Staff Cuts, Mashat Affair, Pay Freeze Take Toll on Morale

by **Margot Gibb-Clark**, *Workplace Reporter*
(From the *Globe and Mail*, Sept. 16, 1991)

Morale at the top is bad. Morale at the bottom is worse.

Several thousand jobs have been cut. Frontline employees are often overworked. People are writing memos to avoid responsibility for decisions.

It sounds like a workplace under siege — and, for the federal government, it is.

Ottawa is not a great employer, according to outside observers who know public administration. It manages programs more effectively than people, as the strike by members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada demonstrates.

But perfection is difficult to achieve in a complex entity that employs more than 200,000 people and where the demands of the shareholders and the customers — often the same people — conflict, with the customers demanding better service, and the shareholders worried about the cost.

The strike comes after a decade of downsizing by Ottawa, a trend that hurts morale. For seven or eight years, public servants have been asked to do more with less, says Ken Kernaghan, a political science and management professor at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ont.

"In the eighties, what was needed was an extremely careful management of downsizing, but nobody at the top wanted to let go of anything," says Nicole Morgan, who has written several books on the public service and teaches public administration at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.

According to a report on morale prepared by PSAC, management increased its own numbers by more than 5 per cent under the Tories. At the same time, two groups of support staff have been cut by 4.9 and 12.9 per cent, respectively. Ms. Morgan says the union's figures are not out of line.

But downsizing is not the only reason for poor morale.

Plateauing, a reality in most Canadian offices, also hit the public service with a

vengeance, leaving many younger staffers feeling they have "nowhere to go" — the title of one of Ms. Morgan's books.

The huge baby-boom generation is creating more competition for choice jobs, but the situation is exacerbated in the public service because there was enormous hiring between 1968 and 1974.

A survey of 3,000 public service managers in 1988 revealed that one in three never expected to get a promotion again. The survey was done by David Zussman, dean of the Faculty of Administration at the University of Ottawa, who also found that the managers were committed to their jobs and liked their work, but were more frustrated than private sector managers because of the numerous rules and regulations that stand in the way of getting things done.

Perversely, well-publicized attempts by auditors-general to cut waste added to those constraints. In 1976, then auditor-general James Macdonell reported that the government was close to losing control of its purse strings. Ottawa responded by writing more rules, which increased the rigidity. The personnel management manuals grew to "five feet thick," says Geoff Poapst, vice-president of the Public Policy Forum of Canada, a group dedicated to excellence in government.

On the political level, the government also gets bad marks for its industrial relations.

Even presuming its contract offer to PSAC calling for a wage freeze this year and 3-per-cent raises for the next two years is "right", the government's take-it-or-leave-it attitude has shown little respect for the unions, says one observer.

This stand has also given public servants a mixed message, Prof. Zussman says: "We really value you and we want you to be part of the team, but we're going to give you nothing."

Acknowledging that there have been problems, the government is trying to change its management style through a massive exercise it is about to implement called Public Service 2000.

Announced in December, 1989, PS 2000 aims to simplify the rules and to give more power to public servants by encouraging them to take risks and to make them more responsive to the needs of their customers — the public.

Public service managers will be rated this year on how well they make the changes in their departments.

But the government is 10 years behind major private sector companies in making such changes, observers say. And the exercise, difficult anywhere, is complicated in government because of its size and complexity.

In addition, PS 2000 has faced two tough blows, Prof. Zussman says. Most companies use extra financial resources to go through massive change; PS 2000 will be implemented while the government is trying to force its workers to take a pay freeze this year.

The Mashat Affair earlier this year didn't help the cause.

Public servants saw external affairs official Raymond Chrétien publicly burned for the bungling that expedited former Iraqi ambassador to Washington Mohammed Mashat's entry into Canada.

The episode is likely to scare them even further away from risk-taking, experts say.

In fact, says one observer, Mashat has become a verb in Ottawa: It means write a bunch of memos to cover your butt.

Even John Edwards, who manages PS 2000, admits it is a huge task because, by his reckoning, about 70 per cent of the work involves changing attitudes within the public service. "The way we related to each other is not great," he admits.

The way government employees heard about PS 2000 is a classic example of how communications often go awry in the government. When the plan was announced in December, 1989, the government unions heard about it on the radio.

One result of the poor communications is that middle level people don't understand the objectives of the organization, Prof. Zussman

says, and as a result feel left out and less satisfied with their work.

In spite of its problems, the public service is doing quite well, given the tremendous array of pressures and influences that bear down on it, Prof. Kernaghan says.

"When people say it should operate in a more business-like fashion, that's tremendously naive. The question that really needs to be asked is whether it is operating as efficiently as possible given the political environment in which it works and the scale of complexity of the operation."

Ottawa is not bad at recruitment, he adds. And it is not bad at layoffs. Ms. Morgan says. "The Public Service Commission hasn't been that bad. They put people [who have lost jobs] on priority lists and they try to find them work. God knows I can't stand the PSC, but I have to be fair. They haven't been inhumane."

Ms. Morgan cautions against too many comparisons to the private sector. The institutions of a country, like its public service, represent its ethics and social contract, she says, whereas the primary purpose of the private sector is not to worry about the common good.

Dismantle these institutions or give them over to private control, she says, and you resort to survival of the fittest.

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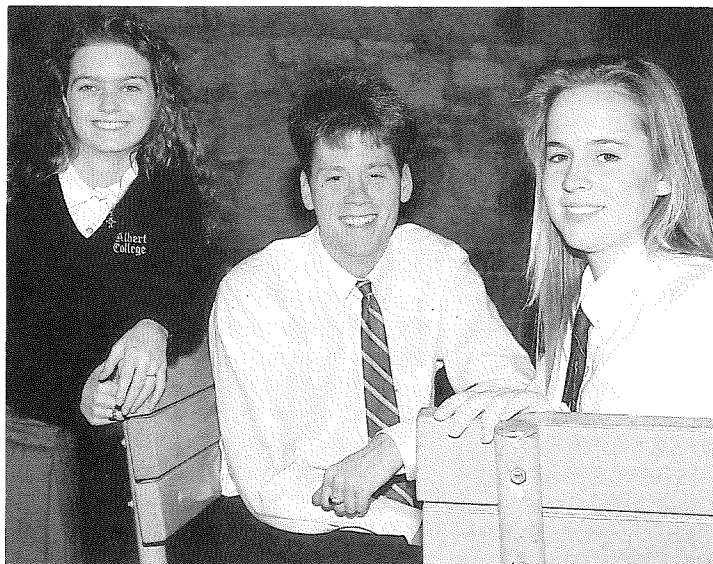
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Roloff Beny in Algeria

by Richard Belliveau

If Yousof Karsh had not produced such brilliant portraits of world figures like Winston Churchill and Pope Pius XII, Canada would certainly have recognized the late Roloff Beny as its greatest photographer.

Roloff Beny's book, *To Everything There is a Season*, was commissioned for Canada's centennial year, and his coffee table volumes on Japan, Ceylon, and Persia are magnificent collectors' items. He was a personal friend of the Iranian royal family and enjoyed the favour of other important patrons. He may have become convinced that the hospitality lavished on him was his due. Among members of the Canadian Foreign Service, he came to be seen as a magnificent craftsman, but an inveterate sponge.

A colleague in Rome, where Beny lived, told me that when invited to an embassy function, Beny would hire a limousine and send the bill to the ambassador. His experience in Japan may have encouraged him to think of himself as a "living national

treasure" in the style of Japan's greatest living artists and craftsmen who are thus designated and revered. If so, the ambassador must have accepted that view because the limo bill was paid, and Roloff was invited back.

One day my ambassador in Algiers received a letter from a colleague in another post advising him of Roloff Beny's intention to visit and commending the photographer to him. The ambassador, however, had never heard of Beny and was not disposed to be indisposed. He turned the matter over to me with instructions to see if we could find him a cheap hotel and smooth his way with cultural officials.

Beny phoned as soon as he landed at the airport, and I suggested that he take a taxi to the embassy. He arrived in a black hat, black turtleneck and flowing black cloak, cameras and equipment slung over his shoulders and he stood in the street surrounded with his baggage and with a somewhat bewildered look on his face. In retrospect, I think he was probably hoping that someone would pay the taxi for him.

We took him down to the cheaper of the two acceptable hotels in the city, but he was not satisfied with it at all. It became clear that when he had asked for a cheap hotel, he was actually hinting to be put up at someone's residence. He finally wheedled our local information assistant into inviting him to her home.

Beny was working on his book, *Odyssey*, a pictorial collection of ancient civilizations around the Mediterranean basin. He wanted to visit the Roman ruins of Timgad, southeast of Algiers on the edge of the desert, one of the farthest outposts of the empire of Septimus Severus. As it happened, I was planning to drive there over a long weekend with a British friend, and so we invited him to accompany us. He accepted with alacrity and took over the management of our trip, though not, I hasten to add, the expenses. To be fair, he gave a form and a focus to our visit that we would otherwise not have had.

Ann and I shared the driving, and Beny arrayed himself and his photographic

Ruins at Timgad.



equipment across the back seat. He was an amusing passenger, but demanding. I had a killing headache by the time we reached our first goal, the cream-tinted ruins at Djamila. We had stopped at every photogenic marketplace on the way. He wanted to take pictures of the vegetables on display (the aubergines were particularly luscious then) and Ann was enlisted to hold up the triangular aluminum reflector so he could get the right light.

He was preoccupied at that time by negotiations with the province of Alberta to donate his archives of negatives for a tax write-off. He spent the time composing amusing telegrams for us to send to the then Premier, Peter Lougheed: "BENY SAVAGED BY CAMEL IN SAHARA STOP PLS FINALIZE NEGS BEFORE HE PERISHES". As a diversion from that train of thought, he speculated as to what shepherds talked about all day in the deserted outbacks through which we were driving.

It was a treat to watch him work. He gave us a number of practical tips on photographing monuments. When shooting pictures of mosaics found in Roman ruins, first hose them down with water. This will give a

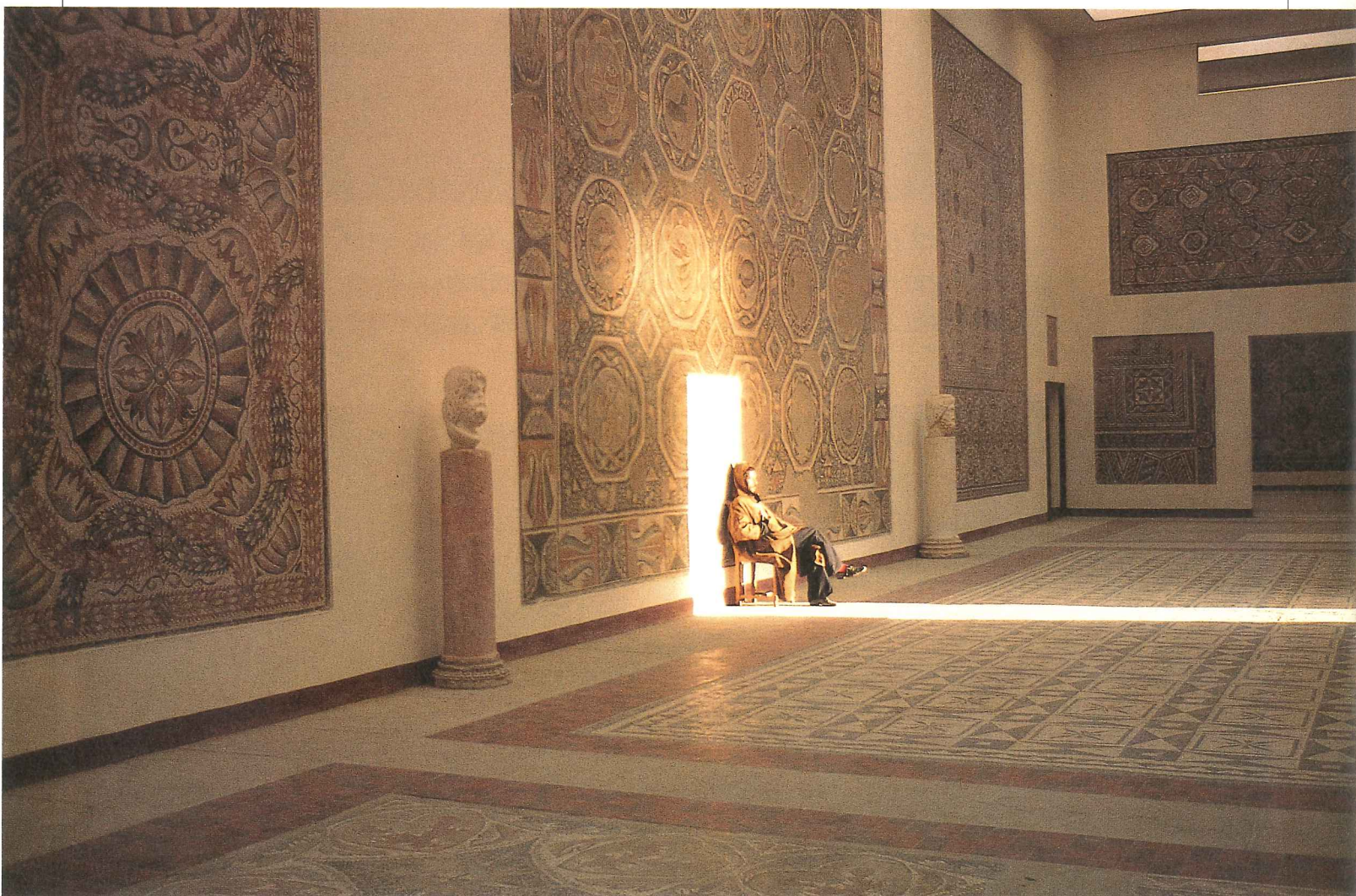
luminous, shimmering quality to the picture. Beny always preferred shooting early in the morning or in the late afternoon because the horizontal light provided warmer colour tones and sharper definition as a result of the shadows. He was endlessly patient in setting up a shot, shuffling back and forth for the exact composition, and waiting humbly if necessary for dramatic movement.

In addition to technique, he always seemed to command the luck of a great artist. At Setif, he insisted we go in the morning to the main square so he could take a shot of the honey-coloured marble statue of a nymph in the fountain (a leftover from the French era). He called all such poses "Venus on the half shell" after the Boticelli painting. Just as he was framing his shot from across the street, an old Arab peasant went up to the fountain, uncovered his feet and proceeded to wash them in the classic marble basin under the stony gaze of the naked nymph — a wonderful composition that Beny used in the book.

At Timgad later in the day, a light snow fell and then melted almost at once, giving the ancient ruins the hosed-down glow that Beny would have ordered up himself. I, the

non-professional, had used my last bit of film before the snow fell. I had taken a quick shot of a pair of storks perched on ancient pillars in the ruins. Beny, however, took more time lining up his shot and just when he was ready, the birds rose slowly in the air giving his view a grace and dynamism mine lacked. Working with the master did have another advantage in that using his permit to take photographs, Ann and I were able to sneak our cameras into the museums when picture-taking was forbidden to "tourists".

We were travelling on a fairly tight schedule because Ann and I had to get back to work, so we asked Beny to select the places he most wanted to visit, and struggled to keep him moving forward. The morning we left Timgad, it had snowed and he wanted to go back to film the ruins again with their white caps. We had to tell him that if we did that, we would not be able to stop in the oasis town of Biskra. He grudgingly chose Biskra, but all along the road he kept insisting we stop or do side trips. We shopped in the market place at Biskra and he picked up a couple of the smallest stick souvenirs for his two assistants back in Rome. We pushed on



to the town of Bou Sa'ada, and had time for tea but no time to visit the old Spanish mill. Finally, as later afternoon came on (perfect for taking pictures), we approached the last mountain pass before the descent into the Mitija plain and Algiers. "Looks like we will be home by dinner", I said to Ann.

"Yes," Beny whimpered from the back seat, "you have been a very disciplined team."

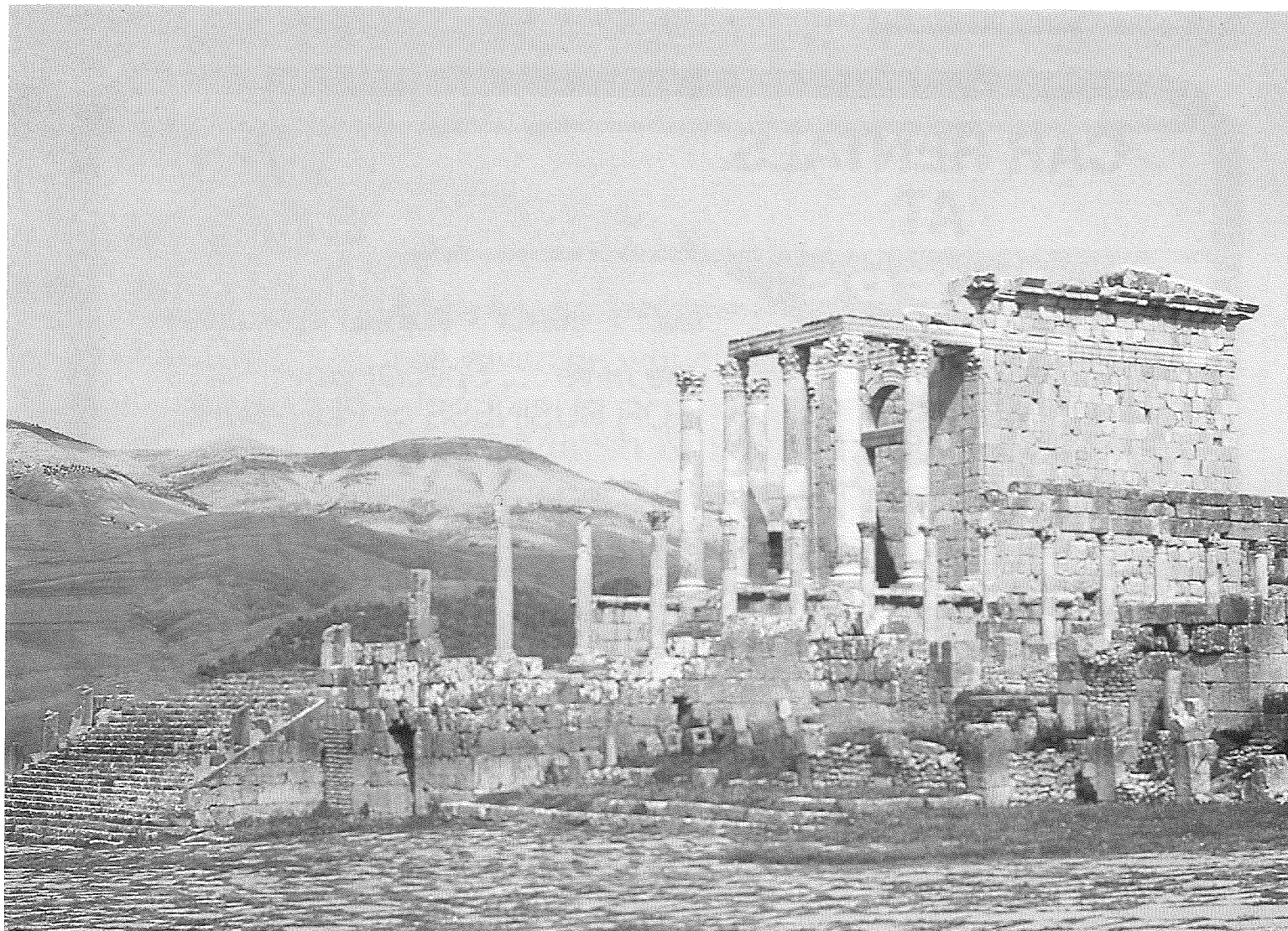
Beny never did offer to help pay for the gas, but he had promised us immortality with an acknowledgement in his book. The book was published and included some very familiar scenes, including vegetables in a market stall illuminated by a sun deflector. It also used some quotes from Albert Camus' *Wedding at Tipasa* that I told him about for his shots at the coastal ruins of Tipasa. Nowhere could I find a word of thanks or acknowledgement to any of the staff from the embassy who had gone out of their way to help. I did not buy the book!

Richard Belliveau, a member of the Editorial Board, is Director of the U.S. Transboundary Division in EAITC. He has served at posts in Jakarta, Hong Kong, Beijing and Brasilia, and Algiers (from 1979-81).



Children at the road side.

Opposite page, the Museum of Mosaics of Timgan; below, Roman ruins in Djemila.



LEMIRE et MORIN

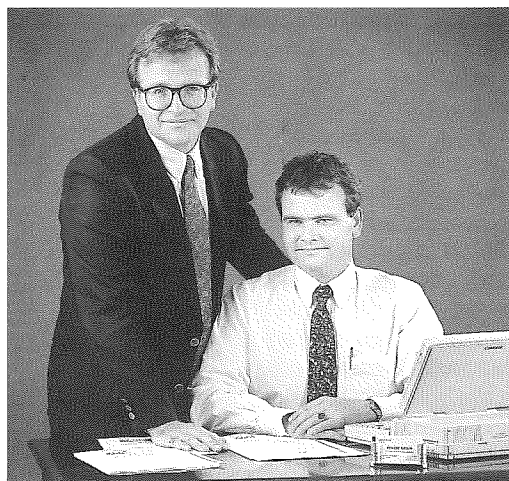
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Photography as an Investment

by Margaret Cameron

An article about photographic art as an investment during a recession may strike you as a little odd, but this is really one of the best times to begin collecting works of art, particularly photography. On the international scene, most major art galleries now recognize the importance of photography and compete aggressively to add to their own collections. Today, the public and many art collectors are just beginning to discover this "new" art form that museums have been pursuing for decades. Public awareness has been helped along by the recent celebration of the medium's 150th anniversary and the wide circulation of quality publications about photography. Prices for fine photography are rising and the Canadian public's interest will become even stronger when the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography begins its high-profile launch for its new building in Ottawa in mid-1992. Photography collecting is an interest which you can pursue throughout your Foreign Service career and postings abroad.

*The prices
of contemporary
photography are
rising, but are still
relatively modest and
accessible to anyone
with a keen interest
in collecting art.*

Starting a Collection

With this in mind, you may ask how you can start to collect. First, begin by educating your eye. Go to see as much original high-quality work as you can find. Like any other form of art, it is important that you experience the work first hand to find out where your particular interests lie. You can become aware of what is happening in the photography world by putting your name on the mailing lists of as many public and private galleries that show photography as possible. You will then receive invitations to both gallery openings and lectures; these events



From the Mother and Daughter Series, 1988 — by SUSAN CLOSE

also provide a unique and an excellent way to meet some of the artists and to learn more about their work.

Second, familiarize yourself with the general history of photography and the major styles and artists. *The History of Photography* by Beaumont and Nancy Newhall is inexpensive, a pleasure to read and has hundreds of pictures to illustrate the text. *Looking at Pictures* by John Szarkowski is another essential book that covers classic to modern works. The author is the curator for photography at the *Museum of Modern Art* in New York. All the photos he includes in his book are each reproduced on a full page, together with an appreciative and entertaining text.

Most major Canadian art museums publish books on photography as part of their regular programming. The three most important resources in Canada are all located in Ottawa: the *National Gallery of Canada* produces authoritative books that span the entire history of the medium; the *Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography* (CMCP) frequently publishes photographic books and critical essays about current Canadian issues; and the *National Archives of Canada* has a large selection of

publications. *Contemporary Canadian Photography* (1984), published by CMCP, is widely available in Canada and provides an overview of the work in their collection at that time. In addition, many monographs are available about photographers — too many to list! However, Geoffrey James' most recent book, *The Italian Garden*, is a particularly fine example of this genre (see illustration).

Third, when looking at photographs, you might want to bear in mind in a very general way, that there are two main categories. There is work by living (i.e. contemporary) photographers and then there is the rest often classified as "vintage" or "historical" photography.

Quality vintage photographs, particularly ones by recognized artists, are expensive. Both Sotheby's and Christie's auction houses publish catalogues to announce their sales in major cities around the world. The majority of work at auction tends to be in the "vintage" category and the expected bids are generally high. Although the work of some contemporary artists is expensive, for the majority this is not the case. The prices of contemporary photography are rising, but



Villa Doria Pamphily, Self Portrait in Park, 1989; and below, Villa Aldobrandina, Courtyard Garden, 1984 — by GEOFFREY JAMES

are still relatively modest and accessible to anyone with a keen interest in collecting art. You will find that most dealers tend to specialize in one of the two categories.

Finding a Dealer

When you are looking for a dealer, find someone you feel comfortable with and whom you trust. This is important because what you are purchasing along with a photograph are professional personal services, and in the art world, referrals are often appropriate. Art dealers and their clients frequently develop long-term business relationships which carry on irrespective of physical location. Your art dealer will work hard to make sure you make an informed choice once you have decided to purchase. Dealers' reputations are closely tied to the quality of the artists they represent and therefore a good choice of artists is an important indicator of business integrity. When you purchase a work of art, the price is generally fixed and you should not try to negotiate a lower one. However, if you cannot afford to buy a piece that you really love, let the dealer know because many will allow you to buy the work on time and usually without any interest charges. (A word of advice is that when you need to speak to your dealer on a matter of importance,

call ahead and make an appointment. They will then be in a position to give you the time and the personal attention you require.)

*An informed,
well-chosen art
purchase is an
investment, certainly;
but it is also an
expression of your
personal interests and
tastes that you will live
with as it appreciates.*

When you find an artist that you like, feel free to ask the dealer for a copy of their résumé. This document gives an important perspective on an artist's career. At the outset of your collecting career, you should choose work by established artists whose exhibition history covers at least 10 consecutive years. You should also check whether their photographs are already in the

collections of museums or public institutions such as the *National Gallery*, *CMCP*, the *Canada Council Art Bank*, or even in your local civic or corporate collections. Usually the résumé will also provide other information such as the artist's publications, participation in shows in Canada and abroad, major awards received and other details useful to the collector. That being said, the résumé is no substitute for the work at hand (that you must judge for yourself) but it can be an important tool for assessing the stability and contribution of the artist's work to the field.

Determining the Price

Many factors contribute to the price asked for a photograph: the size, medium, scarcity of the work, historical importance, artist's reputation and, sometimes, the popularity of a particular image — all are taken into account. Pictures made with "one-off" or unique processes tend to be more costly than are images which can be re-printed. Although negatives can be used repeatedly, printing high-quality, fine photographs is time-consuming and expensive. For these reasons, most photographers do not make large numbers of a particular image. They prefer to move on and do new work instead. In the world of etching, etchers often "cancel" their printing plate when it becomes difficult

to print from it; but a photographer almost never destroys a negative. The market conventions of print editioning (i.e. artists' proofs which are used for etchings) are not common amongst photographers. Your dealer is sensitive to these issues of authenticity and can advise you about any particular image you have in mind.

A common piece of advice is, "begin collecting the most expensive and rare photograph that you can afford". But in fact, most large collections were established through the careful choice of photographs from the lower end of the price scale. The low end of the market will often enable you to buy work from well-recognized artists for as little as \$250 to \$600 per print and these prices are **not** going down. Recently, certain pieces of contemporary photographic work have sold for as much as \$100,000.

Castello Balduino, The Terrace, 1990 —
by GEOFFREY JAMES

Are You a Collector?

Photographic collecting is part risk, part passion, part cunning, very exciting and 100% personal. Fortunately, this passion can be pursued world-wide. Whatever price you decide to spend, my best advice is only spend it on work you really love. An informed, well-chosen art purchase is an investment, certainly; but it is also an expression of your personal interests and tastes that you will live with as it appreciates. While you build your collection, your personal enjoyment will grow along with your skill in selecting the work you want. It is fun, and chosen well, it just keeps on getting better! 

Margaret Cameron has been selling fine art photography since the 1980s. She represents nine of Canada's distinguished photographers.

See ad for Margaret Cameron Gallery on page 46.



Stanley Vincent Allen

After joining the Trade Commissioner Service in 1932, he served in a wide range of posts; Hamburg, London, Washington (twice), Cape Town, Johannesburg, New York, Sydney, Detroit, and Wellington, and was also Consul General in Chicago. After 41 years of service, he retired to Coburg, Ontario in 1973. He died in Toronto on October 6, 1991.

Ralph Edgar Collins

Ralph Collins was born in China. He joined the Department in 1940. An acknowledged expert in Asian affairs, he was a contributing participant in what is often referred to as the golden age of Canadian diplomacy. He served abroad in Chungking, Washington, London and Moscow and was subsequently Ambassador to South Africa and to China. He died in Ottawa on January 1, 1992.

Theodore F.M. Newton

After a career as a university professor and a journalist, Theodore Newton joined DEA in 1947 from the Wartime Information Board. He served as Ambassador to Indonesia, Colombia and Ecuador. He died in Montreal on April 20, 1991.

Llewellyn Stephens

After service in the Canadian Army, Llewellyn Stephens joined DEA in 1945, serving in a number of posts abroad and in Ottawa. He was High Commissioner to Pakistan from 1963-66. He died in Ottawa on August 1, 1991.

Rt. Hon. Roland Michener

A distinguished lawyer, Roland Michener was first elected as a member of the Ontario Legislature and later to the Parliament of Canada, where he subsequently became Speaker of the House of Commons for five years. He served as High Commissioner to India from 1964-67, before becoming Governor General of Canada from 1967-74. He died in Toronto on August 6, 1991. 

THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACADEMY: "Teaching the New Thinking on Foreign Policy"

by Kevin O'Shea

The long-awaited, much heralded Foreign Service Academy has opened its doors for business. This is great news for Foreign Service officers who have argued for years for an institute to provide ongoing professional upgrading. At the first annual Homecoming Football Game between recently laid-off EX's and the Workforce Adjustment retirees, journalists were invited to tour the facility, meet the professors and listen in on some courses.

The Chancellor's Office

The back of the black leather chair faces visitors as they enter the Chancellor's office. Brown patent shoes and dark socks can be seen resting on the window ledge. Suddenly, the chair swivels, and the raw energy and boyish face of the Chancellor of the Academy burst into view.

"Hi, I'm Bob Graubecker. Glad you made it. I'll be brief. We organized this open house to show you that the Foreign Service is changing. It's learning new skills. It's adapting to new circumstances."

Slapping the palm of his hand hard on the desk, Graubecker looks intently at his visitors. "We are in the business of promoting 'New Thinking' on foreign policy. No-one over 35 can be trusted. Out with the old ways of thinking and doing business. This Academy is meant to see to that.

"So, feel free to wander around, drop in on some courses, and ask questions. Are there any questions? No? Good!" And with that, Graubecker swivels around again and continues dictating on one machine, while drafting on his PC with an eye glued to a television in the corner and two phones connected to his ears.

FOR POL 506: History of the "Talking Point"

The attention of the small class is riveted on a thin man in a slightly rumpled suit at the front of the room who is flipping through his lecture notes. The intensity of the classroom is palatable. Word has it that this graduate seminar is a make it or break it course.

"Now, one can quite clearly see that the P.M.'s talking points for the Toronto Economic Summit represented a monumental breakthrough in the evolution of this genre — much like Manet's *Nudes at a Picnic*" was for the Impressionist movement. Here we see that the "talking point" no longer takes a back seat to the analysis or content of the briefing note. It asserts itself fully. It becomes the id, the actor, the message or action personified. It is policy. It is no longer a pallid reflection of some dreary analysis or thinkpiece."

The lecturer continues, "As significant as the assertion of its own personality, the 'Toronto Summit talking point' will be best remembered for its landmark contribution to the stylistic evolution of the genre: sharp and clean, with no frills or adornment. Much like architecture and painting before it, the talking point had reached the pinnacle of simplicity and clarity. And since then, the talking point has evolved still further — there is no verb, no articles, usually only one or two nouns and that's it!"

One of the students interjects. "But, Paul, is it art? Is it true policy? Are we not going too far?"

The lecturer pauses. "Look. You've gone through an extensive reading list of the talking points of the great masters for this course — Robinson, Marchand, Taylor, Chrétien, Shortliffe, Burney, Stanford. It's all great literature. We have examined in detail the different schools of talk, from the Conversationalists to the Turgid Prousts; from the Constipationists to the Inchoatists. We are in a phase now of abstract expressionism and it works."

FOR POL 568: Foreign-Policy Making

Students are huddled outside the classroom, clutching coffee in styrofoam cups and engaged in intense, sibilant conversation. This is yet another core course at the Academy. The course material is obviously difficult.

"Spin on the issue", groans one puzzled officer to a colleague, "does that mean going around in circles on policy or speaking on all sides at once? I just don't understand."

The lecturer, sporting a bright scarf with her blazer, bangs her hand on the lectern, and adjusts her sunglasses as the students return hurriedly to the lecture hall. Giselle Boucher, media consultant, gives the course on Foreign-Policy Making and has published extensively in *Les Nouvelles du Thurso*, *Le Soleil*, *Le Journal de Ste-Anne de Beaupré* and *La Semaine de Quatre Jeudis*.

"Now guys and gals, moving on to making foreign policy work, let's look at how it's done, how it was done before, and how it's changed. You know — that kinda stuff.

"First, an historical snapshot. From my readings in the old days, I would say that foreign policy was made by stuffy old British types who were used to discussing philosophy at Oxford, but then eventually needed a real job. They'd dream up some foreign policy in their offices up in the Attic at the East Block without really talking to anyone and then simply slip a note to the PM, whether King, St. Laurent, or Diefenbaker.

"Trudeau changed that old boys rubbish. He created a herd of Cabinet Committees and a bevy of interdepartmental meetings of Deputies and public Task Forces. External got into that mode. It produced long strategic overviews, lengthy political analyses, policy frameworks, and conceptual constructs. Goodness, you had to read 20 pages before you could even get to the message."

Boucher rocks back on her heels. "O'Brien, what is the most crucial determinant in foreign policy-making today? How would you make policy today?"

Jock O'Brien responds hesitantly. "Let's see. After consultations within the Department and other Departments and with stakeholders in the community, I would draft a strategic overview of Canadian interests based on careful analysis of the pros and cons and recommend a coherent policy of priorities and objectives."

"Old thinking there, O'Brien", Boucher scoffs. "Anyone else? Come on, folks, get with it. Ever hear of the 'media is the message'? That's right, gang — just identify a media event, write a catchy speech, fill it with initiatives, and make sure you don't run it by too many people in your bureaucracy,

otherwise, they will water down the purity of your thoughts."

FOR POL 228: Interpersonal Skills

The guest lecturer is a member of External Affairs' senior management. The previous day, Sondra Gottlieb had delivered a course on dealing with protocol officers. Today's course focuses on External's image.

"External Affairs is full of talented officers; hard-working professionals." He stops, looks around the classroom, his glasses magnifying the intensity of his gaze. "But in this town, perception is reality. And the perception of External is that it is arrogant, aloof and dismissive. That's got to change.

"Martine, tell me how you would deal with an urgent, last-minute request from another Department to our Department to broaden the objectives of a trade mission, let's say, to Korea?"

Martine Godworth, Desk Officer in the Asia Division, responds confidently: "Easy, sir. I would tell him that his request is too late; the Minister's agenda is set. His department was consulted at an early stage, and their views were duly noted at the time. They were informed that, regrettably, their proposals lacked the analytical rigour which is the norm at External. Finally, that in any case, our strategic overview of Canadian economic and commercial interests does not foresee any immediate involvement of their department in the bilateral relations of that country or, at least, not for the next five years."

The professor slowly buries his head in his hands.

The Tour is Over

On their way out, the journalists look briefly in on several other classes. In one room, officers are practising press scrums; their elbows up, shoving, pushing, but, nevertheless, blurting out the right "sound bites".... In another room, officers are giving high 5's to imaginary foreign guests, abandoning the traditional handshake at the airport....

The journalists step out the front door of the Academy. The sun shines brightly after a morning in class. One says, "Well, that was fascinating. I guess the Foreign Service Academy is really teaching "New Thinking".

His colleague responds "Yeah, I agree. I guess my only question concerns the location. It is strange that External Affairs could not have found another place for the Academy. But then, perhaps the only remaining office space in Ottawa was there — the Privy Council Office."

Kevin has served in Accra and Paris (OECD). He is currently assigned to the Task Force on Assistance to Eastern Europe and the USSR at EAITC.



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Cairo in the War — 1939-1945 by Artemis Cooper, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1989, 370 pp, £17.95.

Reviewed by John Starnes

Artemis Cooper, married to the writer Antony Beevor, is the grand-daughter of Duff and Diana Cooper. Sir Alfred Duff Cooper, 1st Viscount of Norwich, was Minister of Information in Churchill's cabinet from 1940-42 and British Ambassador to France from 1944 to 1947. Born in 1953, Artemis Cooper first went to Egypt after leaving Oxford, and taught English at Alexandria University.

Cairo in the War — 1939-1945 is a delightful, amusing, well-researched and readable book. With verve, percipience, a wicked sense of humour and a marvellous collection of anecdotes, the author skillfully recreates the extraordinary atmosphere prevailing in Cairo and Alexandria during the Second World War.

Not only is the book a fascinating account of life in Egypt from 1939 to 1945 but, for someone who experienced Cairo during a much shorter war, the Six Day War of 1967, it is astonishing how closely Artemis Cooper's brilliantly drawn vignettes of people and life in Cairo in the 1940s resembled Nasser's Egypt, twenty-five years later. Her

descriptions of the sights, the sounds, the smells (above all the smells) and the polyglot population of Cairo and Alexandria are very evocative and, in a sense, timeless. I would be surprised if her descriptions would not apply also to present-day Egypt.

In their books, Lawrence Durrell (the *Alexandria Quartet*) and Olivia Manning (the *Levant Trilogy*) capture the quintessence of Egypt, the sultry decadence; the unrelenting heat; the omnipresent sand, like powdered talcum, covering every pore and opening of the body; and the flies so thick on the meat hanging in the butcher shops that a dessicated piece of lamb easily could be mistaken for a Black Forest ham.

Artemis Cooper has done no less, but she also has provided an astute and fascinating account of political life in Egypt in the 1940s. Particularly interesting are her not uncritical descriptions of the extraordinary way in which the British Ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson (elevated to the peerage in 1943, as the first Baron Killearn) dominated the country's political life with imperial majesty and absolute ruthlessness.

In a chapter entitled, *Behind Closed Doors* (*SOE Cairo*), she provides an account of Cairo after Alamein and the establishment there of a British Minister of State. It then became the hub of all British diplomatic and clandestine activity in the region. The

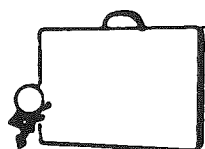
headquarters of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) in Cairo took its directives from London but operational control of its clandestine activities was exercised through a Special Operations Committee run by the General Headquarters. Not surprisingly, there was constant infighting between the armed forces and the SOE.

Included in the chapter is a brief description of operations involving the recruitment of Canadian Croats to make contact with Tito's Partisans operating in Slovenia and Croatia. (Roy MacLaren's *Canadians Behind Enemy Lines 1939-1945* gives an excellent, and fuller account of Canadian involvement in the secret war in Yugoslavia.)

The majority of the Canadian Croats were recruited in Canada but one, Corporal A.D. Yarich, was recruited from the Corps of Military Staff Clerks in London. I had dealings with him because one of my jobs in 1942 at Canadian Military Headquarters was to seek out Canadians qualified and willing to act as British secret agents in Europe. My responsibility was strictly limited to finding likely recruits and, eventually, to making the administrative arrangements for their transfer to SOE and other similar agencies.

Yarich accepted at once. He was a brave man for he knew the odds were against his survival and he could have refused without

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opprobrium. Moreover, to move immediately from a cushy desk job to demanding commando courses and parachute training, not to mention the job itself, was no piece of cake. After initial training in England and the Middle East, he made his way to Yugoslavia via southern Italy, in 1943. In early January 1944, he was killed when the small boat taking him to join a group of Partisans on the island of Dugi Otok was strafed by a German aircraft.

In an epilogue entitled, *Fire and Revolution 1951-1952*, she writes of the rising nationalist sentiment leading to the seizure of power by the Free Officers of the Egyptian Army in July, 1952. She provides a vivid description of the rioting and the destruction by fire of many famous landmarks in Cairo, such as the Turf Club. However, she mistakenly states that a Canadian Trade Commissioner was helped to escape through the rear of the Club by Egyptian friends, that he was hidden and later discovered, and then stabbed to death by a mob. In fact, there had been a Canadian Trade Commissioner named Joseph Boyer, but he was trapped in the building and perished in the fire.

At the time, yet another Canadian Trade Commissioner, Charles Butterworth, was returning to the Turf Club where he lived. He attempted to get into the burning building but was unable to do so because of the mobs. Eventually, he was helped to escape by Egyptian friends and now lives in Ottawa.

Anyone who has experienced the xenophobic savagery of a Cairo mob will know something of the sheer terror inspired by the feral sounds made by tens of thousands of screaming Cairenes running through the streets, ululating in a high-pitched scream, mindlessly bent on killing any foreigner unfortunate enough to be in their path. They quite literally hack and tear their victims apart, limb from limb!

What a vision! What a book! 

John Starnes is a former Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs who later became the first civilian Director-General of the RCMP Security Service from 1970 until 1973.

Canadese: A Portrait of the Italian Canadians by Kenneth Bagnell, Macmillan of Canada, 1989, 287 pp. \$27.95.

Reviewed by Bruno Ramirez

The literature on Italian-Canadians — not unlike that on many other ethnocultural minorities — has undergone in recent decades an important transition. At its early stage it was dominated by the filiopietistic

genre — a type of writing that celebrates the past of the ethnic group and emphasizes the success of its most prominent members in such a way that the success of the entire *ethnie* would flow as a sort of logical conclusion.

During the 1970s and 1980s, as immigration and ethnic history became an important field of social history, and as young Italian-Canadian academics were attracted to this discipline, the writing on Italian immigration to Canada gradually moved into the mainstream of Canadian historical literature. Articles published in some of the leading scholarly journals, books, theses and dissertations have led to a sizeable literature on the various facets of the Italian-Canadian experience. The research agenda is growing and becoming more complex and diversified. With rare exceptions, authors are of Italian origin, academically trained as researchers, and motivated by a desire to give their ethnocultural group a history that, by meeting the scholarly standards of the historical profession would be considered credible, if not always interesting, to read.

Bagnell's book comes as a major novelty in this historiographical landscape. As a reputed journalist who also has a passion for the topic of immigration, he has managed to apply his writing and research skills to the story of the second largest ethnocultural minority, producing a portrait of Italian-

Canadians which is sympathetic in tone (without being filiopietistic), but which only partially reflects the achievements of recent scholarship.

A touch of celebration pervades the several dozen biographical portraits which fill the pages of *Canadese* — often portraits of individuals who are still alive and who cannot but appreciate the mostly favourable light in which the author portrays them.

This celebration, however, is far from gratuitous: in each case Bagnell is careful to reconstitute the contours of individual life trajectories and to create the sense of drama surrounding one's immigrant experience. His fieldwork has taken him to hundreds of locations, both in Canada and Italy. What is even more striking, the language barrier has not prevented him on numerous occasions from being a participant-observer, capturing the spirit of community events, and penetrating — often with the help of an interpreter — into the daily universe of both the prominent and the humble. Tales of success emerge from virtually every chapter. But, although in immigrant literature success is all too often viewed as synonymous with material achievement, in Bagnell's portraits the term acquires a more subtle meaning, one that conveys the moral and psychological stakes in becoming part of a society that has not always welcomed newcomers.

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Dr. David Stafford
Director, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, and
former diplomat

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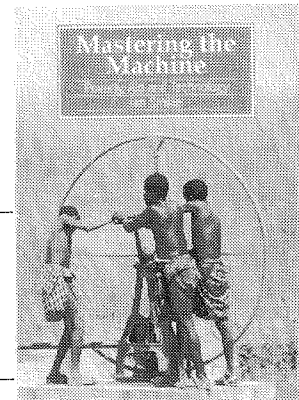
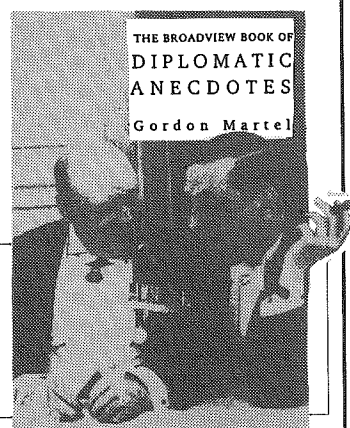
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Readers of *Canadese* will also appreciate the book's design. The narrative follows a chronological order, beginning with the massive recruitment of Italian labourers during the Laurier era and closing with the contemporary context marked by the end of the migration flow from Italy and by a solidly-rooted presence that nourishes the urban culture of many Canadian cities. Between these two terminal points, Bagnell's narrative — always skillfully focused on life-stories — takes us through the map of Italo-Canada that gradually emerged during the interwar period, and solidified in the wake of the massive postwar arrivals. As a bridge between these two major periods of Italian immigration and settlement, the author places the drama of World War II, when hundreds of Italian-Canadians were interned for allegedly posing a threat to our national security, and the community thrown into disarray by public hostility and ostracism.

Bagnell's multi-biographical approach renders his narrative vivid and confers on it a documentary-like character. One of its side effects, however, is the tendency to fall into the episodic and the sensational, and to miss some of the more subtle ways in which an immigrant community has now become a central component of Canadian civil society. For instance, Quebec Italians appear in the story only in connection with the activities of the disreputable *padrone* Antonio Cordasco (who became the leading target of a Royal Commission), or as protagonists, some sixty years later, in the Saint-Léonard school crisis when Italian parents clashed against Quebec nationalists. Granted that much of the literature on Quebec Italians is in French, it is ironic that a Canadian researcher who manages to surmount the Italian language barrier would give up so easily when confronted by French language sources. Moreover, we learn little about the different ways in which Italian men and women experienced their new Canadian life, or about the patterns of intergenerational conflict marking the daily universe of many Italian-Canadian households. Similarly, it is nice to follow the upward mobility of some Italian immigrants all the way to Parliament or to the Senate, but it would have been instructive to learn about the workings of political patronage, and the place of the Italian-Canadian community within the multiculturalist consensus that has marked our recent political landscape.

As Robert Harney and other historians have repeatedly argued, immigration and ethnicity are best understood when viewed as a process. It is this dimension of process, so central in much recent historical scholarship, that is largely missing in Bagnell's otherwise skillful narrative. Perhaps the

technical and editorial imperatives imposed by this genre of writing have prevented the author from shifting his focus more often toward the more ordinary and common aspects of the Italian-Canadian experience.

Still, *Canadese* constitutes a most captivating voyage into an ethnic world made up of warm, nearly heroic personalities who will be quite happy to act as hosts to interested Canadian readers. 

Bruno Ramirez is professor of American history at the Université de Montréal. He is the author of Les premiers Italiens de Montréal (Montréal, 1984) and On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North-Atlantic Economy, 1861-1915 (Toronto, forthcoming).

Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean, edited by Brian Douglas Tennyson, University Press of America, 1988, 395 pages, \$49.95.

Reviewed by Jack Ogelsby

The Commonwealth Caribbean has had ties with Canada stretching back into the eighteenth century colonial system. Yet it, like Latin America, to which it is now more bureaucratically linked, has remained less attractive to the aspiring Foreign Service Officer than have other parts of the world. Not so many years ago, an Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (USS) gave fatherly advice to an ambitious recruit whose dreams of Paris or London as a first posting had been shattered by orders to the Caribbean region. The USS said that given the number of Canada's diplomatic posts one was sure to have to go there once in one's career so why not start off there? A sensible approach, but daunting to a junior officer conditioned to think within the framework of the North Atlantic triangle. There was little readily available information to help in understanding Canada's relations with the region. Today that is no longer the case. This handy collection of the best of the limited number of articles on Canadian-Commonwealth Caribbean relations will be very important to those involved.

Not surprisingly, Canada's trade links since 1783 have been mentioned in most of the articles and even the pre-1912 ties have a contemporary flavour given the discussions on the search for reciprocity. P.K. Newman indicates in his 1960 article that "the relative failure of past attempts to stimulate trade indicates that it might be a good idea to investigate somewhat critically the foundations of economic relations between the two areas." This advice did not appear to do

much good if post-1960 trade activities are a clue, as Glen Berry's 1977 study on *Present Trends and Future Prospects* later showed.

When winter comes, there is usually some dreamer who has enough of a public platform to receive press attention over the idea of Canada acquiring a West Indian province. Alice Stewart, Brinsley Samaroo and P.G. Wigley have provided insights on that urge, which began in the 1880s, driven by commercial and imperialist impulses rather than a desire for a winter haven with beaches and a tropical sun. Ottawa preferred not to push the addition of a largely non-white population into Confederation; it also trembled at the prospect of providing defence for the area.

Both race and defence played a role in the bilateral relations. Canada has subsequently changed its immigration pattern but, as John Schultze indicated in his study of the period 1900-1965, "Immigration Branch officials appointed themselves guardians of Canada's racial purity" and managed to maintain their view until 1965. Only the frustration of other departments including External Affairs, Industry, Trade and Commerce, and National Defence finally forced Immigration to alter its ways. As for defence, Canada may have been reluctant to take on Caribbean defence but, ironically, it had to contribute to that defence in both world wars. David Murray discussed that activity while Richard Preston, in 1971, wondered how far Canada's "special relationship" should go in involving itself with military, technical and training assistance. He suggested that this should not be too far.

Twenty years ago, the Commonwealth Caribbean regularly received a large share of Canada's official development assistance. This changed when Canada's aid policies extended beyond the Commonwealth into Francophone Africa and Latin America. Canada's urge to render development assistance reflects Canada's missionary heritage. Protestant and Catholic missionaries began leaving Canada in the mid-nineteenth century, intent on improving the living conditions and on saving souls. In the Caribbean case, Graeme Mount shows that Nova Scotian Presbyterians began to support a mission to Trinidad as early as 1868. The Rev. John Morton was not all that successful as an evangelizer, but he had an important influence in education among East Indian indentured labourers. More recently, secular "missionaries" from CIDA and CUSO have been pushing the Canadian way of life, leading Ralph Paragg to question whether Canada's activities have been "neo-colonialism or development". It may be a question which Canada's representatives in the Commonwealth Caribbean will still have to resolve.

The Commonwealth Caribbean no longer has the special place it once held in Canada's external relations. Yet, as Tennyson's collection of essays indicates, it is unlikely to fall too far into obscurity. The links with Canada are just too enduring.

Jack Ogelsby is a professor of History, University of Western Ontario.

Documents on Canadian External Relations / Documents relatifs aux relations extérieures du Canada, vol. 11, 1944-45, Part II / Tome II, edited by John F. Hilliker, Ottawa, External Affairs and International Trade Canada, 1990, 2046 pages, illus., \$95.00; **vol. 18, 1952**, edited by Donald Barry, External Affairs and International Trade Canada, 1990, 1625 pages, illus., \$75.00 (Canada).

Reviewed by David Farr

How does one set about reviewing 2322 documents collected in two massive volumes with a combined thickness of six and a half inches? Before such a presence, imposing in its rich red and black bindings with gilt lettering, the humble reviewer must take pause. Upon reflection, an appropriate course would be to glance at the importance of the periods treated by the volumes and to consider how well their editors had carried out their assignments.

Forty years on, 1944-45 and 1952 represent formative moments in the development of Canada's external relations. If the problems they presented to the policy-makers seemed at times overwhelming, the prospects also appeared uniquely encouraging. In 1944-45, the mood of the small group who advised the government on Canada's foreign policy was hopeful as they confronted the challenge of trying to reshape a world order from the ruins of war. They shared a well-recognized common purpose: to move beyond the narrow and short-sighted measures, both political and economic, which had led to the cataclysm of 1939. Thus in volume 11 of the External Affairs documents, devoted to the non-military aspects of Canada's transition from war to peace, four hundred pages are assigned to the country's contribution to the establishment of the United Nations.

Other sections deal with other aspects of global reconstruction: plans to regulate international trade, to promote orderly civil aviation and to return to its bottle the fearsome genie of atomic power. The post-war world was clearly to be dominated by the two victorious "superpowers" but Canada saw no reason, with the war only just ended,

to choose between them. Provocative actions were to be avoided; the country's hopes for a peaceful future were to be lodged in mediatory conduct within the United Nations. In this stance, the Mackenzie King government gained broad support from the Canadian people.

By 1952, how the situation had changed! The Cold War was well underway and Canada had made its choice. Its troops had returned to Europe and the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were grappling with the burden of rearmament. Two great issues dominated the international scene: strengthening the NATO alliance and bringing to an end the dangerous conflict in Korea. Looming on the horizon was the problem of recognizing Communist China, which was not to be resolved for two decades. Within North America, Canada's relationship with the United States was becoming ever closer. In 1952, continental defence was an urgent priority, symbolized by the completion of the Pinetree radar line; economic integration had led to the Canadian campaign for a St. Lawrence seaway; while there continued to be day-to-day problems in trade and communications. Lester Pearson, the first Canadian to be so honoured, was elected President of the United Nations General Assembly for its seventh session. The return of the national

art treasures to Poland was still a matter of dispute between Ottawa and Quebec; simultaneously the government was fighting to keep the headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in Montreal.

Certain themes in the links across the North Atlantic were prominent, just as they would be forty years later. There were the trade-distorting effects of agricultural subsidies, quantitative import restrictions, export credits, and the problem of penetrating the bureaucracy to engage in commerce with the Soviet Union. The Department of External Affairs did not have its current dual title in 1952, but exports were prominent in its field of vision. One difference between 1952 and today was the lesser attention Canada paid to the countries of the Far East and Latin America. Papers relating to these two regions represent a combined 57 pages in a volume of 1625 pages. In 1952, Canada was still tied in, economically and politically, to the North Atlantic world. For most Canadians, it seemed an orientation both comfortable and inevitable.

The editors of the two volumes of documents are John Hilliker, of the Department's Historical Section (volume 11, 1944-45) and Donald Barry from the University of Calgary (volume 18, 1952). Both have done their work with authority. They have

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identified the significant issues and assembled the evidence to elucidate them. In their work they have fulfilled the Department's 1974 guidelines for the publication of historical documents. These are to produce "a comprehensive self-contained record" of major foreign policy decisions; to consult the records of other departments where they are needed to fill out the account; to be scrupulous in not suppressing material that might reveal inept or misguided courses of action; and to respect the integrity of the texts they are using. For their part, the editors have been given access to all the needed records and freedom to select from them for publication. The range and concentrations within their selections inspire the reader's confidence.

The documents are prefaced by brief but informative introductions, notes on the provenance of the materials, lists of abbreviations and lists of persons and their positions who figure in the texts. Even marginal notes found on the documents are reproduced. Each volume contains a number of illustrations about telling moments and leading actors during the years treated. Each volume also contains a serviceable index, happily much fuller now than it was in certain earlier volumes in the project.

One leaves off consideration of the most recent publications in the *Documents* series with a suggestion and a hope. Volume 11

is the second-longest title in the series: 2075 pages and 1271 documents. It is so bulky that it is hard to handle. Perhaps in the future, as the series moves into the active "golden age" of Canadian diplomacy, it may not be necessary to publish such a comprehensive selection as is found in volume 11. Already material relating to certain topics has had to be left out: mutual aid processes under NATO in 1952, for instance. For future volumes it may be desirable to concentrate only on leading themes and deal with secondary questions by citing aids to the material. Better this approach than to devote scarce resources to bringing out multiple volumes for a single year. The hope is that External Affairs and International Trade Canada will continue, and even enhance, its support for the valuable *Documents* project.

We are promised, in the near future, volume 19, covering the events of 1953. Then we will need volumes 13-17, bridging the gap between 1947 and 1952. Even so, when all this material has been published, there will remain a gap of forty years in the Canadian diplomatic record. The United States Department of State with, of course, much greater resources, is moving forward a little more briskly. It has completed the record of the years 1955-1957, albeit in twenty-five volumes! *Foreign Relations of the United States* is now beginning the next phase, 1958-1960, and is moving into the multitudinous records of American participation in the Vietnam War after 1960. Our Department should take note and strengthen its efforts. If it does, from henceforth all generations of Canadians will call it blessed.

David Farr is Professor Emeritus of History at Carleton University. He worked on volume 1 of the Documents series covering the years 1909 to 1918.

Roland Michener: The Last Viceroy by Peter Stursburg, McGraw Hill-Ryerson (Toronto); 238 pp. (8 pages of black and white photos); \$27.50.

Reviewed by Richard V. Gorham

Roland Michener was not a dull man. Unfortunately, Peter Stursburg's biography of him, *The Last Viceroy*, is a dull book and, in my view, fails to convey to the reader the real nature of the man.

Roland Michener made a great contribution to Canada as a politician, as a Speaker of the House of Commons, as a Diplomat and as Governor-General of Canada. He deserves better biographic treatment than that which Mr. Stursburg has given him. Considering the author's extensive access

to sources, including Mr. Michener himself through lengthy recorded interviews, access to papers and the biographies and autobiographies of others, and considering his own journalistic and writing skills, one would have thought that Mr. Stursburg could have produced a better product.

For almost two years from 1964 to 1966, I was privileged to serve under Mr. Michener when he was High Commissioner to India and I was his Political First Secretary. During that time, I came to have the highest respect for his abilities and integrity, his sense of humour and his total unflappability, even in the midst of great pressures. I developed great appreciation for his warmth and human kindness — which were also demonstrated in full measure by his wife, contrary to the opinions of some critics.

These traits are of the greatest importance in the chief of a diplomatic mission abroad where the staff must cope with a great variety of pressures relating to climate, health and the "culture shock" of living and working in a totally different society, far from family, friends and home.

In my experience, the Micheners provided for all of us, to the extent humanly possible, the substitute for family, friends and home. Nor were those qualities restricted only to their New Delhi assignment, for we experienced them again on the various occasions that my wife and I had occasion to meet the Micheners at Rideau Hall or elsewhere during the period of his being Governor-General. I regretted that, in my reading at least, in *The Last Viceroy*, none of these very real qualities were revealed.

I am also puzzled by the title *The Last Viceroy* which seems to have been selected with some connection to the fact that Governor-General Michener designed, and on formal state occasions, wore a rather resplendent uniform. It appears that certain Canadians objected to that uniform. I had the impression that in selecting the title of the book the author may have been one of those.

It is customary and, I suppose, necessary in writing a biography to write about the individual's parental background which contributes to the formation of the individual's personality. Personally, however, I thought that two chapters on the experiences and accomplishments of his father and grandfather were a bit much.

The author places great emphasis on the long and close friendship that existed between Roland Michener and the late former Prime Minister, Lester B. Pearson. This was, of course, very relevant to Mr. Michener's career; but the author dwells on it so often and in such great detail that at times I had the impression he was describing the life and times of Pearson rather than of Michener.

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I would have enjoyed the book more if there had been greater description of substantive aspects of Michener's career, rather than a catalogue of inconsequential reminiscences extracted from the author's oral history of taped interviews with Mr. Michener. Placing emphasis on what were casual or passing reminiscences about Mrs. Gandhi's luncheon discussion with Mrs. Michener about Siamese kittens, or on Michener's comments about the dryness of drought-stricken areas of India do not, to my mind, add anything to a better understanding of the Michener life or career.

At times, however, the author did relate events of considerable interest in which Mr. Michener played a significant role. One such was the description in Chapter 7 of the arrangements made to fly 10,000 British immigrants to Ontario in 1947 when Michener was then the Provincial Secretary.

I personally would have been interested to read more detail about Michener's time in New Delhi. More could have been said about the Indo-Pakistan War, the efficient arrangements made to evacuate Canadian personnel, if necessary, the laying-in of emergency food supplies and a number of other time-consuming but highly pertinent arrangements which had to be put in place in a difficult and unpredictable situation. It

is surprising, too, that the author makes no mention of the truce arrangement at the time between India and Pakistan in which Canada played a predominant role both as a participant as well as in commanding (by General Bruce MacDonald) the United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) which successfully monitored the eventual ceasefire and mutual troop withdrawals. This particular exercise was the most successful United Nations peace-keeping exercise ever. The mission only lasted about 6 months, completed the job successfully and then disappeared from the scene. Perhaps its very success ensured that it would not be well remembered. Less successful operations which have been conducted in Cyprus or in the Middle East and which continue to this day still catch our attention. However, that is no reason to ignore the UNIPOM experience and Mr. Stursburg could usefully have said more about Canada's role and about Michener's involvement with it.

In conclusion, the author took a colourful individual with a many-splendoured life and career which spanned almost a century, and turned it into a dull, dismal affair.

Mr. Richard V. Gorham has retired from the Foreign Service and lives in New

Brunswick. He was formerly Ambassador to China and Ambassador and Permanent Observer to the OAS. He served as First Secretary (Political) in the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi from 1963-1966, during part of which period Roland Michener was the High Commissioner.

The State, Business and Industrial Change in Canada by Michael M. Atkinson and William D. Coleman, University of Toronto Press, 1989, 236 pp., \$35.00 hard cover; \$16.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Russ McKinney

Except for the discussion a year or two ago about a Federal Business Development Bank loan program for strip clubs, we have not heard much about industrial policy lately. It was different back in the 1970s, when a great deal of political and bureaucratic energy was expended in the search for one. Some of the early Trudeau-era movers and shakers took it as an article of faith that Canada would be a winner in the international race for competitiveness and growth if only we could find a way to deploy our national assets according to some well-conceived industrial strategy. If less endowed countries

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like Sweden and Japan could do it successfully, why not Canada? Surely it was just a matter of getting it all together.

The effort was not notably successful. By the early 1980s, we had learned the hard way that although the will to get it all together might be strong, the analytical and institutional challenges were formidable. Industrial policy-making is an inherently messy business in which everything is related to everything else — and to some things more than to others! Nonetheless, it is a subject that is unlikely ever to go away, and it deserves more sophisticated treatment than the usual argument about planning and intervention on the one hand, and markets and competition on the other.

Professors Atkinson and Coleman teach political science at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Although obviously no strangers to economics, their book is primarily about the politics of industrial policy-making, defined as all the public and private sector interactions which have a bearing on the ability of the Canadian state to intervene decisively in industrial development. Their analysis draws heavily on institutional theory: the central idea is, indeed, that industrial policy can only be as good as the institutions available to participate in it. It is not an easy book, but on careful reading, it emerges as a diligent and coherent effort to bring analytical order to the Canadian record on industrial policy-making. It also goes a fair way toward explaining why we have not been very good at it.

The authors explain that in industrial policy theory there are two main types: anticipatory policy where the objective is planned positive adjustment to change; and reactive policy which is defensively oriented and typically targetted on the needs of particular firms. The anticipatory type proceeds from an assessment of what the appropriate industrial structure ought to be and often involves intrusive measures of "structural intervention". The reactive kind embodies a strategy of "environmental intervention" in which the measures are aimed at creating an appropriate investment climate, with the decision as to whether to take advantage of them left to individual firms; for example, reactive policy is often associated with political pressure to bail out weak firms. Without ascribing all virtue to one type or the other, Atkinson and Coleman obviously consider anticipatory policy to be the nobler of the two options.

There is, of course, nothing especially singular or surprising about all that. But the plot thickens when the authors introduce a series of historical and institutional factors which they believe have an important bearing.

These include the *modus operandi* of capital markets in Canada, which leaves the

financial and industrial sectors relatively autonomous from the state. European-style industrial banking systems never developed in Canada, with the result that individual firms have traditionally looked to the securities market instead of to the chartered banks for their long-term capital. This independence from the banks and the state has fostered what the authors call a "firm-centred" business culture which is resistant to state influence on investment decisions and hence to an anticipatory approach to industrial policy. Moreover, although business has easily dominated the interest intermediation (read "pressure group") and political party systems, its own organizations are not impressively strong viewed from the standpoint of their ability to participate in industrial policy-making. For instance, business organization in Canada is notable for the lack of "peak" associations whose members are other associations: the most important among them being the Business Council on National Issues, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association which consist of individual firms directly enrolled. This particular manifestation of "firm-centred" culture means that while Canadian business associations — there are about 500 of them — are able to represent the interests of their members well, they are not, in general, able to aggregate those interests in such a way as to facilitate the making of industrial policy.

Nor do the authors find the Canadian state itself to be well equipped for this. By contrast with a country like France, where much of the executive power is wielded via the administrative apparatus rather than by the representative institutions, Canada has only a weak state tradition. The Westminster parliamentary model and the Federal system tend to reinforce this weakness. Because "no grand theoretical argument has been made that the state in Canada embodies an authority that is separate from, or in some manner superior to, the authority exercised by the duly constituted government of the day", the authority of the Canadian bureaucracy remains unsettled and there is minimal encouragement for the development of the autonomy necessary for anticipatory policy-making. The freedom from partisan political interference enjoyed by most Canadian public officials has been achieved at the expense of other kinds of autonomy, for example, European-style training systems aimed at developing core bureaucracies able to exercise both technical and political judgment on their own. By contrast, the prevalent view among Canadian officials is that they are merely the servants of their political masters and have no business pushing industrial policy.

The centre of gravity of this book is a chapter in which the authors elaborate a concept of "policy networks" to illustrate how

policy-making has been conducted in Canada at the level of industrial sectors. A "policy network" is essentially an analytical tool to describe the relations which exist between (and among) the business and government sides when they come together to make industrial policy. The quality of each such network — the authors identify six types — is a function of how much autonomy the bureaucrats enjoy: whether they generate their own information or depend on industry for it; how highly their authority is concentrated, for example, whether one group of officials can take the lead in formulating policy or must share authority with other groups in a "turf" situation; and on the industry side, how well its interests are mobilized into "policy-capable" associations. The general thrust of the analysis is that the quality of the policy directly depends on the quality of the network which produced it.

The authors review the Canadian policy-making record in seven industrial sectors, grouped according to whether they are in an expansionist phase (space, telecommunications equipment and pharmaceuticals), a mature phase (petrochemicals and meat processing), or in a process of retrenchment (textiles, clothing and dairy products). These down-to-earth and lucidly descriptive chapters are a welcome relief from the heavy theory of much of the rest of the book, and are

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worth the price of admission in themselves. Although I did not think that the attempt to ascribe all "policy outcomes" in each sector to the "policy network" prevalent in that sector quite came off, the book did make some persuasive points about the real nature of the industrial policy-making process.

The use of trade policy as a means to the same ends as industrial policy is a politically attractive option, especially because it can be presented as non-interventionist. In the present Canadian context, the critical question is whether free trade with the United States and maybe Mexico can be a "stand alone" policy which relieves the government of a responsibility for pursuing complementary industrial policies. Atkinson and Coleman are emphatically of the view that the process of adjustment to free trade, if left exclusively to the marketplace, is unlikely to yield equitable results and that industrial policies therefore will continue to be required. This, incidentally, is where the Macdonald Commission also came out, although on the somewhat different ground that industrial policies would be vitally important in enabling Canada to capture the benefits of free trade. In the context of a North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) it is indeed difficult to see how Canada could expect to share equitably in the trading opportunities arising from a revitalized Mexico if everything is simply left to the magic of the market: the advantages which the United States will enjoy — not least geographically and linguistically — will be formidable. So perhaps we should be hearing more about industrial policy.

Russ McKinney is a retired Foreign Service Officer. His assignments included High Commissioner in Trinidad and Tobago, and concurrently in Barbados; Ambassador to the OECD in Paris; Minister (Economic) and Deputy Head of Post in Washington; Assistant Under-Secretary (Economic) in External Affairs; and Ambassador to Mexico. He currently resides in Ottawa.

Une diplomatie de l'espoir. Le Canada et le désarmement 1945-1988, par Albert Legault et Michel Fortmann, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval et le Centre québécois de relations internationales, 1989, 643 pages. (It is also available in English from the McGill-Queen's University Press.)

revue par André Donneur

Il faut féliciter Albert Legault et Michel Fortmann pour la somme de travail qu'ils ont fournie dans la préparation de ce volumineux

ouvrage. *Une diplomatie de l'espoir* est, en effet, comme son titre l'indique, une étude complète de la politique canadienne vis-à-vis du désarmement de 1945 à 1988. Mais cet ouvrage est davantage encore : il nous renseigne sur l'ensemble des efforts en faveur du désarmement depuis 1945.

Divisé en treize chapitres et une conclusion, il relate comment les diplomates canadiens que les auteurs comparent à des abeilles et les stratèges, comparés à des fourmis, oeuvrent pour élaborer et négocier des mesures de désarmement. Leur action est évidemment fonction de la conjoncture internationale et de l'harmonisation complexe d'une ligne de conduite entre alliés. Ce qui ressort de cette analyse, c'est la continuité de la politique canadienne vis-à-vis du désarmement. Empruntant à la fois à l'école de la paix par la force et à l'école de la paix par le droit, la politique canadienne connaît des oscillations. Mais elle reste fidèle à l'idée que c'est au sein de son alliance militaire qu'elle peut le mieux oeuvrer. Elle fait aussi preuve de constance, suivant inconsciemment l'adage de Richelieu, cité par les auteurs : « Négocier sans cesse, ouvertement et secrètement, en tous lieux... est chose de toute nécessité pour le bien des États ».

Que reprocher à cet ouvrage bien écrit et qui se lit donc facilement malgré l'usage nécessaire de nombreux termes techniques? Peut-être son manque de substrat théorique. L'intérêt du lecteur gagnerait à être soutenu par une trame théorique. Le chapitre premier campant les abeilles-diplomates et les fourmis-stratèges paraissait indiquer que l'ouvrage serait construit sur l'opposition de ces deux types d'acteurs. Mais tel n'est pas le cas. En fait, il décrit d'une manière minutieuse les différentes péripéties des négociations du désarmement, passant successivement les étapes de la Commission de l'énergie atomique, de la Commission du désarmement et de son sous-comité des cinq, du Comité des dix puissances, du Comité des dix-huit puissances, des négociations ASAT (1978-1985), des MBFR, de la CSCE et de la Conférence de Stockholm. Et nous voyons le Canada oeuvrer au sein de ces négociations.

Le manque de trame théorique aurait pu être suppléé par une conclusion bien étoffée. Mais la conclusion, fort ramassée, nous laisse sur notre faim. Après nous avoir livré « tout le matériel nécessaire à la compréhension du désarmement de l'arms control », les auteurs, trop modestes, nous laissent conclure à leur place. Essayons-le donc! Ce qui nous frappe, dans cette longue quête du contrôle des armements, c'est le rôle décisif des deux superpuissances. Quand une négociation achoppe — comme c'est le cas par exemple durant la Conférence de Stockholm — les États-Unis et l'URSS se réunissent seuls et

arrivent finalement à un accord que l'ensemble des États n'aura qu'à entériner. Certes, les alliés et les non-alignés jouent un rôle d'intermédiaire, d'émousseurs des angles trop aigus, mais l'essentiel de la décision repose entre les mains des deux supergrands. C'est donc dire que le rôle du Canada est modeste. « La diplomatie de l'espoir » est celui que les États-Unis et l'URSS s'entendent. Et cette entente est plus marquée dans la deuxième partie des années quatre-vingt grâce à l'avènement de Gorbatchev. Comme le dit Arbatov, cité par les auteurs : « Nous allons vous faire quelque chose d'affreux, messieurs les Américains. Nous allons vous priver d'un ennemi ». C'est bien ce qu'a accompli Gorbatchev : la fin de l'antagonisme Est-Ouest. Il est alors facile de désarmer et « le système de la CSCE... constitue l'embryon d'un véritable régime de sécurité européen ».

André Donneur, professeur Dr ès sciences politiques (Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, Genève, 1967) Auteur de notamment Regards sur le système de défense du Canada (1989).

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Lydia's Revenge

Another name-dropping puzzle by A Aalto

"When will you be returning from lunch, Ludwig?" Lydia asked sharply as Liebnitz headed out the door.

"As they say in the music world, Bach by three, Offenbach sooner," he replied.

"The pun is the lowest form of humour," she sniffed.

"Only to people too slow to think them up, surely," he countered.

"Don't call me Shirley," she said. "And who says I can't think them up? I've been waiting for this. It's time you got hit with one of your own puzzles!" With that she handed him a sheaf of paper. He paled, then he read the papers more closely and started to chuckle. Lydia's puzzle was as follows.

Here are the definitions for 41 words or short phrases, each involving a pun (or in two cases a double pun) on the name of a well-known place or famous person. The definitions are by alphabetical order of the resulting words or phrases; the numbers at the end reflect their length in letters.

(a) Clever early Communist 11. (b) Polders drink 11. (c) Signs of scorching on a Swiss socialist 9. (d) Sad Caernarvon cetaceans 9. (e) Desiderata for musical purchases 11. (f) Pervasive smell on the German-Polish border 12. (g) Murmansk soda 8. (h) John Denver in the Dodecanese 13. (i) Tedious Danish physicist 12. (j) Havana math function 8. (k) Where you wouldn't want to meet Clay 7. (l) Why Ireland is so cool 16. (m) Pallid Italian novelist 8. (n) Roomy African car 13. (o) Revered Dutch portraitist 12. (p) Tough Calvinist school 8. (q) Sequel to "Oh Calcutta" 10. (r) Sri Lanka sweets 11. (s) Where the Chancellor keeps his fuel 10. (t) Word from the crowsnest off Haiphong 6. (u) Tiredness in Tibet 9. (v) French textile magnate from Dogpatch 10. (w) An "eye to" ones own interest in Bar Harbor 11. (x) Byelorussian Christmas pastries 9. (y) Teasing an Arctic aviator 11. (z) Jewish greeting in Trier 10. (aa) Norwegian romantic comedy "about nothing" 8. (bb) English philosopher's rowing fixture 8. (cc) Chinese voyeur 9. (dd) Lebanese racing need 10. (ee) Famished on the Danube 17. (ff) Korean chitt'lins 9. (gg) Diminutive Canadian literary theorist 9. (hh) Duke Ellington romantic find on a Philippine island 18. (ii) job title for Santa's helper 16. (jj) Sweet French swearing in Bolivia 9. (kk) Food containers on the Riviera 9. (ll) Priam's lapdog 10. (mm) Caroline Islands where Japan halted 8. (nn) Terrible fight with the Indian PM 9. (oo) Medical readings on US novelist 10.

The results can be placed into the skeleton in only one way. Note that each answer

is fitted in as if it were a single long word without spaces, with the exception of one of the longer answers, where the two words involved are entered separately, but so that they cross one another in the skeleton. To help in deciphering the clues, here are the answers in anagram form — not, of course, in the same order as the definitions. The number of words in each anagram is not necessarily related to the number of words in its original word or phrase. Ignore any punctuation between the semicolons.

NODAHL; RAKILAD; TUT'S PORK; KEOCORAL; ROCAABOUT; KHON-DRAX; OMACHUND; ACKALOCO; TINOFACE; LUBE CURSE; SWELL BEAU; PINK SEMIS; LEO DOOFUS; ROONY HULA; NEX BRAMER; CENTANNIS; OK PIGMENT; FLY'S REALM; USA HALTED; OPTEROLODY; LEN BRAILLE, TRIAD RELAY; LOVE'S MOTEL; CHALKE ROLL; DIVING LASS; DO HEEL HILL; BORK McDINGY; CANE MACHINE; DEKKAN SISSY; LUCE NEGATES; PINO SCHLITZ; ERAZED PUPIL; GINGER IN COLD; HOG RANCH RIBS; LASHDALE HOWL; RUFUS ROAN DODO; THUNDERY COORS, TURBO-C SUADE SNAIL; IDIOTIC NEON REIGN; UHV NURSERY ANALOGY; TIDY LIES CHASTE POET.

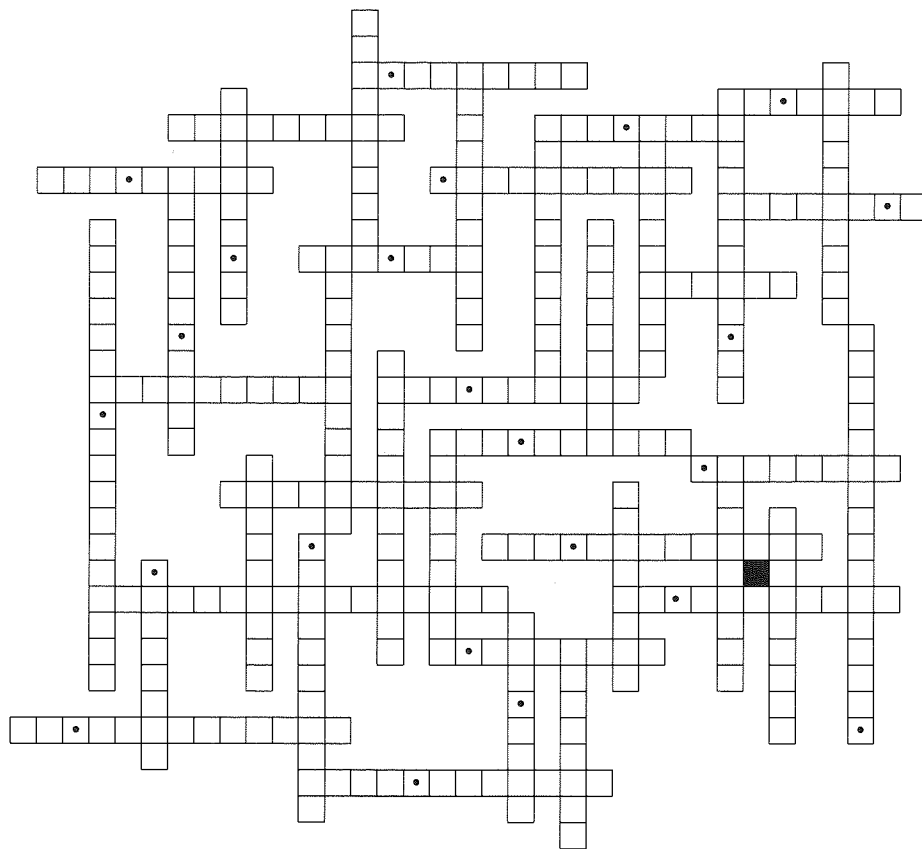
"I see," said Liebnitz. "For my PUNishment, I am forced to decipher these devious clues. For example, a definition like 'Irritating Magyar Lohan' would come out BUDDHA-pest, right? Well, that shouldn't be too tough."

He had to sweat, but eventually he succeeded. When he brought the results back to Lydia, however, she simply smiled sweetly and said: "Very good, Ludwig. But can you work out the final anagram from the letters indicated by the dots on the skeleton? They provide four words making up the names of two men — and show that where conquerors achieve, philosophers fail."

After hours more work, Ludwig had to admit himself stumped. Can you first duplicate his feat by naming the 41 answers that go into the puzzle, and then go on to solve Lydia's last enigma?

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