

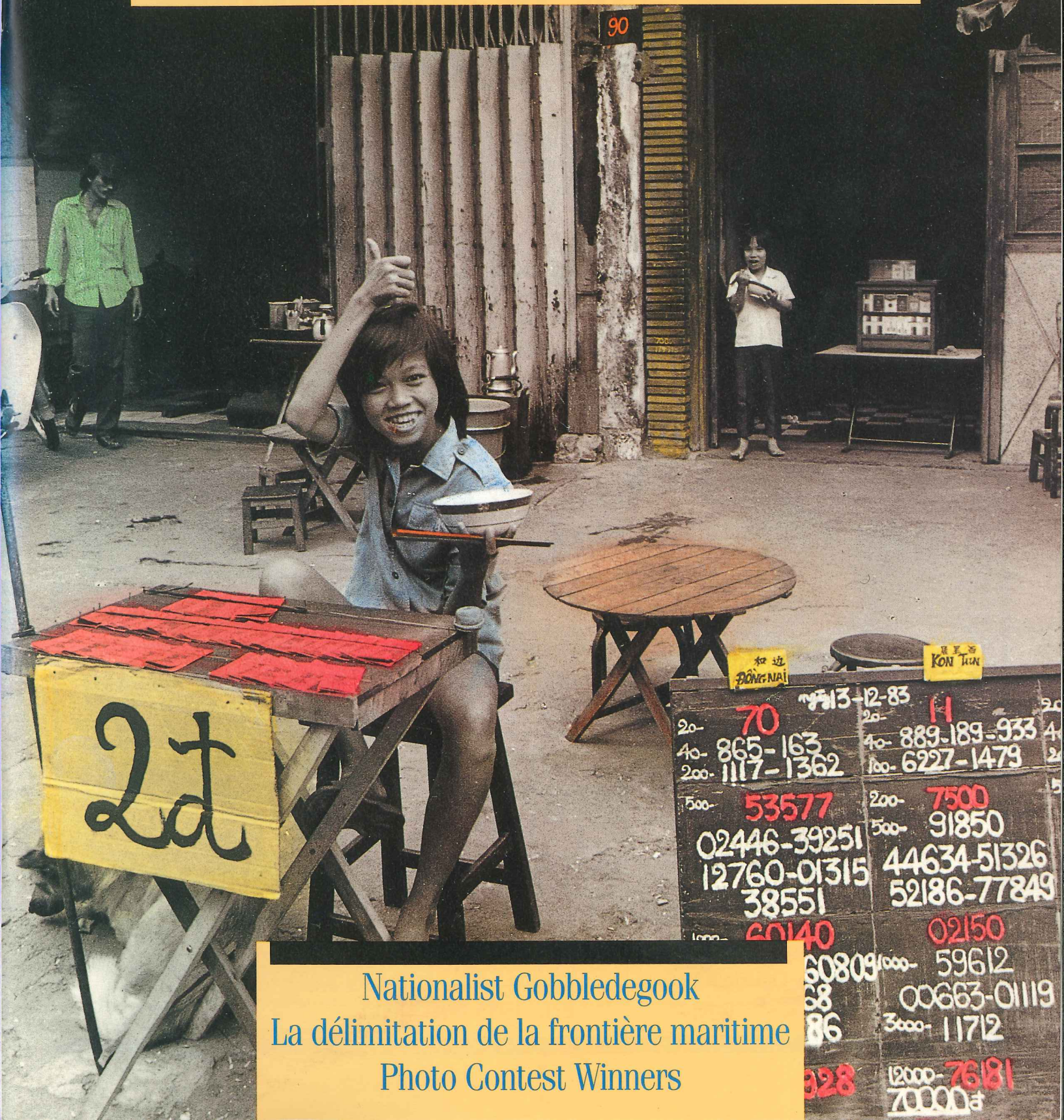
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Nationalist Gobbledegook
La délimitation de la frontière maritime
Photo Contest Winners

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Nationalist Gobbledegook: The Free Trade Papers

A trenchant review by Michael Hart of current Canadian best-sellers on Canada's objectives and perceptions on the FTA negotiations with the USA.

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Notre ambassadeur, Jean-Paul Hubert, explique les buts et les objectifs du Canada comme membre de l'OEA.

Lettre de Paris

Roger Paul Gilbert raconte ses souvenirs de Paris.

1992 Photo Contest Winners

The results of *bout de papier's* first photograph contest speak for themselves!

La délimitation de la frontière maritime au large de Terre-Neuve et de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon : quelle affaire!

François Mathys approfondit le mystère de la grande pêche.

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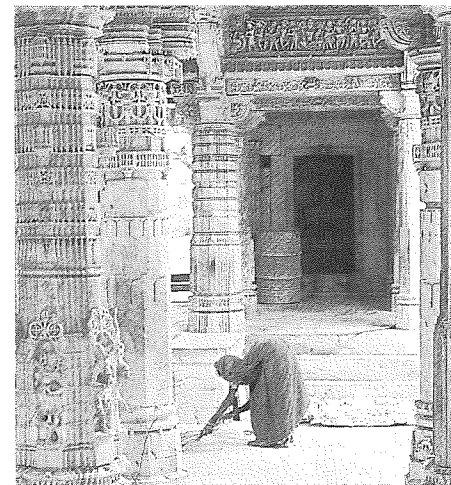
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Our cover photo, by Liza Linklater, is of a lottery vendor in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. It is a sepia toned and hand coloured fiber print.



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

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The Domino Effect

The "Word" percolates to the masses in mysterious ways.

In his first message to the troops, disseminated by in-house video, the new Under-Secretary explained his mandate from the Prime Minister: the need for External Affairs to pursue "excellence", and the requirement that employees perform their specific jobs. He outlined his expectations and responsibilities, and disclaimed what he portrayed as the notion by other bureaucrats that External Affairs is "venal and rapacious". He also denied the perception that his preferred style would be one of "management by fear".

While it may not be management by fear per se, the experience to date is that the style is clearly one of fiat, and failure to consult or to build internal consensus. Employees have a right to know what is being asked of them and where they are being led, if only to ensure that everyone is pulling in the same direction. Who knows, the masses might even have the odd bright idea, which would enable the open and unabashed pursuit of "excellence" — whatever that as yet undefined notion might be.

It is not that the concept of excellence is difficult to understand in broad general terms. Presumably it means to be superior to something or someone in terms of quality or quantity, or to be pre-eminent in doing a task or in performing an action. However, other than not being venal or rapacious and leadership through fear, employees have little on which to move ahead.

Remember that this is the department that single-handedly destroyed the age-old democratic principle of ministerial responsibility. This is the department that repeatedly and publicly demonstrated its abysmal lack of leadership, personal integrity or individual loyalty at the highest level. Public administration theory is now being re-written to chronicle the slow but steady progress throughout the Public Service of the effects of a new made-in-Canada management principle of "Mashat-ing" one's subordinates. The jury is not yet in, but it is clear that it will take years, if not decades, to get beyond this miasma.

Changing attitudes at the middle-management level may be a first step in the right direction to rid External Affairs of the noxious infection so blithely and thoughtlessly incurred. But this may prove to be too little and too late. Already the aid stream of

the Foreign Service has disappeared, and the immigration stream seems headed for extinction. The trade stream hovers on the brink of partition, and the political stream awaits radical transformation into an administrative and consular sub-stratum. The Department drifts aimlessly in the cold spring-time winds and rains, half-in and half-out of its moulting skin. What will emerge — a glorious new future, or yet another throw-back to prehistoric times?

Now, as never before, a unique opportunity exists for employees to re-shape their organization. Remarkably, events of recent weeks have served to coalesce views in External Affairs across the great divides of support staff and officers, and rotational and non-rotational members. For the first time in the history of the Department, employees now seem to be united in concern for their future, and in their willingness to contemplate change for change's sake rather than as a result of fiat. How will this change be effected and what will be the mechanism?

Individuals need to start thinking openly about their personal work objectives and, as divisions or employee groups, to discuss what kind of organization they wish to work for and what they are not willing to do. In an era of fundamental change throughout the public sector, we have an obligation to ourselves as individuals, our Department and Government, and the tax-payer, to re-define departmental goals and objectives; to concentrate on those things which collectively we do well; and to discard out-moded paradigms and out-dated ways. Only through broad and open discussion and consultation from the bottom up, can a revitalized External Affairs rise Phoenix-like from its current nadir. If we seize the present opportunity, we may succeed in creating a new and vigorous vision which will rally and unite us for the 21st century.

Some may question why employees should bother re-thinking the Department or their future in an organization which seems to care so little for its employees and in which no concrete mechanism is available for bottom-up input or decision-making.

There is a simple answer: the senior management of this Department **needs** and undoubtedly **craves** thoughtful and creative input from the rank and file. While secret cabals and cloak and dagger work may sometimes be fleetingly suitable in dire emergencies, they can not stay the course. To

ensure our future and to achieve a meaningful vision together, our leaders must seek a channel for positive team effort to re-build External Affairs. The real challenge for the Department and its employees is to develop a system which enables regular, systematic and meaningful dialogue on the part of all employees, be they the managers or the managed.

If such a system of mutual dialogue and respect does not develop, and if management by fiat really is the medium, then External Affairs can count on being the 47th organization to disappear from the Public Service of Canada.

Ottawa, April 1992

Carol N. Markham

Carol N. Markham
Editor

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I had intended to write a positive message in my first column as PAFSO President. Events of the past few days, however, make necessary a new approach. The decision arrived at in secret to move the Social Affairs stream to the Department of Employment and Immigration dropped like a bomb in our midst. In particular, the manner in which it was unveiled left one with a feeling of deep dissatisfaction. It raises fundamental questions of leadership and probity at the most senior levels of the Department and challenges us as individual Foreign Service officers to do our best to contain the damage and, with luck, to try to reverse the negative effects brought about by the lack of professionalism of those who should know better.

To the members of the Social Affairs stream, I say that you have been and will remain important members of the Foreign Service and PAFSO. You have brought new perspectives to old questions and have, in particular, humanized many of the international issues confronting our service. We have been enriched by your presence and educated by your commitment and certainly we cannot be separated by a simple river. In Ottawa and at post, we will continue to work closely together in spite of those whose vision is limited to clean lines on accountability flow charts and whose dedication is confined to ensuring their own advancement.

Reproduced below then, is my letter sent on 2 March 1992 to the Secretary of State for External Affairs in response to the Under-Secretary's decision.

Dear Ms. McDougall:

I have not, up to now, had occasion to write to you directly in my capacity as President of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO), which represents the Department's career Foreign Service officers. My purpose in writing today, is to convey to you some of the very serious concerns that have arisen as a consequence of the recently announced decision to transfer to the Department of Employment and Immigration the cadre of External

Affairs' officers in the Social Affairs stream.

The concerns of PAFSO and of its members are several. At the strategic level, there is concern that External Affairs has embarked on a fundamental change in the way that Canadian foreign policy is both formulated and delivered. Also, the decision was taken without due regard to the formal (i.e., contractual) obligations of the Department to consult while not losing sight of the moral need of the Department to respect the dedication, the loyalty and the commitment exhibited over the years by its employees.

Canada, and this Department in particular, has expended a great deal of time and valuable resources to ensuring that Canadian foreign policy reflect the totality of Canada's interests abroad. While perhaps painful to certain individuals at the time, the policy carried out since the early 1980s has succeeded in establishing not only an integrated Foreign Service but also in a coordinated approach to foreign policy formulation.

The explanation that External Affairs "needs to get back to basics" is one that ignores a consistent theme of your government, that Canadian foreign policy must serve the broader national interest, including such important issues as national reconciliation, economic competitiveness and prosperity, the development of human rights and respect for ethnic or other minority groupings. To a large measure, the ability of External Affairs to deal with the diverse international agenda is dependent upon its Minister having a pool of creative, diverse and multi-focused talent to draw upon. The men and women of the Social Affairs stream bring to this Department unique skills, talents and experiences that are invaluable to this process.

In your own speech on the 60th Anniversary of the Statute of Westminster you noted that Canada's efforts to secure a co-operative basis for international security concerns would increasingly have to address such fundamental issues as international mass migration. The development of co-operative international refugee policies is, one would logically conclude, a major element determining the relative success or failure of any such endeavour. Quite simply, the expertise associated with such issues resides firmly with those men and women who comprise the Social Affairs stream.

The "back to basics" philosophy is also troubling in the larger context. It is symptomatic of an extremely narrow vision, that does not accord proper importance to the multitude of activities that have increasingly come to characterize state-to-state relations.

Long gone are the days when the conduct of international relations could be limited to those "traditional" concerns of political/military relations and international trade.

The multilateral system in particular (i.e., the United Nations), has legitimized the view that nation states have authentic interests in a wider portfolio of issues. An illustrative listing of "non-traditional" issues that are dealt with internationally would include: the environment, women's issues, the development of science and technology, international co-ordination of monetary and fiscal policies and co-operative efforts in the areas of health (i.e., containing the AIDS epidemic and international trade in illegal drugs).

The "back to basics" philosophy as it is apparently narrowly defined would make it logical (i.e., for organizational symmetry) for External Affairs to relinquish any role in such "non-traditional" areas. External Affairs could revert to a role of confirming hotel reservations and other logistical arrangements for such Departments as Environment Canada, Health and Welfare, Finance, Solicitor General and Industry, Science and Technology. Other Departments would then present Canada's international positions on all such issues, without any guarantee that Canada would be pursuing a foreign policy where individual strategies served to mutually support our international objectives.

Implied in the need to return to "basics" is the belief that External Affairs has not been performing its "traditional" functions to the satisfaction of the government. In the absence of any attempt to explain, one must assume this to mean the provision of international political information and analysis. If there is a failure here, which is far from clear, it is not all clear how the separation of "non-basic" activities is expected to rectify the problem. Rather, it is more likely that the Department is experiencing the results of previous decisions to reduce human and operational resources and in neglecting to reform its own internal management structure and practices. Simply put, if we as a Department are not providing timely analysis and advice, perhaps it is time to reduce the number of filters between the point of analysis (i.e., the producer) and Ministers (i.e., the consumer).

By the Department's own admission, the decision to transfer the Social Affairs stream was taken in *concert* with, but not *part* of the Government's 1992/1993 Budget. Explanations relying on the Budget process as the basis for a total lack of consultation are disingenuous at best. Unveiling the announcement in the dead of night by posting press releases in elevators, is to display an

unheard-of level of disrespect for the Department's employees. It is contemptuous of the organizational culture that has helped to define the Department of External Affairs almost from its inception. Employees are treated by the Department's senior managers as representing nothing other than boxes to be moved at whim around an organizational chart. The fundamental distinctions between management and leadership are clearly not understood at the senior levels of the Department, despite the portrait gallery of previous Under-Secretaries that hangs on the eighth floor and which serve, presumably, as some sort of reminder. The loyalty of the individual to the organization, which after all is what was demonstrated day-in and day-out in the far-flung corners of the world, is treated with obvious contempt. Pride of place and purpose are given no value by the organizational mandarins of the 1990s.

Unfortunately, as the responsible Minister, you must bear some of the blame. The changes introduced have touched us all as Foreign Service officers and are not isolated to only the Social Affairs stream. If the effects could be isolated, then as Minister you might have had the luxury of dismissing the consequences as something of concern to another department. Life, however, is not so easy. Colleagues, who are not in the Social Affairs stream have remarked to me, with increasing frequency, their growing frustration with the "one-way loyalty" that has become the dominant paradigm of the Department.

Another unfortunate aspect of this decision is that it will dilute the positive impact that other Departmental initiatives will have. The increased funding and operational priority accorded to training and skills development, for example, recognizes the importance of maintaining our professionalism and has been well received by all employees. Increased emphasis put on language training and on the development of a Foreign Service Institute are illustrative of measures that simultaneously feed the "professionalism" of employees while greatly expanding the Department's skill base. Such initiatives, however, are predicated on the concept that the Department's most important resource is its people. That ideal will be increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary.

Not to be overlooked, is the undeniable fact that the consultation provisions of the Government's own Workforce Adjustment Directives as well as the provisions of the Foreign Service Collective Agreement were contravened. These commitments, binding in law, are apparently regarded as an annoyance to be disregarded at whim. If the Department has no intention of honouring

legal agreements to which it is a party it should state so clearly. Either the Department's senior managers are unaware of their obligations, in which case they are incompetent, or they are ignoring them, in which case they are dishonest.

The Professional Association is also concerned about the way in which this decision will be implemented. The transfer of over 300 employees from one department to another is unlikely to be done without significant additional cost. Yet, the manner in which the decision was arrived at shows that no serious financial planning was done before the announcement. The Spending Estimates, as tabled in Parliament by the Treasury Board, show a reduction in the budget of the Department of Employment and Immigration on the order of \$175 million for the next fiscal year.

I, and my colleagues, are also particularly concerned about how this decision will have an effect on the delivery of services to Canadians, both at home and abroad. From the minimal material available, it would appear that External Affairs will retain responsibility for delivery of the Consular program. However, as this program is mainly delivered by our colleagues in the Social Affairs stream, it is unclear how the Department intends to staff the required positions, much less deliver the calibre of service that has characterized the consular program in recent years.

The transfer of consular responsibilities to the Social Affairs stream has resulted in increased efficiencies, expanded effectiveness and more timely and sensitive delivery of this important program. In decades gone by, when I might remark that External focused on "basics", the delivery of consular programs often left much to be desired. Under the Social Affairs stream it has been revitalized and recognized as an area of serious endeavour, requiring trained and experienced professionals. The record which will include such situations as the evacuation of Canadians from Beijing and Zaire, the crises caused by the Gulf War and the Philippine earthquake speak for [themselves]. In your own capacity as Secretary of State for External Affairs, you agreed to the establishment of a special award intended to recognize the dedication and service of Canada's consular officials.

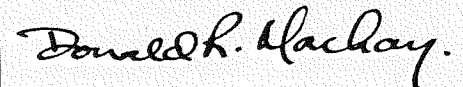
Transferring the Social Affairs stream to another department will also significantly reduce the opportunity for all Foreign Service officers to gain valuable "cross-stream" experience. While the opportunities for "cross-stream" transfers have never been as open as they should be, even those limited chances will now be eliminated. Officers in External Affairs have been told for years that future promotional opportunities would, in part, be

determined by whether an individual has demonstrated an ability to function across a range of policy and operational areas.

In the foregoing, I have outlined for your consideration a number of concerns associated with the decision to transfer the Foreign Service Social Affairs stream to the Department of Employment and Immigration. Nothing in these comments should be inferred as casting doubt on the integrity and operational effectiveness of that Department. Indeed, the members of the Social Affairs stream have historically enjoyed a close relationship to their Employment and Immigration colleagues. That situation will not change.

However, I would request that you reflect seriously on these concerns, possibly with a view toward advising the Prime Minister of the need to suspend the decision until such time as you are fully satisfied that it does not represent a fundamental mistake. Naturally, I would be prepared to discuss or clarify, with you or your officials, any of the points raised above.

Sincerely yours,



Donald R. Mackay
President

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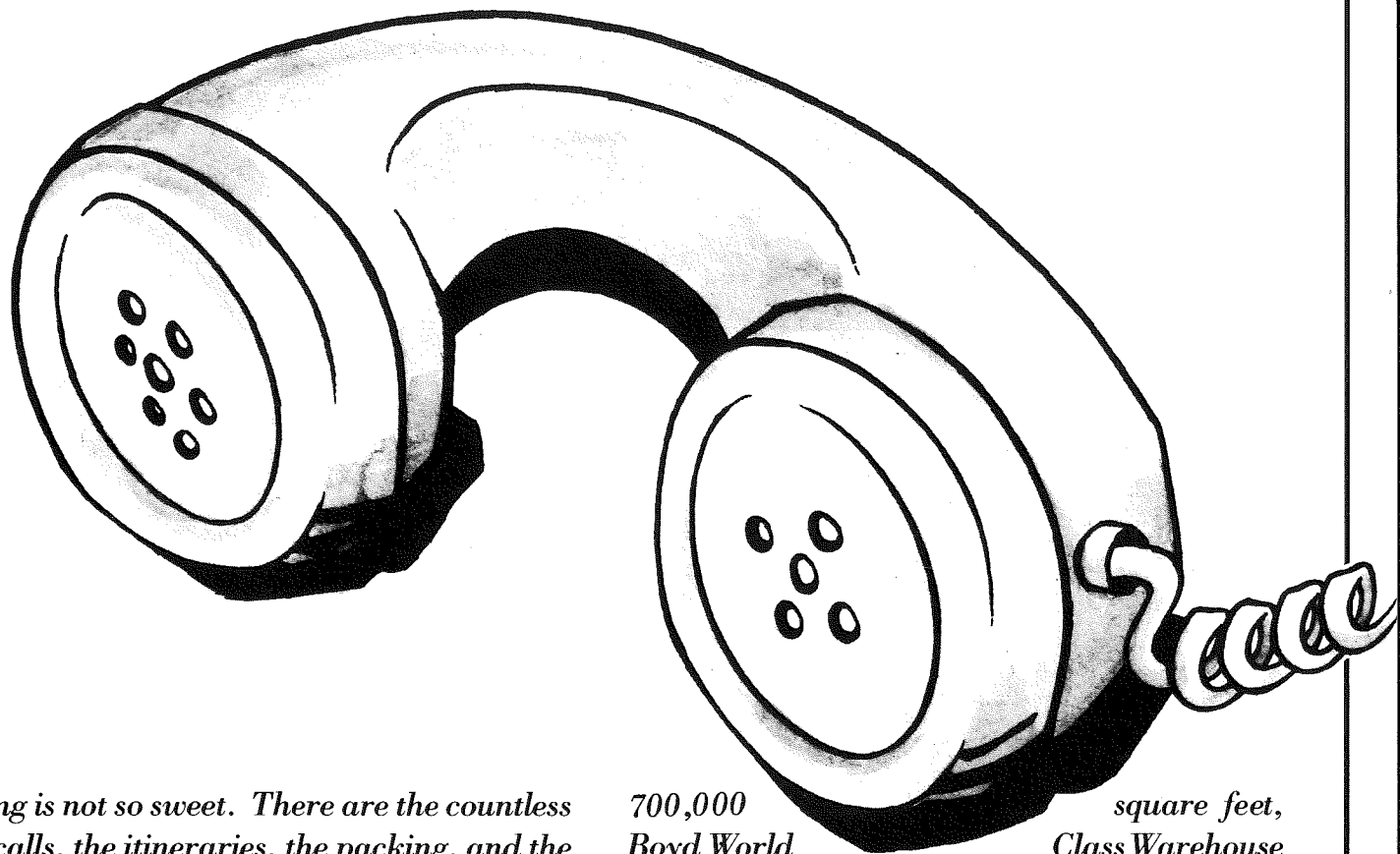
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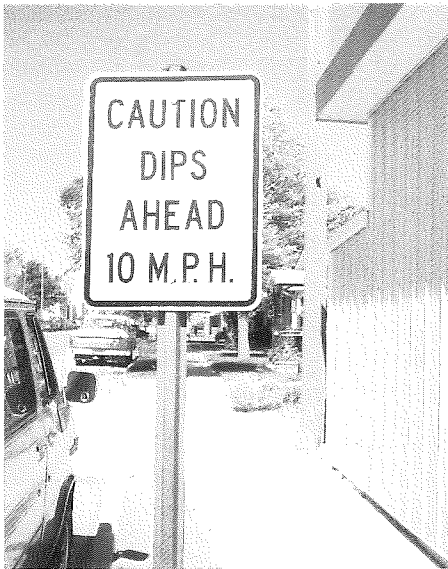
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This photo suggests that the people of Wall, South Dakota (where the sign is posted) retain an understandable caution when it comes to diplomats. Would that the Treasury Board shared their intimidation.

Richard Belliveau
Ottawa, Ontario

I have not bothered until now to comment on the accuracy of Sidney Freifeld's account of my late wife's struggle with the Soviet bureaucracy. (She died of cancer 8 years ago today [3 December] but her indomitable spirit lives on).

Sidney's story about "The Howling Cats of Moscow" is basically correct but Thereza did *not* awaken the locally employed clerk, George Costakis, about the cats. She telephoned directly to the Chief of Protocol. She would never have bothered any member of the staff at 3 a.m., and certainly not because she considered *my* sleep important.

Sidney, alas, ignored the amusing finale of the story. Early the following morning, our Finnish housekeeper proudly announced: "Madam, the cat safari has begun!"

Mr. Gerald Cossette's exegesis on this incident is trivial and hardly worthy of publication in *bout de papier*. Sidney Freifeld's lighthearted fables of the diplomatic service, while occasionally inaccurate, give it a human touch, as did Lawrence Durrell's memorable spoof on the diplomatic life in Belgrade.

Robert A.D. Ford
St. Sylvestre-Pragoulin, France

Gerald Cossette's review of Sidney Freifeld's "Undiplomatic Notes" (*bout de papier* vol. 8 #4) focuses narrowly on the story "The Howling Cats of Moscow" and seems to accuse the author of condoning, even glorifying, the mistreatment of support staff. Nothing could be more foreign to Sidney Freifeld's character.

Having had the pleasure and privilege of serving with Ambassador Freifeld in Bogota, I can categorically state that he *never* awakened his support staff in the middle of the night — unless he had previously agreed to take them fishing at some ungodly hour.

Anyone serving with the Freifelds, for Sidney's late wife Crenia was very much a member of the team, learned a great deal about how to foster a feeling of "family" as well as team spirit among colleagues; lessons which I hope have not been completely forgotten in today's foreign service.

James A. Elliott
Atlanta, Georgia

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**SALLY BRADLEY
MANAGER**

The Trade Commissioner Service: A Different Second Century

by Andrew Griffiths

1994 will mark the centenary of the Trade Commissioner Service (TCS). Our contribution to the Canadian exporting community and to the Canadian economy is cause for celebration. It is also cause for reflection: do we serve the changing needs of Canadian business, and can we integrate trade policy more with trade promotion?

Resistance to change, inertia and entrenched attitudes are problems common to all of us in External Affairs — in political reporting and immigration selection as well as in trade development. More and more energy is devoted to process, and less and less to the solid analysis of substantive issues. Yet, a changing global environment and continued government cutbacks underline the need to adapt and to adjust.

Resistance to change, inertia and entrenched attitudes are problems common to all of us in External Affairs — in political reporting and immigration selection as well as in trade development.

The New Reality

The world trading environment is changing. The Canadian economy has made a shift

from natural resources to services and knowledge-based industries. Trade increasingly follows investment and is more and more conducted on an intra-firm and intra-industry basis, as long-term supplier relationships become more prevalent. More companies from more countries are investing abroad. Governments are moving away from economic interventionism toward greater integration with the global economy, especially in the countries of the OECD where Canada does most of its business.

Instant communications and widespread information on world market opportunities also contribute to a more global business environment. Foreign travel has become less foreign. Companies have become more sophisticated; trade, technology and investment are now viewed as complementary tools to international business development.

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Small- and medium-sized companies are no longer protected from these trends.

Redefining the Trade Commissioner Service

Just as trade policy is slowly adjusting to globalization and integration between trade and domestic policy, trade development — i.e. promoting exports — must become more sophisticated.

The Trade Commissioner's role used to be clear. We are salespeople, helping Canadian firms increase their exports of goods and services. Mary Hill's history of the Trade Commissioner Service was aptly called *Canada's Salesman to the World*.

This role continues in countries where the language is difficult, the culture different and business practices dissimilar. Government can provide exporters with political leverage, access to key decision-makers, assessment of market intelligence and identification of local companies or intermediaries. Where few effective private sector alternatives exist, government sponsorship of trade fairs and missions is necessary. Government trade financing and insurance are often required. We *do* make a difference in such markets.

The review of the Australian trade service ("Austrade") by the management consulting

firm, McKinsey, focused on this role. Austrade, the firm recommended, should "help Australian enterprises access overseas customers through utilizing government clout and in-depth local market relationships and know-how". The firm also told Austrade to focus on specific markets where government influence is important, and to reduce drastically the resources devoted to the USA market where government intervention is not needed.

Canada has taken a different course in redefining our trade service. Our posts in the USA are busier than ever with encouraging Canadian companies to form business partnerships or "teaming" with American counterparts. We have introduced the notion of investment promotion, technology inflow, and corporate liaison. Similarly, the "Strategic Ventures Program" in Western Europe is highly targeted and is selective in assisting specific Canadian sectors to establish a presence in Europe.

Leaner, More Focused Assistance

Downsizing in the Public Service is a reality that will continue in the '90s. EAITC has to overcome the bureaucratic resistance to change and to reallocate resources quickly. To set priorities, the Department needs better strategic planning; to implement our priorities, we need increased flexibility to move and to shift resources as required.

EAITC's support to exporters will have to become better differentiated and more selective. Should we continue to support fairs and missions given strong private sector alternatives in markets in the OECD countries? Should we provide expertise for fewer sectors? Should we concentrate greater resources in leading edge sectors where backward and forward linkages among investment, technology and trade are strongest, as the USA Trade Development Bureau has started to do? Should long-term strategies of looking for niches, similar to the Strategic Ventures approach, become more common for OECD markets? Will market-access issues become even more important? The answer to all these questions is likely to be yes. In effect, EAITC will have to develop a mixture of approaches, matching needs and capabilities to different markets.

The Department cannot expect companies to set our priorities for us. A recent Conference Board survey revealed that companies reflect "the traditional concerns of Canadians about having programs which are widely available and do not 'discriminate' against businesses in certain sectors or in certain markets". Companies, at least individually, do not yet seem to recognize that limited resources require priority setting.

We Are All Busy But Are We Making a Difference?

Canada is no longer a protected market. Small- and medium-sized firms, given the FTA and globalization, now have to compete on North American terms. Export education needs are changing. ISTC and the provinces, rather than the Trade Commissioner Service, may have a special role in bringing companies up to the export-ready stage. EAITC's role would then follow.

Programs like PEMD and CIDA INC are, in effect, subsidies for unsuccessful export promotion activities, and need to be reconsidered rigorously. Companies that cannot afford travel and trade fair expenses are not export ready. PEMD funds could be better used to improve Canada's market intelligence, to strengthen export education, and to provide additional resources in the field. CIDA INC funds could then be diverted toward concessional financing.

Trade and investment development is entrepreneurial and results-oriented. Trade policy is bureaucratic, incremental and dedicated to process.

Trade Commissions Require Better Training

As trade and investment-development programs become more sophisticated, so do the training requirements for trade officers. We need a better understanding of the changing nature of international business and, in particular, the linkages between investment, technology and trade. Short "consultant management" courses are also required. If we are to provide more in-depth consulting to export-ready firms, our training requirements should correspondingly broaden. This applies to recruits, experienced officers, managers and to our commercial officers abroad.

Does this mean we should become geographic, sectoral or functional specialists? While sector specialization may be useful, this can be easily hired in OECD markets, precisely where it is most useful. But technical specialization is dynamic and requires constant updating and would be better left



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to companies or to other departments. Our best contribution would appear to lie more in our first-hand knowledge of international business practices and distribution techniques than in specialized sector knowledge *per se*.

The Primacy of Policy

Government, after all, is driven by policy and not by programs. Policy — for better or worse — will always set the agenda.

Under consolidation in 1982, the two solitudes of trade policy and trade development ironically have become more entrenched within the Department — an ingrown trade policy priesthood and a trade promotion tribalism. However, the increasing sophistication of international business requires closer coordination between trade policy and trade development. Trade development, closer to the business community, often leads Canada's trade policy. Yet international trade policy — the negotiation and management of issues under GATT and the FTA — creates the necessary environment for trade and investment that affect Canada's competitiveness. To progress further on the trade development side, policy changes are often required.

In an increasingly liberalized and harmonized global economy, trade policy concerns and frictions will continue to set the agenda with our major trading partners. This is already the case with the USA in such disputes as pork and softwood lumber, and is rapidly becoming so with the European Community as well. These disputes demand more resources or personnel to manage the frictions and, given a dwindling Public Service, these come only at the expense of trade development. Liberalization of the Japanese economy may have similar implications, as will the removal of restrictions on investment, imports and services in the emerging economies. Cultural and linguistic differences may continue to justify trade development activities, but their relative importance will likely decrease in our major markets.

The Policy Imperative: Where Does the TCS Fit In?

Trade policy and trade development have different styles. Trade and investment development is entrepreneurial and results-oriented. Trade policy is bureaucratic, incremental and dedicated to process. Our instinctive preference for the former should not mask the need to address the latter.

The Trade Commissioner Service has not seized the opportunities presented by the prosperity initiative — our involvement is largely limited to existing international trade development consultations. We need rather

to explore fully the forward and backward linkages between international business and the domestic economy.

To remain relevant in government, Trade Commissioners need to be part of the upstream policy development. Yet to remain relevant to business, the Department has to roll-back bureaucratization. Frank Petrie, former Director General of the Office of Overseas Projects and former President of the Canadian Exporters Association remembers that he often told his deputy minister that he was unavailable as "businessmen come first". No one in EAITC is prepared to say that today. Instead, we are all busy preparing briefing notes. We may risk even more bureaucratization in becoming more involved in policy formulation; it is, however, a risk that we will have to take. And we should take it by insisting that the trade policy system be aimed at achieving results in improving our international trade.

Although we may prefer trade development, trade officers have the necessary prerequisites for developing relevant trade policy. Good knowledge of foreign business environments, barriers to new markets, and the Canadian industrial and service base, all complement an instinctive search for pragmatic solutions to the problems at hand. We will need, however, the patience to deal with the slow pace of policy development.

The twinning of ISTC and International Trade under one Minister reflects the recognition that trade policy is increasingly integrated with domestic adjustment policy. An unwritten objective of the FTA was to force Canadian industry to adjust structurally and to become more competitive both domestically and internationally. A more integrated trade policy and development presence within EAITC should ensure that Canada's political foreign policy concerns reflect more strongly the long-term interest of the Canadian business community.

The Trade Commissioner Service has a strong and noble history. As international trade and investment become more sophisticated and complex, the role of the Trade Commissioner will have to evolve and change. Greater expertise in trade policy and market access will be required. Our existing strengths must be supplemented by new skills to deal with the challenge of a global economy and a more demanding business sector.

Meeting this challenge will be the test for the second century of the Trade Commissioner Service.

Andrew Griffiths has had postings in Buenos Aires, Cairo (Language Training), and Riyadh. He is currently with the Policy Planning Division at EAITC.

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The Constitutional Crisis and the Head of State

by Robert A.D. Ford

The Prime Minister's decision to return Canada to a neo-colonial status by going directly to the Queen of Britain for authority to add eight new seats to the Senate ought to provoke a serious debate over the question of the Head of State.

Every time the seven richest industrialized countries in the world meet, every Canadian should cringe at the idea that our country merits inclusion in this exclusive gathering of heads of state or of government and yet maintains a constitutionally subordinate role to Britain, the monarch of which is still legally our Head of State.

Does this matter? Does the Governor-General matter? A number of commentaries over the last year criticizing, justifiably, the highly political nature of recent appointments to this post, have also suggested that the position itself has become irrelevant. This is totally frivolous. A head of state is a necessity and serves a distinct purpose. There is no country in the world, no matter how minuscule, that does not have a head of state of one kind or another. As far as democratic societies are concerned, they have either a constitutional monarch; an executive president (i.e. one who exercises both the powers of a head of state and of a head of government); or an elected president (i.e. one who does not have governing power). The history of the last one hundred years has demonstrated that a constitutional monarchy in a stable democracy is probably the safest, most equitable and most efficient form of government.

The years since World War II have shown that the next best system is a democratic republic with a freely chosen president who serves for a fixed term of office and who stands above political parties and represents the whole nation, leaving the day-to-day governing to the prime minister who is head of the political party in power.

The other republican alternative is that chosen by the American people some two hundred years ago; a president who is also effectively the prime minister. There are many obvious flaws with this form of government. The first is that in this system the head of state by that very fact must also be partisan. By the nature of things, the incumbent cannot stand above party politics and represent the nation as a whole, except in crisis situations. The second is that in the present day world governing has become an immensely complex and

overwhelming job. Combining all the public and protocol functions demanded of a head of state with day-to-day governing becomes too much for any one individual to perform satisfactorily.

A few years ago, Lloyd Cutler (President Jimmy Carter's legal advisor) told me that flaws of this nature in the American Constitution had been recognized and that a committee of legal experts was working on suggestions for rectifying the worst anomalies in the system. He was not confident that anything would come of it and, indeed, nothing did largely because the Constitution has come to represent almost a sacred document for most Americans.

The French have tried to combine the two republican systems by having a president elected on a party basis who retains substantial powers, particularly in foreign affairs and defence, while also having both the government and a prime minister drawn from that party which has the majority of deputies in parliament. Since both offices are elected separately and for different terms (i.e. seven and five years), this system only works satisfactorily if the president and the prime minister are from the same party.

It seems self-evident, therefore, that Canada must have a head of state. We cannot go on avoiding the issue indefinitely with the myth that the Queen of Britain is the "Queen of Canada". She cannot, as Queen of Britain, play the two roles effectively required of our head of state: to represent the nation (Canada) while remaining above party politics; and to carry out all the ceremonial jobs. When these two roles are carried out, the prime minister can perform the task for which he is elected — to govern the country according to the wishes of the electorate. Nor can she receive visiting heads of state on official visits to Canada or, in return, repay those visits abroad as Canada's head of state. Foreign heads of state only grudgingly accept the Governor-General as a kind of surrogate head of state.

Apart from these factors, which point inexorably to the urgent need for a serious non-partisan effort to bring Canada up-to-date internationally on this issue, is the obvious fact that French-Canadians have always considered this desire to cling to the British Crown as an affront. In addition, probably a large majority of other Canadians no longer feel any attachment to the role of the monarchy, although they probably think with respect and even affection of the Queen as an individual.

What are the alternatives? If we draw logical conclusions from history, a constitutional monarchy would be the best solution, perhaps making Prince Andrew the "King of Canada". There is precedent for this proposal in the western hemisphere. In 1807, when the King of Portugal was faced with the imminent occupation of Lisbon by Napoleon's army, he retreated to Brazil. When Wellington drove the French back, the King then returned to Portugal but left his son in Brazil as "Vice-Roy" with the injunction, that if the Brazilians should want independence, he should take the crown himself and put it upon his own head. He did so in 1822. Brazil remained both intact and a monarchy until 1889, while neighbouring Spanish America broke up into seventeen pieces.

The proposal to create a "King of Canada" is, of course, a fanciful suggestion. Logic is not always the answer to tactical problems, even though Andrew and Fergie would bring back glamour to Rideau Hall. Undoubtedly, few would opt for either the American system or the Gallic compromise. This leaves as the only sensible answer to become a Republic but still remain within the Commonwealth. India and many smaller countries are Republics which have elected Presidents who are above party politics, but which recognize the Queen in her role as Head of the Commonwealth.

Conrad Black, in his essay on the constitutional crisis in *Saturday Night* (September 1990), suggested altering the position of Governor-General to that of a combined President and Governor-General; a dignity, however, which would still be conferred by the Queen of Britain. This is ingenious, but probably would only be a stop-gap. If we are going to take the step and cut the umbilical cord in order to make Canada's position in the world consonant with our international status, then let us do it unambiguously. Let us become a Republic but remain within the Commonwealth; and let us have a President who is elected by both Parliament and Senate (preferably a reformed one) for a fixed term of office, and on a non-partisan basis!

Robert Ford served as Ambassador to Colombia (1957-59), Yugoslavia (1959-61), the United Arab Republic (1961-63) and to the U.S.S.R. (1964-80). He is the author of: *A Window on the North*; *The Solitary City*; *Holes in Space*; *Needle in the Eye*; *Russian Poetry: A Personal Anthology*; *Doors, Words and Silence*; *Dostoyevsky and Other Poems* and *Our Man in Moscow: Reflections on the Soviet Union from Stalin to Brezhnev*. He currently resides in St. Sylvestre-Pragoulin, France.

Good Deeds and Absurdities

by Laurel Pardy

Good deeds and absurdities. These four words just about sum up the life of an ambassador's spouse. Manifested as a barrage of fanfare and folderol, caviar and cold cuts they constitute a pitfall for the unwary who come to believe the folderol and fail to remember that caviar is only fish eggs and cold cuts are just fancy baloney.

Surely there is absurdity in the fact that, a scant ten minutes before a black tie reception at one's Official Residence, one is up-ended under the kitchen sink digging a rotten potato out of the goose-neck pipe, praying that the rubber apron keeps the muck off one's new black silk skirt.... In the meanwhile, six shocked staff members stand around moaning, "¡Oh, Señora!" — they were the ones who stuffed it down the drain pipe with a broom handle in the first place! ... Segue from plugged drains to hugs and kisses from tuxedoed "Honourable Ministers", and bejewelled "Madame Ambassadors", (I hope the "Patou" hides the potato).

I wonder what *they* were doing ten minutes ago?

Another occasion: the entire diplomatic corps, in the form of Heads of Mission, have descended on a local capital for a Presidential Inauguration. Most present actually reside in other countries and, as hotel rooms are non-existent, many have been housed with various "hosts" scattered around the city. As these hosts naturally were wealthy, they tended to live on remote hilltops and outlying estates, removed from the dirt and congestion of the inner city. The end result of this local kindness, quickly became a security and logistical nightmare.

Each Head was assigned a four-person security force, a personal transport vehicle, and an outrider jeep for the security people. These outriders were grim-eyed teenage soldiers equipped with automatic weapons and radios. The drivers were silent types whose answer for security concerns was to drive as fast as possible, steering with one hand while talking into the radio or blowing the horn with the other. A rare treat; especially at night. One wondered at whose hands lay the greater security risk. After one such excursion, I had to pry my left hand off the door handle.

The approved schedule for arrivals and departures from official events was precise and not up for discussion. Still buttoning and zipping, we were chivvied into the waiting vehicles. In a city where every location can be described as "on the corner, where is the bar and the repair shop", and in which roads consist of equal parts potholes, people, puppies and switchbacks, and wherein even normal driving is a nightmare, the result of tightly orchestrated scheduling was a foregone conclusion. The radio traffic went something like this.

"¿Where are you?"

"On the corner with the bar."

"¿Which bar?"

"The one next to the repair shop."

"Wait there until we come."

"I think you just passed us."

"You're supposed to be in front of us."

"¡Well, get behind us!"

"¿Where are you?"

On the morning of the inauguration, within a period of thirty minutes, forty Ambassadorial entourages in full kit were to arrive at a central football stadium and to

parade before the assembled masses. Naturally, about a kilometre before the stadium, the traffic had ground to a halt, and official schedules and security fell apart. Trapped in vehicles, enmeshed in milling foot-traffic, there was nothing to do except stare back at the faces pressed remorselessly against the glass and wait.... The drivers helped by leaning on their horns, calling attention to the predicament, while the various security teams played Buddha — their eyes to the four winds.

Finally, released in front of the stadium, the assembled *Excelentísimos* huddled like cattle in a holding yard, clinging to their hats and skirts, and shuddering in the biting wind, made more stinging with the grit from under the bleachers. The host Protocol Officer prodded the Important People into correct Diplomatic Order and we all marched off stoically to endure three hours' of parades and speeches in the blazing sun. To the cheers and clapping of the populace, we sashayed around the cinder track of the local soccer stadium, accepting the applause with gracious waves and blown kisses.

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Imagine the consternation and ruffled feathers later when, parched and steamy, the Corps realized that while Government Ministers were riding off in cars, diplomats were supposed to scrum their way out of the rear of the stadium and whistle up their own transport....

Brushes with reality can be uncomfortable, as well as edifying.

The Order of Protocol and Seniority in which Ambassadors and other Heads of Mission are required to line up on formal occasions is reminiscent of life in a private school. Throughout the course of the day, the Headmistress or master rings a bell and lines form for morning prayers, meals, roll call, afternoon walks, and study period. The trick to lining up quickly is to remember the two people in front and the two behind you as, surely, not all four will be absent at the same time. Our current ranking is just behind a Lady Ambassador who has a predilection for grand hats and deep necklines (though not necessarily at the same time) and immediately in front of the Corps' shortest Ambassador, whose hairline approximates the lower limits of Madame's cleavage.... I'm never sure whether this male colleague appreciates *our* timely arrival or not.

Over time as Ambassadors leave and their successors take more humble places at the end of the line, one moves slowly toward the head of the queue. Canada rarely reaches this heady position as we do not tend to linger in position very long and rotate out before becoming fixtures of the Corps. That being the case, serendipitously, Canada avoids the obligation of having to deliver speeches whenever the Corps assembles and, instead, is free to listen, or to doze, through the traditional expressions of mutual friendship and brotherhood. Occasionally, however, a rebel threatens to break the bonds of custom and a twitter rocks the dovecote....

One such occasion arose recently. Having done nothing *en masse* for many months, the Corps took it into its collective head to fête the Host Government at a black tie affair. Arrangements were left to the management of a newly completed luxury class hotel. In the absence of the Papal Nunçio, the Deputy Dean of the Diplomatic Corps decided to augment the customary speech with a few well chosen personal comments for the edification of the President. No doubt this was intended to be kind paternal advice to help the President through the troubled waters of recent political defections and public criticism. Rumours of this speech had filtered through the Corps during the day. It was with bated breath and fixed smiles that

we listened and watched as the ice melted under the shrimp cocktail and formed on the face of the President.

Just as the Deputy Dean was hitting his stride, through the partitions of the hotel ballroom, rolled the resounding chords of the Bridal Chorus from *Lohengrin*, rendered by an exuberant five-piece band. It was a tense moment; any inadvertent titter would have released mass hilarity. To the Corps' credit, not a snicker wiggled out, although many a clenched and twitching lip could be seen. I have no idea what was actually said because not a further word was heard, the length of the speech and the bride's entrance having fortuitously coincided. It could not have been intentional that during the President's reply, the soothing strains of an intense Italian love song floated through the partition.

I wonder if the departure of the President before the coffee service was significant? It is possible that he heard more than we did.

From time to time, an Ambassador's spouse carries out activities of an official nature alone. These usually fall into the category of good deeds, tours of worthy institutions, openings, conferences on gender issues, delivery of monies or items from the Canada Fund, and compassionate visits to disaster sites. These events give rise to an irritating conundrum: technically, the spouse of an Ambassador is not an official part of the Embassy and, as such, nothing is formally required of the individual. On the other hand, the host country, not to mention the Ambassador, may have an opposite point of view and may expect a great deal.

Seemingly innocent-sounding invitations may carry hidden traps for the novice. Early on our current tour of duty, an invitation was extended for *La Señora Embajadora* to visit an orphanage to which various Canadian funds had been given. I should have been warned by the arrival of a driver in a high wheeled four-by-four that maybe this was not to be a routine walkabout and cup of tea occasion....

This adventure has lead me to formulate two rules: always be prepared to give a speech; and to change your shoes. Never, never hang *this* unofficial person out to dry. Technicality or not, hoisting one's hemline to the hose-tops for Queen and Country and having to clamber over a raw construction site in the muddy countryside is officially *beyond* the call of duty....

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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Nationalist Gobbledegook: The Free Trade Papers

by Michael Hart

It has now been four years since Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan signed the free-trade pact and the mythmakers are out in full force trying to craft revisionist accounts of how we got there. Three books with free trade as their main theme are now on the shelf at W.H. Smith. The count is a firm two to one for the Luddites. The only thing all three have in common is that they are readable. Too bad. I would have preferred that the woolly thinking that marks two of them had been accompanied by fuzzy writing. In fact, all three are extremely well crafted and make for compelling reading. Full credit to the perfidious peddlars of perversion.

On *Morningside*, *Canada AM*, and *CBC Newsworld*, Canadians were confidently told that James Robinson III — chairman of American Express — is the man who bears prime responsibility for many of the ills that afflict the land. Apparently, it was Robinson who managed to get the US government to negotiate a business-dictated free-trade agreement with Canada so that the rich would get richer and the poor poorer. This Robinson fellow is no piker. He did his selling job so deftly that even Brian Mulroney became convinced that it was all his own idea. At least that is what Linda McQuaig would like us to believe in *The Quick and the Dead: Brian Mulroney, Big Business and the Seduction of Canada* (Toronto: Viking, 1991).

McQuaig's approach is, of course, not wholly original. But it is told with such zest and zeal that there will be a depressingly large number of Canadians prepared to accept this fatuous account of how major policy ideas are conceived and executed. I expected more of someone advertised as being one of Canada's premier investigative journalists: someone who supposedly learned the art of interviewing, checking sources and collating material. Apparently not. Like cigarettes, *The Quick and the Dead* should be sold with a warning that reading it may be bad for the mental health of all but the cadres of the left.

McQuaig's pessimistic view of the world colours every page. In her view, trade takes

place in a world of finite wealth where global corporations seek to grab an ever-increasing share of the pie at the expense of "ordinary" people. For her, international trade and investment lead to a Hobbesian world where life is nasty, brutish and short. The so-called globalization taking place is nothing new; it is no more than a fancy term justifying the grab for wealth and power by faceless global corporations. Dare we see the slick manipulations here of the seven gnomes of Zurich?

*Like cigarettes,
The Quick and the
Dead should be sold
with a warning that
reading it may be bad
for the mental health
of all but the cadres
of the left.*

She accepts that the IMF, OECD, GATT and other international organizations have applauded Canada's pursuit of a more market-based approach to trade and industrial policy. But that is because they are no more than dupes for international business. (The gnomes again?) The Macdonald Commission appears to have been similarly captured by the business elite. She reaches this conclusion by conveniently ignoring most of its report, including its detailed description of the Canadian economy and its recommendations on industrial policy. She blithely asserts that the Commission had no advice for the poor and powerless, thus conveniently sweeping its recommendations on a guaranteed annual income and other social policy measures under the rug. If its seventy-one volumes of research and 1,910-page report were too meaty for her, at least she could have taken the trouble to read the

convenient summaries prepared for the media. She appears instead to have relied solely on the rather biased views of that group of dissident researchers who brought us *The Other Macdonald Report*.

The book is permeated by an "us" versus "them" mentality, the us being "ordinary" Canadians stripped of their power by a spineless government captured by "them", the faceless, amoral international corporations. "They" are in turn controlled by a relatively small group of people who manage international capital. Her preference appears to be for the kind of soulless statism that millions have rejected in Eastern Europe. She is convinced that the combination of politicians and bureaucrats are more likely to protect the "little" people than are the managers of international capital. The flaw, of course, is that the Free-Trade Agreement (FTA) and the rest of the business agenda were brought to you precisely by the politicians and bureaucrats. That is why she has to characterize the current crop as having been "seduced" by the blandishments of James Robinson and Ed Pratt, chairman of the pharmaceutical giant, Pfizer, apparently the two most powerful people in America during the FTA negotiations. Ronald Reagan, James Baker and George Shultz were mere putty in their hands.

The book, of course, has its redeeming features. Her economic illiteracy, for example, is touchingly romantic. She paints wonderful pictures of a rosy past, when Canada was ruled by sturdy Canadian nationalists ready to withstand the American horde. She wants to remind us of those halcyon days when Wall Street was dominated by small, prestigious firms with integrity rather than the large, rapacious firms of today, J.P. Morgan and Diamond Jim Brady notwithstanding.

In her zeal to demonstrate that US business subverted Canada into a free-trade agreement that it did not want but which would serve the interests of international capital, McQuaig has to exaggerate the role of their friends in Canada, largely BCNI heavyweights like Tom d'Aquino, Alf Powis and David Culver. They are given a prominence that eases the task of her revisionist chronology of events. Little did Tom

and his colleagues know that they were being manipulated by Robinson and his sophisticated band of lobbyists and admen. Robinson and his agents, including former USTR Bill Brock, apparently took great pains to make these guys believe that free trade was a Canadian idea.

After assigning the starring role to US business tycoons, there was no room left to deal with the many others whom I mistakenly thought had played at least supporting or cameo roles. I sought in vain for Peter Lougheed, the premier of Alberta whose passionate espousal of free trade proved critical to convincing Mulroney that free trade made political sense. Clayton Yeutter, United States trade representative during the negotiations, is not to be found. Sylvia Ostry, Reisman's deputy for multilateral negotiations is similarly absent, as is Walter Light, the first chairman of the federal government's International Trade Advisory Committee. Also missing from the action are Dick Lipsey, one of Canada's most respected economists, a leading proponent of free trade and author of an influential book advocating an agreement and John Crispo, Toronto business economist and tireless free-trade crusader. McQuaig appears never to have heard of Tom Burns, former president of the Canadian Exporters Association whose consultations with business in 1985 were an important confidence-builder for government and business alike or of Tom Hockin, chairman of the joint parliamentary committee that sought the views of Canadians during the summer of 1985 and recommended that the government proceed to exploratory negotiations. The minor roles assigned to trade ministers Jim Kelleher and Pat Carney further underline the political agenda of this book. The FTA is Brian Mulroney's agreement and his alone; he was the agent of Ronald Reagan who in turn was the puppet of US business moguls.

Having finished this grim fairy tale, I turned to that old crusader, Mel Hurtig, and found that he had done the impossible. He has succeeded in making McQuaig's effort look sober and scholarly. With his usual gusto and energy, he has now decided to try the other side of the book trade. The result is *The Betrayal of Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1991). The transition from failed publisher to failed writer has been swift and complete.

To the initiated, Hurtig's accomplishments as an analyst and researcher are clear from the beginning. He has none. A few examples drawn from the opening pages should suffice. The first is that old chestnut about the communications memo leaked in September, 1985 purporting that the government was determined to "sell" rather than explain the free-trade negotiations. He ascribes

its drafting squarely to the Prime Minister's office and its approach as vintage Mulroney. He does not want to know that the leaked document was an early draft of a routine memo produced by the communications specialists. If I remember correctly, not even the political fellows had as yet had a crack at it, let alone senior officials or ministers. In short, it had none of the attributes essential to the thesis he is determined to prove.

We also read once again about the "secret deal" on exchange rates. He too wants us to believe that the increase in the exchange rate since 1988 is due solely to a deal so secret that none of those involved knew about it. And all this time I naively thought the increase in the value of the dollar was the result of complex factors influencing its long-term float such as the federal deficit, the need for federal and provincial governments to raise funds on the US bond market, the need to attract foreign investors, and John Crow's anti-inflation crusade. I hope someone can reassure me on this one.

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I do not need any reassuring on his third chestnut: Canadians were never told what the free-trade negotiations involved. I will not dispute that Mel Hurtig never understood what was involved, but that is not because the government kept him in the dark. It is hard to find a major policy issue that was studied and discussed in greater detail before final decisions were taken. As I remember it, from 1983 on, every university in the country sponsored at least one free-trade conference or seminar. Every business convention during that period had free trade as a central part of its program. Every think tank sponsored conferences and colloquia. For a year after it took office, the government consulted anyone who had a view to express. It issued discussion papers (conveniently collected in a January, 1986 booklet) which described the issues involved in the negotiations in great detail. A ministerial task force held hearings in fifteen cities across the country. Numerous meetings with

provincial politicians and officials elicited their views. Provincial governments in turn held their own hearings. A Royal Commission, on the basis of extensive hearings, prepared one of the most exhaustive analyses of the issues ever undertaken. A special commissioner was appointed to take briefs from business and other special interest groups. A Parliamentary Committee toured the country. All this before the government took the decision to proceed in September, 1985.

Hurtig's book is a tougher slog than McQuaig's. The anger is less subtle and the nonsense harder to take. There is no room for whimsy or humour. The future of the country is at stake! He is a hard case and will need a lot of remedial work. With the free time he now has available, perhaps he can be persuaded to take Economics 101 at the University of Alberta. I do not think sending McQuaig back to school will do much good. I think she knows better, but has discovered that crap sells.

If Mel takes the course, he can learn a little bit about cause and effect, a subject on which he is particularly weak. He is quite right in suggesting that there are some fundamental problems in the Canadian economy which will require some wrenching adjustment if Canadians are going to continue to enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world. Free trade is part of the cure; it is not the cause. The cause is that we are living beyond our means. Governments at all three levels are spending more than they are taking in. Productivity is slipping. Per-unit manufacturing costs are higher than in the USA. Wages are rising faster. Domestic and international borrowing are driving up the value of the dollar. These are complex issues requiring sophisticated responses.

In Econ 101, he will learn that his solutions — closed borders to trade and investment — are likely to deepen Canada's woes. The professor will tell him, for example, about the New Zealand experience, where a socialist government learned the hard way that small, open economies cannot ignore the world around them. He will learn that even large ones cannot do so with impunity, with the first years of the Mitterand government being used as exhibit one. Argentina is likely to figure prominently as the prime example of what happens when you insist on isolating your economy. Fifty years' of mismanagement there offer a wealth of evidence.

He will, of course, also learn that there is plenty of debate and controversy about what works and what does not. Economics is not a monolithic science. He will discover, however, that what distinguishes debate among economists is a healthy respect for analysis and research, and a great suspicion of simple explanations and single causes.

He will ascertain, for example, that economists, in analyzing the decline in manufacturing employment in Canada in 1990-91, are examining a number of phenomena. In the first place, they are looking at the effect of the recession. They will insist that much of the decline is due to the slowdown in business activity taking place around the globe that had nothing to do with the FTA. The same thing happened in 1981-82, with some of the impacts being even more severe. Secondly, he will learn that some of the lost jobs are the result of structural adjustment, some in reaction to free trade, others to changes in fiscal policy, exchange rates, technology and other exogenous factors. Finally, he will learn that there is a secular downward trend in manufacturing employment as we gradually become a more knowledge-based, service economy, a trend discernible now for more than twenty years and not limited to Canada. It is taking place in every OECD country. As jobs are disappearing in the manufacturing sector, new ones are being created in the service sector. Canada has been very good at this, posting the best record in the OECD over the past ten years.

If he listens carefully, it should gradually dawn on him that many of the ills that he attributes to free trade are in fact the result of pressures we face as a relatively small, open economy in an increasingly interdependent, global economy. We are not alone. Australia and New Zealand, to name but two, are experiencing even more painful structural adjustments than Canada. They and others are all adopting the same policy mix as Canada: less regulation, more open trade and investment regimes, tighter fiscal policies. Even the Swedes have cried uncle and are adopting a more conservative policy mix. They too have recognized that shielding people from economic reality brings short-term gain and long-term pain. They too are turning to the policies that seem to have the greatest support among mainstream economists the world over. It is possible that all these economists are wrong, that the OECD, IMF, IBRD, and GATT are all wrong, and that Hurtig is right. Somehow, I do not think so. That is why I think he will benefit from taking the whole course.

If he succeeds at Econ 101, Hurtig should take a basic course in statistics the following semester. Mel has a wonderful way with statistics. So wonderful that he proudly boasts that he is presenting some of them in print for the first time. Someone should tell him that they have not been revealed before because they are dead wrong. In other cases, the numbers may be right, but the explanation somewhat fanciful.

He wants us to know that under Brian Mulroney, Canada's share of world trade

slipped from 5.1 percent to 3.6 percent. I looked up the numbers. We did once hit 5.1, in 1971! Brian Mulroney was then a young lawyer in Montreal. In the 1980s, we went from 3.4 in 1980, to 4.6 in 1984 and 1985, to 3.9 in 1989 and 3.8 in 1990. But who cares? World trade shares are calculated on the basis of statistics denominated in US dollars. The changing numbers tell us more about the ups and downs of the US dollar than about anything else. What counts is that throughout the 1980s, Canadian trade — both imports and exports — grew steadily as we became more and more integrated into the global economy. I think we benefit from trade: Mel does not. I don't think this is a gap that can be bridged. But at least he should tell a straight story.

What he does with the numbers on investment is nothing short of amazing. Of course, that is a field he has been cultivating for many years without learning much. He wants us to know that Canada's net international investment position in 1990 was \$259.2 billion in the hole. I could say so what? Checking the numbers, however, I found out that there is more to it than this simple sum. His number represents the sum of indebtedness to foreigners. It includes the book value of accumulated FDI at the end of 1990 (\$126.6 billion) less Canadian assets abroad plus the value of portfolio investment held in Canada by foreigners (\$229.1 billion). The latter is made up largely of government bonds floated by the provinces, the hydros and the federal government in New York and elsewhere.

Mel does not make much of the steady increase in Canadian direct investment abroad, now worth \$84.8 billion. In effect, therefore, the net investment position that tells us something about foreign ownership is \$-41.8 billion, 16 percent of \$-259.2 billion Mel put forward. Phew!

He also makes a big deal out of the large sums sent to the US each year as dividend payments. Most of that turns out to be governments servicing their debts, debts Mel does not think much about and is prepared to increase. A little gap in his logic here. In fact, 80 percent of the increase in the book value of FDI in Canada is the result of re-investment of retained earnings. Foreigners continue to have confidence in Canada and do not send their dollars home.

Mel also forgets to tell us that Canadians have been steadily increasing their own stake in the economy. US ownership and control of non-financial corporations reached a high of 27 percent in 1971. It was down to under 17 percent in 1987, the latest year for which reliable statistics are available. Overall foreign ownership is now under 25 percent, a figure that is not far out of line with that of

other smaller, open economies. What distinguishes Canada is the dominance of one country. But then not everyone lives next door to the largest, most productive economy in the world. It is questionable whether we would have been able to achieve our standard of living without this boon of geography.

While we are on investment, perhaps someone can give him a call and tell him that there is a positive dimension to foreign direct investment. Canadians gain access to foreign technology, management expertise, production know-how and innovation, new markets and new jobs as a result of two-way FDI. I know Mel would prefer that all this come from Canadian sources. The trouble is there are not enough of us and we do not know everything. Even the Americans are learning that they need others. And there are 270 million of them.

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But what I really cannot understand is why Mel, who is so constipated about US foreign direct investment, keeps complaining about US companies closing shop and going home. You would think he would cheer each US-controlled factory closure as providing another opportunity for those held back by the dominance of the multinationals. He needs to think this one through. Recent studies suggest that foreign-based firms are more active exporters, are more efficient and more profitable. They make a large contribution to the economy. That is why countries all around the globe are actively competing for more foreign direct investment.

Fortunately, there is an antidote to all this nonsense, and it comes from an unexpected corner, the university campus. Rather than the usual indigestible mass of facts and theories that are the hallmark of much academic writing, Bruce Doern and Brian Tomlin have crafted a convincing, balanced and readable account of the free-trade story, *Faith and Fear: The Free Trade Story* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1991). Their book reflects interviews with many of the principals, pro and con, a detailed reading of the thousands of pages written on both the events and the

substance and a sophisticated understanding of the economics, politics and institutions involved on both sides of the border. (Look for a detailed review in the next issue of **bout**.)

The real problem, of course, is not that McQuaig and Hurtig are wasting thousands of trees in displaying the confused trappings of their minds but that they are lionized by the media as if they had something important to say and a contribution to make. Their publishers are to be congratulated for getting them the kind of air time they received, but the producers who made that time available should hang their heads in shame. And the interviewers with the breathless questions desperately need to go back to school to learn some of the basics of their journalistic craft. Therein lies the rub. Canada is increasingly becoming the victim of a wilfully underinformed media, a media that takes pride in its ignorance. A media with its own axe to grind. In all other walks of life, specialization has become an accepted practice. Not in Canada's media. Publishers are unprepared to hire specialists. Editors do not assign stories in order to nurture a more sophisticated knowledge of a particular field. Few working journalists are prepared to take the time to develop the sources and the knowledge to provide incisive analysis of complicated subjects. Most come to the issues with their minds made up.

There are, of course, exceptions. The *Globe and Mail* used its *Report on Business* staff to review McQuaig and Hurtig. Both reviewers did an excellent job of demonstrating that these books are old hat and nonsense. Der Hoi Yin on the CBC did a marvellous job of showing the dishonesty of Hurtig's statistical gerrymandering. But I am sorry to say that they are in the minority and that most Canadians were given the impression by the media — particularly the electronic media, the source of most Canadians' news — that two "serious" people had done a first-class job of investigating the dangers of free trade and how we got there.

In all other walks of life, specialization has become an accepted practice. Not in Canada's media.

The issues raised by such a complex undertaking as the negotiation of a free-trade agreement require hard work if they are to be understood and then explained in the simple, straightforward language which modern mass

communication requires. Literacy is more than a matter of saying things well; it is also a matter of understanding the issues being discussed.

Is there a solution? Yes. Those of us in government can learn to be a little more straightforward and open. We make the job of the naysayers so easy. We have forgotten how to tell a straight story. Everything has to be shaped by the spin doctors. The simple truth has to be varnished. We write for ourselves in obscure briefing books in a style that only bureaucrats can appreciate. We are no longer able to conduct an intelligent disclosure with outsiders. Even when we do, we get nervous that someone may write about us publicly. Why do we continue to do this to ourselves and to our political masters? We have abdicated our responsibility to communications gurus who talk about ventilating ideas, cannot finish a paragraph without running it by a focus group, and wait for the polls before deciding what should be in a speech. Ugh!

Michael Hart has been posted to Geneva. He was a member of the Trade Negotiations Office responsible for contingency protection issues and has held academic positions most recently with the University of Ottawa. He is the author of a number of books and articles on trade policy and is currently Director of Economic Planning at EAITC.

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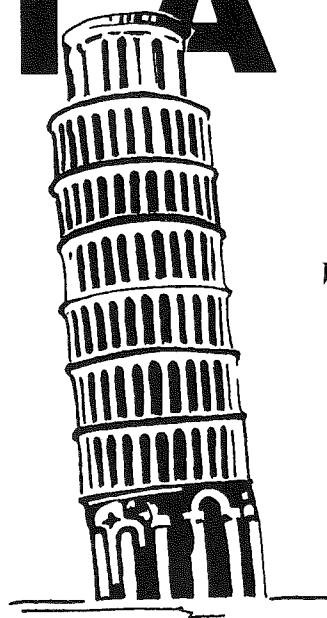
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Le Canada à l'Organisation des États américains (OEA)

par Jean-Paul Hubert

Le 27 octobre 1989, le Premier ministre Mulroney annonçait à San José, Costa Rica, que le Canada n'entendait plus « rester à l'écart » de l'Hémisphère : nous allions donc adhérer à l'OEA et « devenir des citoyens à part entière qui jouent un rôle constructif au sein des Amériques ». Pour le Secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures, alors M. Joe Clark, ce geste témoignait d'un changement dans la perception des Amériques par le Canada : plus que notre « maison », disait-il, nous entendons y voir notre « foyer », notre « chez-nous ». Le 8 janvier 1990 notre pays devenait ainsi le 33^{ième} membre de l'OEA en ratifiant le Pacte de Bogota. C'était 100 ans après la naissance du système inter-américain, et 18 ans après notre admission en tant qu'observateur à l'OEA.

La décision canadienne était immédiatement reçue avec grande satisfaction, en Amérique latine, dans les Caraïbes, aux États-Unis. Pour le Président Carlos Andres Perez du Venezuela, avec l'arrivée du Canada « des perspectives nouvelles et intéressantes s'ouvrent pour le renouveau de l'OEA, (...) prisonnière d'un traditionalisme dépassé dans le monde (...) d'aujourd'hui ». Et nombreux sont ceux qui voyaient avec lui, en la présence du Canada, un facteur potentiel important pour cet exercice devenu combien nécessaire de renouveau du « système inter-américain » et de son adaptation aux réalités changeantes à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur de l'hémisphère.

Deux ans plus tard, les commentaires entendus dans les milieux proches de l'OEA sont unanimes : la présence du Canada a déjà contribué au changement de ton dans certains débats, à des approches nouvelles à certains problèmes, au fait que certains sujets considérés naguère comme trop délicats, voire tabous, sont maintenant soulevés plus naturellement ou avec plus de franchise.

Le Canada n'aurait pas pu mieux choisir son moment pour se joindre à l'OEA. En effet, suite aux transformations politiques et

économiques aussi profondes que rapides en train de modifier le panorama mondial, la prise de conscience d'un important accroissement d'intérêts communs dans un nombre grandissant de secteurs ayant des incidences directes sur notre mieux-être national exigeait cette décision par le Canada d'enfin franchir ce pas qui le faisait s'associer de façon immédiate à tout ensemble de défis hémisphériques conjoints. Pour la première fois dans l'histoire des Amériques, ou du moins à un degré jusqu'ici inconnu, tous les pays de l'hémisphère (si l'on excepte l'anachronisme que constitue Cuba) paraissent reconnaître qu'en effet ils participent d'une vaste communauté d'intérêts.

[L]es États-Unis, peut-être pour la première fois de leur histoire, peuvent reconnaître qu'ils ont besoin des Amériques d'une façon qui exigent des politiques à caractère novateur, ouvert et vraiment coopératif

Or pour que les choses en viennent vraiment à « fusionner » au sein d'un organisme multilatéral composé de membres aussi différents que l'OEA, une sorte de « volonté collective » doit surgir; je crois que les chances de voir cela se produire sont meilleures que jamais auparavant.

Dans une certaine mesure on peut attribuer un développement aussi positif à la fin de la guerre froide. La disparition de ce que, à tort ou à raison, on percevait, au sein de l'hémisphère, comme une menace idéologique en provenance d'une « puissance externe » permet en effet que l'OEA ne soit plus utilisée ou considérée comme un instrument ou un outil dans des confrontations nées de cette guerre froide. Ce « prisme déformant » n'existant plus, les États-Unis, peut-être pour la première fois de leur histoire, peuvent reconnaître qu'ils ont besoin des Amériques d'une façon qui exigent des politiques à caractère novateur, ouvert et vraiment coopératif (dont « l'Initiative Entreprise pour les Amériques » lancée par le président Bush en juin 1990 pourrait constituer un exemple).

De façon coïncidente, l'émergence de démocraties dans tous les pays de l'hémisphère (à l'exception de Cuba), même si elles sont parfois faibles ou « à basse densité », confirme également que les choses évoluent de façon positive. Et ici l'OEA a su démontrer, avec une rapidité qu'on ne lui connaissait pas, qu'elle était apte à jouer un rôle actif et, espérons-le, efficace dans la naissance, renaissance ou consolidation de ces démocraties et de leurs institutions et processus. Par exemple, elle a participé de façon majeure à l'observation et au monitoring des difficiles élections au Nicaragua. Elle a de plus, dans ce même pays, et en rapport avec la démobilisation et réintégration des « contras », assumé un rôle que l'ONU considérerait soit trop osé soit trop dangereux pour elle. De nombreux Canadiens ont été impliqués de façon visible dans cet exercice, grâce en partie à nos politiques reconnues comme équilibrées en Amérique centrale. Pour diriger sa cruciale mission électorale en Haïti en novembre-décembre 1990, c'est au Canada que l'OEA a fait appel en tout premier lieu. M. Pierre Côté, directeur des élections au Québec, a été choisi pour diriger toute l'opération. Et ce furent des Canadiens qui composèrent l'armature

centrale de la présence de l'OEA dans ce pays.

C'est le Canada qui a introduit lors de sa toute première Assemblée générale à l'OEA, à Asunción, Paraguay, en juin de 1990, une résolution demandant la création au sein de l'Organisation d'une *Unité pour la promotion de la démocratie*. Venant des *new kids on the block*, des *p'tits nouveaux* que nous étions, cette initiative canadienne a paru osée à plusieurs, dans une organisation où la principe de la non-intervention tient lieu de pierre angulaire. Un an plus tard, à Santiago, cette Unité se voyait pleinement sanctionnée par les ministres des Affaires étrangères de l'OEA au moment où ils adoptaient « l'Engagement de Santiago envers la démocratie et le renouvellement du système interaméricain »; ils y manifestent leur volonté ferme d'adopter des mesures efficaces, opportunes et expéditives en vue d'assurer la promotion et la défense de la démocratie dans l'hémisphère. Le coup d'état du 30 septembre dernier à Haïti allait rapidement mettre cette nouvelle détermination à l'épreuve, on ignore encore avec quel bonheur.

L'hémisphère tout entier connaît aussi présentement des changements profonds au plan économique. En termes relatifs, l'Amérique latine et, dans un degré un peu moindre les Caraïbes, sont à vivre ce qu'il est permis d'appeler de véritables « révolutions économiques ». Et est-il besoin de mentionner, plus au Nord, les négociations en cours entre le Canada, les États-Unis et le Mexique en vue de la création d'une zone de libre échange qui pourrait constituer, entre le Yukon et le Yucatan, le premier pas vers un vaste marché unifié qui s'étendrait de l'Alaska à l'Argentine. De sincères efforts en vue de la libéralisation du commerce et de l'ouverture des marchés se répandent à travers l'ensemble des Amériques. Les investissements étrangers ne sont plus considérés comme des instruments de « domination ». Les pays de l'hémisphère se sont retrouvés unis comme jamais auparavant dans un effort concerté pour assurer le succès du « cycle Uruguay » des négociations du GATT.

Il y a quelques semaines à peine se terminait à Washington la première réunion depuis des décennies des ministres du commerce de l'OEA, avec comme agenda la réalisation d'un bilan provisoire de ce vertigineux — littéralement — ensemble de bouleversements économiques. La voix du Canada y a été écoutée avec attention, non pas que nous ayons des leçons à donner à quiconque, mais parce que nous apportons à ces rencontres une façon de dire et de faire qui donne aux débats hémisphériques une nouveauté d'approches qui faisait défaut. De plus, notre propre vécu avec nos puissants partenaires économiques d'outre 49^{ème}

intéressent grandement les autres membres de l'OEA.

Pour en terminer en cette matière d'économie et d'échanges commerciaux, il m'apparaît qu'alors que nous sommes témoins de l'émergence de nombreux centres de pouvoir économique se disputant le leadership mondial, l'Amérique latine et les Caraïbes acquièrent non seulement pour les États-Unis mais davantage encore pour le Canada, pays à faible population, pays avec une large capacité productive, et donc pays largement dépendant de son commerce extérieur, une signification et une importance nouvelles pour notre propre développement et mieux-être.

Les droits de la personne, un sujet traditionnellement difficile et délicat à l'OEA, font maintenant l'objet de discussions beaucoup plus franches et ouvertes que ne le soupçonne le grand public. La vaste majorité des membres reconnaissent et admettent qu'il y a place à beaucoup d'amélioration. Sans prétendre que ces changements d'attitude sont dus à la seule présence du Canada, je ne peux que souligner la participation active et influente du Canada à chacune des 26 sessions de travail consacrées au renforcement de l'OEA en matière de droits de la personne entre les Assemblées générales de 1990 et 1991. L'élection du Canada, si tôt après son entrée à l'OEA, à la vice-présidence de l'importante Commission des affaires juridiques et politiques du Conseil permanent (c'est elle qui s'occupe des droits de la personne) peut aussi s'interpréter comme une preuve de confiance et reconnaissance à l'endroit des politiques canadiennes sur ces questions dans d'autres fora, notamment à l'ONU. Le Canada a défendu avec acharnement le rapport annuel 1990/1991 de la Commission interaméricaine des droits de l'homme, rapport qui allait plus loin que jamais dans la dénonciation d'abus précis et identifiés dans les Amériques.

La protection de l'environnement dans un contexte de développement durable est un autre parmi les sujets qui non seulement se prêtent mais exigent une action concertée aux plans aussi bien régional que global. Déjà il s'agit de l'un des trois secteurs que l'Agence canadienne de développement international (ACDI) a choisi de privilégier au plan de ses contributions spéciales aux fonds pour la coopération technique de l'OEA. La dernière Assemblée générale a lancé le tout premier programme d'action hémisphérique pour la protection de l'environnement, dans l'élaboration duquel le Canada s'est impliqué dès la première heure. Il nous apparaît bien évident cependant qu'il nous faudra être vigilants en vue d'éviter les doubles emplois coûteux avec ce que pourront être les résultats de la très

importante Conférence de Rio sur l'Environnement et le Développement (juin 1992).

La dernière en date des initiatives canadiennes à l'OEA a pris la forme d'une demande de notre part, en mai dernier, de faire inscrire à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence générale du mois suivant l'étude des voies et moyens de contenir la prolifération des armements et d'assurer plus de transparence dans leurs transferts. Notre initiative qu'un journaliste a qualifié de « véritable pavé dans la tranquille mare de l'OEA » a surpris tout le monde et en a fait sourciller plus d'un dans un continent où il arrive encore fréquemment que les gouvernements civils sentent le regard des militaires par dessus leurs épaules. Mais en dépit de cela, ce sujet naguère tabou fait maintenant carrément partie de l'agenda de l'Organisation. Cette proposition canadienne a été à l'origine d'une autre initiative, centro-américaine celle-là, de créer un groupe de travail du Conseil permanent sur la sécurité en général sur le continent, sous tous ses angles (sécurité collective, rapports entre civils et militaires, mais aussi sécurité économique et environnementale).

La production, le trafic et la consommation illicite de drogues, un véritable cancer qui affecte de façon multiforme les sociétés de toutes les Amériques, est un autre sujet qui occupe une place prioritaire à l'agenda de l'OEA. Aussitôt entré à l'OEA, le Canada a été élu à la Commission interaméricaine de contrôle sur l'abus des drogues (CICAD), et est devenu l'un de ses membres les plus actifs. Nous avons été les hôtes, à Ottawa, l'été dernier, et pour la troisième fois au Canada, d'un séminaire d'entraînement pour des officiers de justice responsables de l'application de lois antidrogues venus des pays membres de l'Organisation.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, séparé mais connexe, plusieurs des questions abordées ci-haut posent à l'OEA des défis aussi nouveaux que pressants dans le domaine du développement d'instruments juridiques interaméricains. Il s'agit là d'un secteur où traditionnellement le Système a su faire preuve d'innovation, mais ces défis requièrent maintenant une volonté renouvelée et un renouveau d'imagination. Le Canada, en raison de sa double appartenance aux régimes de droit civil et de *common law*, sera certes appelé, ici aussi, à contribuer de façon valable et apprécié.

Ces nombreux exemples montrent à mon avis que l'OEA, enfin, est à développer ce que ses membres sont unanimes à considérer comme un « agenda positif et opportun ». La conclusion générale d'un petit « groupe de réflexion » nommé par le Secrétaire général avait justement été, en résumé, la nécessité d'élaborer et de mettre en place un

tel « agenda positif ». Encore une fois, il avait été considéré normal et naturel que le Canada en soit. Si l'OEA est ainsi capable de se donner en ce moment ce genre d'agenda, j'estime que pour une bonne part cela est dû au fait que les rapports ou relations inter-américaines sont entrés dans une phase unique où les problèmes bilatéraux sont réduits à un minimum, où les vieux soupçons se dissipent, où une communauté d'intérêts sans précédent se voit reconnue par tous les membres, grands et petits. Bien que l'OEA demeure certes très perfectible (son appareil de coopération technique me vient à l'esprit), je persiste à penser qu'elle est en meilleure position que jamais de se transformer en un forum où ses membres, pour différents qu'ils soient, peuvent vraiment développer entre eux une dynamique élaborée de façon à la fois collective et coordonnée.

Dans son rapport de février 1990, le Comité permanent du parlement canadien pour les Affaires extérieures et le commerce international recommandait, au moment même où nous nous incorporions à l'OEA, que le Canada y soit « un membre actif, autonome, et efficace ». S'appuyant sur sa présence respectée depuis longtemps au sein de plusieurs autres organismes interaméricains, je me permets de croire que le Canada a réussi, en bien peu de temps, à s'imposer et

être reconnu comme, précisément, participant « actif, autonome et efficace » dans l'émergence à un rythme accéléré de cette communauté d'intérêts décrite auparavant. Une OEA dépourvue d'un tel facteur d'unité dans son dessein ne mériterait ni notre attention, ni celle de quiconque.

*[[Il] y a bien sûr
place à la prudence. Le
Système interaméricain
n'est pas né d'hier,
et son histoire regorge
de précédents peu
reluisants. Nous y
sommes venus bien
récemment, ... et
sur le tard.*

Malgré cette image très encourageante de l'OEA relativement à son évolution en cours,

il y a bien sûr place à la prudence. Le Système interaméricain n'est pas né d'hier, et son histoire regorge de précédents peu reluisants. Nous y sommes venus bien récemment, ... et sur le tard. À bien des égards, l'OEA demeure une organisation asymétrique, avec une tendance bien naturelle à regarder les choses à partir de vieux modèles ou de certaines conceptions avec lesquelles nous avons voulu, ou préféré, être étrangers. Certains de nos partenaires latino-américains et des Caraïbes se demandent comment l'OEA pourrait bien s'insérer dans ce « nouvel ordre mondial » proclamé tous azimuts; le Canada devra être attentif à cette préoccupation. Enfin, après une bonne lancée, notre crédibilité hémisphérique devra continuer à s'affirmer par des efforts suivis et constants si elle doit être préservée et maintenue dans le long terme. 

Jean-Paul Hubert a déjà été en poste à Madrid, La Havane et Paris. Il a été le représentant personnel du PM pour les Sommets de la Francophonie (1988 et 1990). Après avoir été Ambassadeur du Canada au Sénégal de 1988 à 1990, il est maintenant Ambassadeur du Canada et Représentant permanent à l'OEA à Washington.

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Lettre de Paris

par Roger Paul Gilbert

Une absence de quelques années de la capitale française accorde suffisamment de recul à l'observateur pour mesurer les changements qui se sont imposés à la France comme partenaire de la Communauté européenne, comme puissance située au carrefour de l'Est et l'Ouest et comme partenaire de la Francophonie. Envisagée sous ces rapports, la politique étrangère de la France et la relation France-Canada ont subi des modifications à la mesure de la nouvelle conjoncture : telles sont les impressions de l'auteur à l'issue d'un séjour en France.

L'Europe en gestation

La solidarité européenne de la France a été une fois de plus mise à l'épreuve ces derniers mois par le veto de la Commission de la Communauté européenne de Bruxelles contre le rachat de la société canadienne De Havilland par le groupe franco-italien Aérospatiale-Alenia : « Crime contre l'Europe », de s'écrier Michel Rocard dans le *Nouvel Observateur*, rompant ainsi son silence de premier ministre « viré de l'Élysée ». Or, le projet d'acquisition se heurtait à un règlement communautaire de décembre 1989 en vertu duquel la Commission s'attribuait des compétences décisionnelles en matière de concentration industrielle. Depuis septembre 1990, date d'entrée en vigueur du règlement les experts européens doivent examiner tous les projets de concentration ou de fusion entre grandes entreprises, de manière à ce que l'Europe communautaire puisse, grâce à une politique industrielle, faire face à la concurrence américaine et japonaise.

Le vice-président britannique de la Commission européenne, Sir Leon Brittan, a dû soutenir la politique de la CE adoptée pourtant à l'unanimité en période de présidence française « après quinze années de négociations difficiles et de nombreux blocages ... en mesurant pleinement les implications du règlement en cause et sachant parfaitement comment il serait appliqué ».

Soupçonné de parti pris en faveur de la société British Aerospace, Sir Leon a cru bon de rappeler dans le quotidien *Le Monde* que la Commission a dû obliger cette société à rembourser le gouvernement britannique après qu'elle eût racheté le groupe automobile Rover à un prix artificiellement bas. D'autres sociétés étrangères ont été contraintes ainsi de payer le juste prix d'acquisition de terrain ou ont dû payer des amendes sévères, par

exemple cent millions de dollars dans le cas d'une société suédoise pour avoir cherché à éliminer les concurrents en Italie et dans l'ensemble de la CE.

Or, le cas de De Havilland est jugé différemment, selon Sir Leon, puisqu'il n'existait pas de menace extérieure américaine ou autre mais plutôt une menace intérieure à la Communauté dans un marché relativement réduit de construction d'avion à turbo-propulseurs. L'acquisition de la société canadienne équivaudrait à ses yeux « à l'achat par le producteur numéro un du producteur numéro deux » en importance, ce qui aurait eu pour effet de créer un certain monopole européen en profit d'Aérospatiale-Alenia et de laisser « un grand nombre de concurrents européens beaucoup moins importants se battre pour de simples restes »...

Pour le vieux politologue Maurice Duverger, « la Communauté européenne va mal ... incapable d'imaginer les modalités et les étapes de son ouverture à la grande Europe que l'effondrement des régimes communistes rend à la fois possible et nécessaire ». La révision des traités fondateurs visant à établir une politique économique, une monnaie unique, une diplomatie et une défense communes devaient être complétée avant le 31 décembre 1991 afin que ceux-ci soient ratifiés par les parlements nationaux, ce qui assurerait le fonctionnement du grand marché au 1^{er} janvier 1993. L'attachement des États à leur souveraineté et leur méfiance à l'égard d'un pouvoir économique communautaire réel reflètent, selon Duverger, l'impuissance des douze chefs d'État à harmoniser leurs politiques.

Or, Duverger est d'avis que le conflit s'aggrave entre deux conceptions du marché unique : ou bien ce sera l'union douanière qui doit supprimer les frontières au sein des Douze, l'adoption d'un tarif extérieur commun et la mise en place d'une autorité fédérale en matière économique; ou bien ce sera une vaste zone de libre-échange qui liera l'AELE à la CEE « ouverte à tous les vents, y compris ceux venant de Washington ou de Tokyo ».

Le sommet de Maastricht allait mettre en place le train franco-allemand de politique étrangère et de sécurité commune, ouvert à l'adhésion des autres États membres. La marche vers une monnaie commune en 1999 et l'adoption à onze d'une « charte sociale » dans la Grande-Bretagne feront de l'Europe communautaire un train à deux vitesses, laissant à la Commission de Bruxelles des pouvoirs limités en ce qui concerne l'extension de la règle à majorité qualifiée sur des

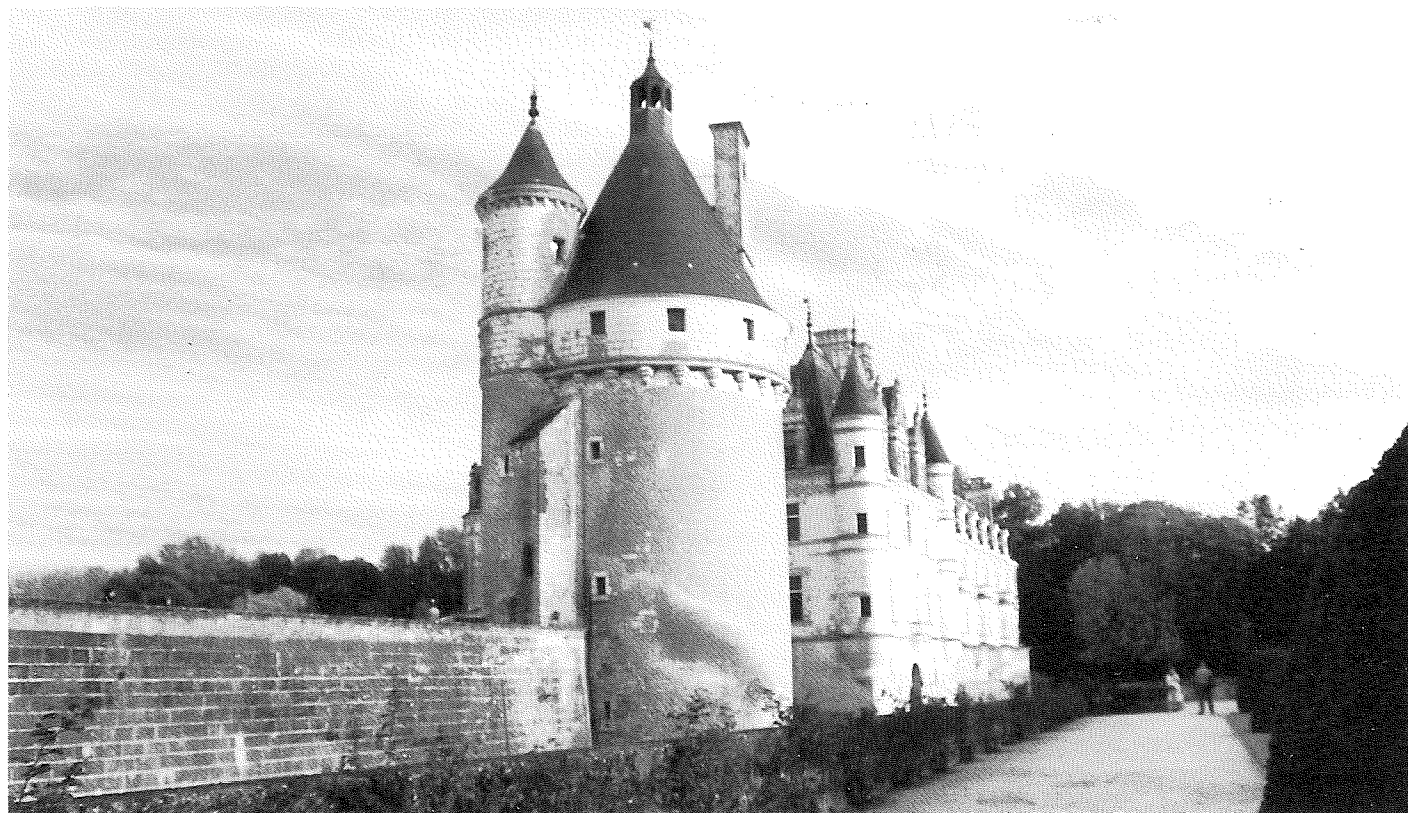
thèmes comme les conditions de travail, l'information des salariés et la promotion du dialogue social, mais exigeant l'unanimité pour la protection sociale des travailleurs ou la représentation collective et bien sûr la politique industrielle. Le franchissement des frontières, la question des visas, les questions judiciaires et de police demeureront sous la juridiction des gouvernements. Pour ce qui est de la portée des accords politiques, le président du Parlement européen, Baron Crespo, a estimé que le champ de cohésion prévu par les nouveaux accords porte sur des sujets à ce point limités, (marché intérieur, environnement, recherche, consommation) qu'il condamnerait l'assemblée de Strasbourg au rôle de parlement « croupion ».

L'accord conclu plus tôt entre la CEE et l'AELE créant l'Espace Économique Européen (EEE) a été néanmoins interprété comme une sorte « d'antichambre » d'un futur grand marché auquel se sont joints, grâce à des accords d'association conclus avec la CEE, la Hongrie, la Tchécoslovaquie et la Pologne.

Il n'empêche, à la suite de la douche froide de l'affaire De Havilland, que le sentiment des milieux d'affaires français est nettement contre la CEE, dont les décisions administratives, sous prétexte d'établir des normes communes, suscitent les réactions épidermiques : il est en effet plus simple, de dire un interlocuteur, de faire accepter aux Français les frais supplémentaires d'un pot catalyseur pour leur voiture, que de leur imposer la consommation du Camembert fabriqué au lait pasteurisé, de quoi provoquer une révolution!

En arrière-plan de ces développements, on perçoit le désir des Européens de gérer eux-même leur propre avenir politique. Tout se passe comme si l'Europe doit réussir son équilibre politico-économique de l'Atlantique à l'Oural ou sombrer dans « un gouffre » d'impuissance. L'un des moyens de cette unité serait de remettre sur les rails, le sommeillant traité de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale, (UEO), qui pourrait servir un jour, suivant une période d'essai de trois ou quatre ans proposée par la France, d'armature de défense commune, les autres pays pouvant s'y joindre.

Toutefois, cette façon de voir la nouvelle orientation politico-militaire de l'Europe semble rejoindre la pensée de Duverger : « il faut choisir entre deux formes d'alliance atlantique. La première comprendrait deux secteurs distincts : l'un américain, l'autre européen, autonome pour toutes les questions concernant le continent européen. La



Château de Chenonceau, France.

seconde maintiendrait la structure actuelle, unifiée sous la direction de Washington ».

Et le Canada?

Le nouveau panorama européen comportant notamment la sécurité et la défense commune et, de manière générale, la priorité accordée aux affaires européennes, semblent laisser peu de place à une présence militaire américaine à plus long terme en sol européen, mise à part la délicate question du parapluie nucléaire américain. Certes, les consultations entre chefs d'État et de gouvernement de l'OTAN à Rome en novembre dernier auront disposé d'un répit de nature à garantir une présence militaire américaine et à dissiper les inquiétudes d'une certaine Europe en proie à une guerre civile sur son flanc sud et menacée de débordement de populations mécontentes à l'Est. Mais le signal aura été donné néanmoins par le président Mitterrand pour qui l'Europe ne peut compter indéfiniment sur l'Amérique pour sa défense.

Que dire de la présence militaire canadienne jugée pour le moins marginale à la présence américaine? Là aussi, des conclusions s'imposaient à un gouvernement dont l'économie se portera mieux une fois allégée d'un engagement de l'ordre de deux milliards de dollars par an consacrés à la défense de l'Europe, mais dont on devra soustraire la contribution éventuelle d'une brigade canadienne de mille cent hommes de troupe. Certes, les milieux officiels français et

canadien exhortent l'observateur à la prudence au sujet d'une défense européenne commune, puisque le projet franco-allemand est loin de faire l'unanimité entre partenaires européens et puisqu'il ne soulève guère l'enthousiasme de Washington. Il n'empêche que la fermeture éventuelle des bases canadiennes de Baden-Soellingen (en 1994) et de Lahr (en 1995) servirait bien la cause économique canadienne dans le contexte du projet de défense commune européenne.

La cote d'amour franco-canadienne

Les relations France-Canada ne connaissent aucune ombre au tableau de l'Ambassade du Canada et de celui de la Délégation générale du Québec à Paris. Les relations privilégiées entre la France et le Québec se produisent dans le prolongement extérieur des compétences internes du Québec, de dire le délégué général, M. Dufour, suivant un concept énoncé au cours des années soixante par Paul Gérin-Lajoie. L'Ambassade du Canada poursuit sa mission de servir les intérêts « pan-canadiens », expression évoquée par l'ambassadeur Claude T. Charland pour signifier qu'il n'y a pas incompatibilité avec les relations directes franco-québécoises, tout en sauvegardant, et sans faire double emploi, l'ensemble de ses compétences au fédéral. Certes, la coopération franco-québécoise, multipliée par quelque trois cents ententes de tous ordres, atteint les vingt millions de dollars par an, mais pour

le reste du Canada, à peine le quart de ces sommes sont affectées à la coopération culturelle dite « hors Québec », comme on la dénomme à la rue de La Pérouse.

Le commerce bilatéral France-Canada, lequel se situe à quatre milliards de dollars, n'est guère reluisant (il stagne dans certains secteurs selon les interlocuteurs français), si on le compare à l'enveloppe du libre-échange canado-américain de cent milliards de dollars. Mais, le domaine des investissements français au Canada a connu d'énormes progrès, en commençant par l'achat de Connaught Laboratories par Mérieux, les deux tiers des investissements français de 1,6 milliard de francs (300 millions de dollars canadiens, chiffre de 1990) préférant s'implanter au Québec, surtout dans le secteur des services. Malgré quelques bons efforts, les investissements canadiens en France sont faibles. Notre interlocutrice pour ces questions au ministère des Finances, à Bercy, a néanmoins réflété une certaine lassitude des milieux d'affaires français à la suite de tant d'effort et de frais de promotion au Canada (projet du pont de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard annulé ou reporté malgré l'intérêt de Bouyges, projet de vente de sous-marins annulé, projet De Havilland pour lequel le ministre Wilson exigea d'Aérospatiale qu'elle ait un partenaire canadien, ce qui n'a pas été le cas de Boeing).

Le plus important projet demeure sans conteste le futur train à grande vitesse devant relier le corridor Québec-Windsor. Les

espoirs français de voir triompher le TGV du consortium Bombardier-Alsthom sont bien sûr très vifs, non seulement pour la France, mais aussi pour l'Ontario dont la part de produits fabriqués sur place atteindrait 60 %, et pour le Québec 25 %, cependant que Montréal aimerait accueillir divers services d'entretien du futur chemin de fer. Certes, beaucoup d'obstacles subsistent avant qu'on ne puisse crier victoire, surtout le financement du futur projet, les pressions éventuelles des écologistes et autres considérations du même genre.

La Francophonie en marche

Pour les uns et les autres, l'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (l'ACCT) entre pays ayant en commun l'usage du français, est un formidable instrument de coopération, le Canada et le Québec se considérant comme des contributeurs non négligeables de cet organisme. Depuis 1984, M. Mulroney consent à partager le « love seat » international des affaires francophones avec M. Bourassa : qu'en sera-t-il lorsque ces derniers ne seront plus au pouvoir? La troisième rencontre du Forum des affaires a réuni en octobre à Paris et La Rochelle plus de délégués qu'attendus, signe du dynamisme et des attentes des pays francophones en vue de faciliter les échanges commerciaux entre eux. Tout en nécessitant des améliorations, le perfectionnement de

l'ACCT au cours des ans ne fait plus de doute, notamment sous la direction de M. Jean-Louis Roy, bien que ce dernier n'est pas réalisé son ambition de constituer sous le chapeau de l'Agence un véritable secrétariat de la Francophonie. Le contenu des programmes s'est accru et les thèmes de préoccupation entre Francophones tels qu'évoqués au dernier sommet de Paris ressemblent étrangement à ceux évoqués au sein de la conférence du Commonwealth tenue à Harare : les droits de l'homme, la démocratie, le développement.

Si le gros de l'effort canadien doit porter sur la coopération, il s'avère que le partenariat Ottawa-Québec pour l'exécution des programmes en pays en voie de développement francophones n'a pas encore trouvé un mécanisme de consultation approprié, de l'avis de M. Dufour.

En toile de fond de ces relations multilatérales, il convient de constater les ravages du sida parmi les populations africaines et dont les élites ne sont pas exemptées. La frontière linguistique n'est plus de mise dans ce panorama tragiquement réel, pour lequel les conférences du Commonwealth ou de la Francophonie semblent offrir peu de réconfort. Les discours officiels continuent d'évoquer la coopération en matière d'éducation et d'environnement, mais ils maintiennent

un silence pudique au sujet de la santé, domaine où s'impose un gigantesque effort collectif et surtout beaucoup de compassion.

Conclusion

Si les relations France-Canada sont à leur meilleur, selon M. Bugeon de l'Étang, ex-ambassadeur de France à Ottawa, et la stricte neutralité française maintenue dans les affaires canadiennes en porte foi, il semble aussi que la France ne soit pas disposée à voir le Canada éclater au nom d'une idéologie pour le moins discutable qui anime un certain secteur canadien. La dimension des projets d'investissement comme celui du TGV requiert une étroite coopération entre les plus hauts paliers des gouvernements concernés. Loin d'ignorer cette donnée capitale, le Président Mitterrand aura fait son analyse quant à la nécessité d'une union politique et économique canadienne forte pour assurer les flux de capitaux et un équilibre continental d'une technologie supérieure. 

Roger Gilbert a été posté à Lima, Prague, Nicosie; nommé Chargé d'Affaires à Haïti, il a aussi été Conseiller à Paris et Consul Général intérimaire à Bordeaux. Auteur de plusieurs études sur l'Amérique latine, M. Gilbert a pris sa retraite au terme d'affectations à La Havane et à Alger.

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1st Prize — "Untitled", Darjeeling, India, 1979 by LIZA LINKLATER



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Liza Linklater is **Winner of the First Prize** (\$500.00 of shares from Tradex Management Inc.) for her untitled photograph of a small girl taken in Darjeeling, India in 1979. **Liza** is a free-lance writer in New York, New York. She accompanied her spouse (James Trotter, currently serving at our Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York) on posting to Bangkok.

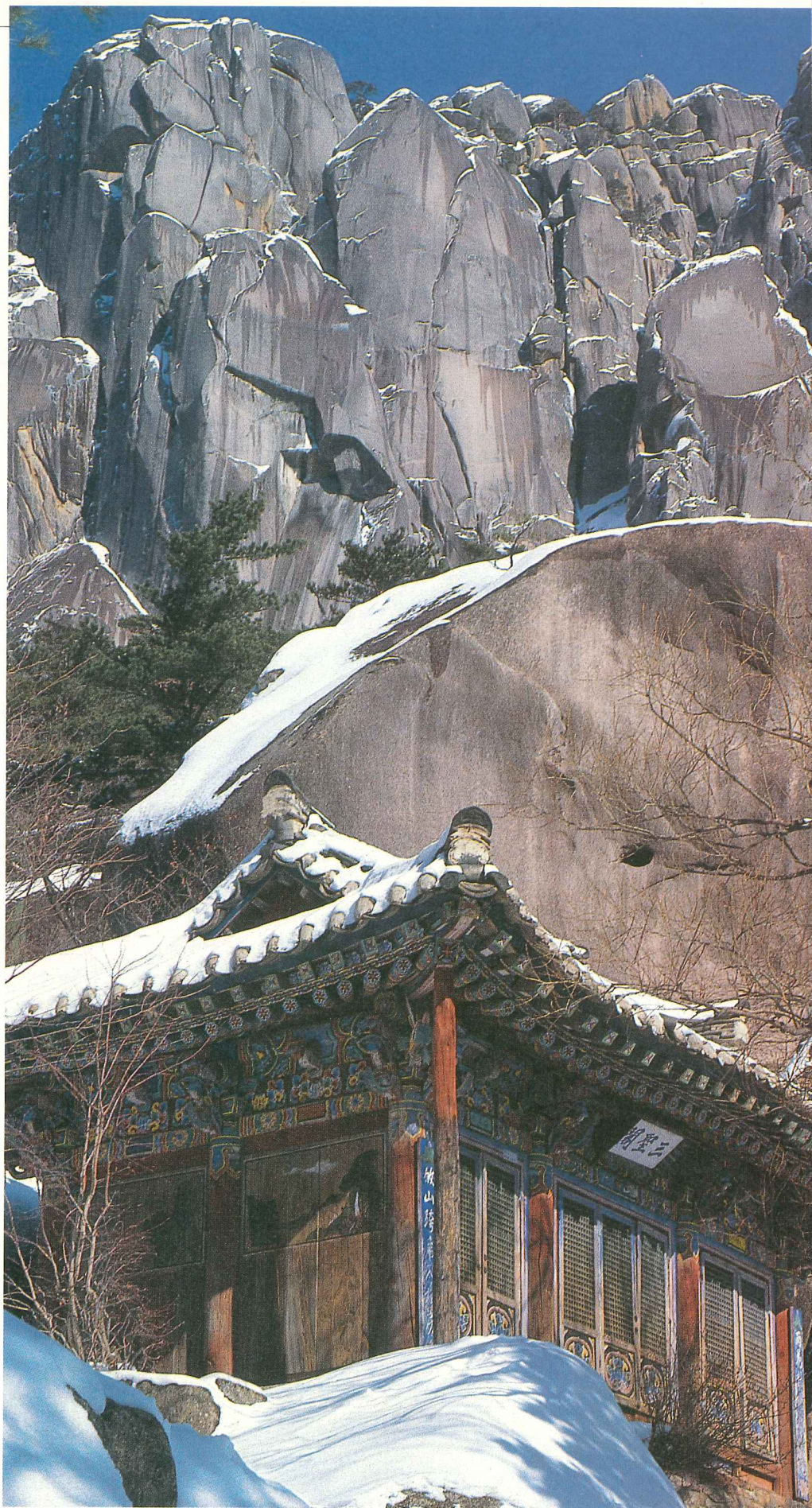
Michael Whelan is **Winner of the Second Prize** (\$250.00 of shares from Tradex Management Inc.) for his photo entitled, "Winter Serenity", which he had taken near Mount Sorak, Korea in 1982. **Michael** is a Trade Commissioner who has served in Seoul and Kingston. He is currently working at the ISTC regional office in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Michael Small is **Winner of the Third Prize** (a selection of financial management literature) for his photo entitled, "Sweeper Woman", which he had taken in the Jain Temple at Mount Abu, Rajasthan, India in 1981. **Michael** has served in Kuala Lumpur and Brasilia. He is currently the Coordinator for EAITC's Task Force for the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development which will be held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992.

The three **Honourable Mentions** are: **Nicholas Coglean**, a new officer in the Political/Economic stream and assigned to the Middle East Relations Division at EAITC; **Hark Kroll** who has served in San José, Bonn and Seoul, and is currently in the Multilateral Trade Institutions Division at EAITC, and **Liza Linklater** (our First Prize Winner).

Our three judges were: **Fred Chartrand**, Chief Photographer, Canadian Press (Ottawa Bureau), who has travelled extensively in Asia, Central Africa and Latin America. He has covered political events such as the G-7 Economic Summits, Commonwealth Heads of Government Conferences, six federal election campaigns, various royal tours and the papal visit in Canada; sports events such as the Olympics, World figure skating, Grey Cup and Stanley Cup; and international events such as the American hostage-taking in Iran in 1980 (when he was arrested as a spy and thrown in prison), the Nicaraguan elections during the Sandinista regime and the Gulf War.

Margaret (Peggy) Cameron, owner of the Margaret Cameron Gallery in Ottawa, has represented fine art photographers since the late 1980s; judged various photo



2nd Prize — "Winter Serenity", near Mount Sorak, Korea, 1982 by MICHAEL WHELAN



3rd Prize — "Sweeper Woman", Jain Temple at Mount Abu, Rajasthan, India, 1981 by MICHAEL SMALL

contests; and spoken extensively on collecting photography. She welcomes visitors to her gallery by appointment.

Terry Laurenzio, President, 246 Fifth Design in Ottawa, is founder of a quality

graphic design firm. A graduate of both the Business Management and the Graphic Design programs at Algonquin College, he is a member of the Society of Graphic Designers of Canada, is active on the

Advertising and Sales Association, and is winner of numerous design awards.

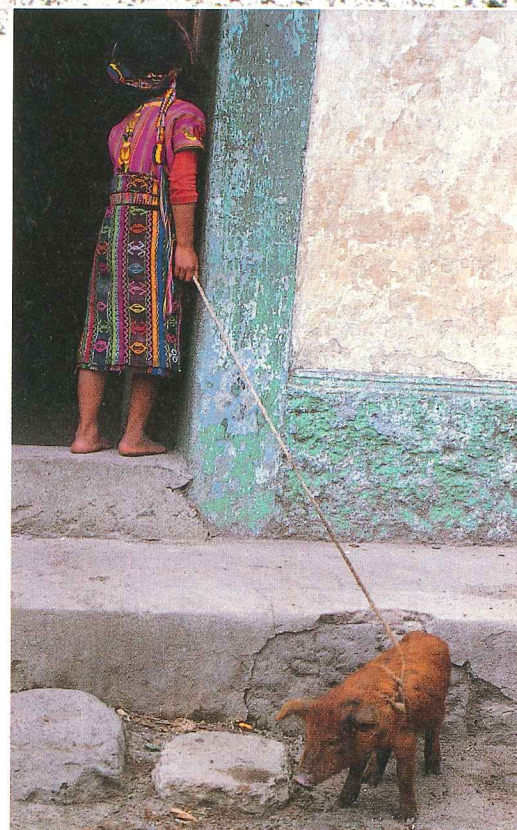
Editor



Honourable Mention — “Woman Washing in River”, Central Kenya, 1984 by LIZA LINKLATER



Honourable Mention — “Elephant Seal Family”, Falkland Island, 1980 by NICHOLAS COGLAN



Honourable Mention — “The Girl from Zunil”, Guatemala, 1991 by HARK KROLL

La délimitation de la frontière maritime au large de Terre-Neuve et de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon : QUELLE AFFAIRE!

par François Mathys

Dans quelque temps, le Tribunal rendra sa décision dans cette affaire d'arbitrage âprement disputée entre le Canada et la France. En jeu est la délimitation d'une frontière maritime au large de Terre-Neuve et de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

C'était le 30 mars 1989 que les gouvernements français et canadien, après deux années de relations de pêches difficiles, s'entendaient finalement sur les termes d'un accord d'arbitrage et d'un arrangement parallèle sur les quotas de pêche aux pêcheurs français pendant la durée de l'arbitrage. Le processus de règlement par voie judiciaire était commencé. L'aspect politique et sensationnel de ce différend allait alors céder le pas à des considérations plus juridiques et moins enflammées.

Les deux Parties, conformément à l'échéancier prévu par l'Accord d'arbitrage, se sont donc résolument mises à la tâche. Elles déposaient, le 1^{er} juin 1990, leurs premiers écrits sous la forme d'un Mémoire. Le document exposait en détail tous les motifs, qu'ils soient d'ordre juridique, géographique, économique, historique ou social, justifiant leur revendication. Neuf mois plus tard, le Canada et la France déposaient auprès du greffier du Tribunal, sous forme de contre-mémoire, la réponse au mémoire de l'autre Partie. De part et d'autre, on y réfutait de façon systématique des arguments avancés dans le mémoire.

Puis, du 29 juillet au 21 août à New York, siège du Tribunal, se déroulait la phase orale de la procédure d'arbitrage. Chaque Partie, à tour de rôle, le Canada, préféré par le sort, plaçant le premier, a présenté au Tribunal avec grande éloquence et, espérait-on, semblable persuasion, la synthèse de ses écritures. Depuis le 22 août, l'attente et l'anxiété ont fait place à l'ardeur du débat. Au début du printemps, cette difficile affaire de délimitation connaîtra son dénouement. Chaque Partie, bien naturellement, compte que ses arguments l'emporteront.

On peut se demander pourquoi un Tribunal international et pourquoi New York. Les deux Parties auraient fort bien pu soumettre leur différend à la Cour Internationale de Justice à La Haye, l'organe judiciaire par excellence de l'ONU. Le Canada et les États-Unis avaient procédé ainsi dans l'affaire du Golfe du Maine en 1984. Pour ses propres raisons, la France préférerait que cette affaire de délimitation maritime ne soit pas soumise à la Cour Internationale, mais, plutôt, à un Tribunal international dont les membres seraient choisis par les deux Parties. Le Canada s'est rallié à cette position. Après de longues et difficiles discussions, les deux Parties sont tombés d'accord sur les choix des membres du Tribunal. Le Président, ancien président de la Cour de La Haye, est Monsieur Jiménez de Aréchaga, d'Uruguay. Ses collègues sont l'italien Gaetano Arangio-Ruiz, l'américain Oscar Schachter, le français Prosper Weil et le canadien Allan Gotlieb, chaque Partie étant libre de désigner un de leur ressortissant pour siéger sur ce Tribunal. C'est donc devant eux que les deux Parties ont exposé leur position, souvent avec véhémence et passion, cet été à New York.

Pourquoi New York? Cette fois c'est le Canada qui a insisté. Comme le différend se trouvait en Amérique du Nord, il était normal, estimons-nous, que le Tribunal siège sur ce continent. La ville de New York a été retenue à cause de sa position centrale et de la facilité pour les deux Parties de communiquer avec leur capitale respective.

Le conflit franco-canadien que le Tribunal est appelé à trancher est avant tout un conflit portant sur la pêche. La question des ressources en hydrocarbures est pour le moment secondaire. Les pêcheurs canadiens et français se disputent âprement depuis longtemps cette « morue sacrée », comme on l'appelle dans cette région de mer et de brume. La source immédiate du différend est la revendication simultanée en 1977 par le Canada et la France d'un large espace maritime au sud de Terre-Neuve et de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Pourquoi depuis seulement

1977? C'est alors, en effet que les deux gouvernements, anticipant quelque peu les développements importants du droit de la mer, ont décidé d'étendre leur juridiction sur les espaces maritimes s'étendant jusqu'à 200 milles de leurs côtes. La France a réclamé 200 milles au sud de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Le Canada, pour sa part, en étendant sa zone de pêche à 200 milles, a toujours considéré siennes les eaux réclamées par la France, à l'exception, bien entendu d'un certain espace vital autour des îles françaises conforme aux dictées du droit de la géographie et des autres circonstances pertinentes. Ce sont ces deux revendications concurrentes que le Tribunal est appelé à départager.

Le Canada, depuis le début des pourparlers avec la France en 1967, a toujours considéré qu'un résultat équitable dans la présente affaire consiste en une délimitation formée par une ceinture de 12 milles autour de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, reliant les points terminaux de la ligne de délimitation déjà convenue par les Parties en 1972. Cette ligne sépare de façon à peu près égale les eaux se situant entre la péninsule de Burin et les îles françaises, à l'est de ces dernières. La ligne préconisée par le Canada est conforme à la norme fondamentale en matière de délimitation maritime telle qu'elle a été définie par la Cour Internationale de Justice en 1984 dans l'affaire du Golfe du Maine. Cette norme veut que toute délimitation doive s'effectuer selon des principes ou des critères équitables, en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances pertinentes, pour aboutir à un résultat équitable.

La ligne proposée par le Canada reflète fidèlement la géographie côtière de cette région appelée pour les fins de l'arbitrage, les approches du golfe. Ce sont les circonstances géographiques, en effet, qui sont les plus pertinentes en matière de délimitation maritime. La ligne canadienne, comme le fait voir un simple coup d'œil sur la carte, tient compte de l'extrême disparité, de l'ordre de 21 à 1, dans la longueur des côtes

respectives des Parties dans cette région. La proximité des petites îles françaises de la côte sud de Terre-Neuve tend à bloquer les projections maritimes de cette côte et de la côte est de l'île du Cap Breton qui sont beaucoup plus importantes que celles des côtes insulaires françaises.

C'est en raison de la côte, en effet, point de contact entre la terre et la mer, et de la souveraineté exercée sur cette façade côtière que des droits maritimes peuvent être exercés sur les eaux du large. Voilà pourquoi la géographie côtière est, somme toute, le facteur crucial pour déterminer l'étendue des droits d'un État au plateau continental et aux eaux surjacentes de la zone économique exclusive.

La délimitation proposée par le Canada reflète aussi un ensemble imposant de circonstances économiques pertinentes. Le Canada a manifesté depuis longtemps son grand intérêt pour les ressources halieutiques de cette région et pour leur gestion et leur conservation efficace et rationnelle. Cette région maritime est vitale pour le Canada et les nombreuses activités qu'il y exerce le démontrent clairement. Il y mène régulièrement des opérations de recherche et de sauvetage, il gère la navigation et veille à l'installation et l'entretien des aides à la navigation. La ligne canadienne tient aussi compte de ses intérêts de sécurité primordiaux dans une région qui donne accès au cœur industriel et commercial du pays. Enfin, la ligne canadienne traduit le « statut particulier » de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Ce statut découle, en effet, des anciens traités, dont celui de Paris de 1763 et de Versailles de 1783. Ils stipulent que les îles françaises étaient cédées à la France pour « ... servir d'abri aux pêcheurs Français ... » et « ... dans la confiance entière que ces possessions ne deviendront point un objet de jalousie entre les deux nations ... » pour reprendre les termes de la déclaration du Roi de la Grande-Bretagne qui fait partie intégrante du traité de 1783.

Voilà donc pourquoi le Canada estime que compte tenu de toutes ces circonstances hautement pertinentes, et avant tout la géographie, la délimitation proposée, équivalant à 1070 milles marins carrés autour de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, représente un résultat équitable. Qui plus est, les besoins économiques de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon en matière de pêche sont satisfaits par l'accès donné aux pêcheurs français à l'ensemble des eaux canadiennes en vertu de l'Accord de 1972 régissant les relations réciproques entre les deux pays en matière de pêche.

Quant à la France, la zone maritime qu'elle réclame a une dimension d'environ 14 500 milles marins carrés. La ligne de délimitation française est construite à l'aide d'une série de points dont chacun est situé

à distance égale des côtes du Canada et des côtes de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon jusqu'à une distance de 200 milles au sud des îles françaises. De la sorte, la France tente de tirer pleinement partie de l'article 121 de la Convention des Nations-Unies de 1982 sur le droit de la mer qui accordent aux îles, à l'exception des rochers impropres à l'habitation ou à une vie économique propre, la capacité en principe de posséder des droits et une juridiction sur des espaces maritimes jusqu'à une distance de 200 milles.

Les procédures écrites et orales de l'arbitrage ont permis de faire ressortir l'importance vitale de cette affaire pour les deux Parties. Toutes deux ont allégué le niveau très élevé de dépendance de leurs pêcheurs sur les ressources halieutiques de la zone en dispute. Pour la France, il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que de s'assurer un espace maritime suffisamment étendu pour satisfaire, du moins en partie, les besoins des Saint-Pierrais sur le plan halieutique.

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Se fondant sur la géographie côtière de la région, faisant valoir sa présence active dans la région des approches du Golfe du Saint-Laurent comme en témoignant les nombreuses activités qu'il déploie pour gérer et conserver les ressources, pour faciliter la navigation et contrer la pollution en mer, rappelant les conditions affectant l'exercice de la souveraineté française sur Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, s'appuyant enfin sur l'Accord de pêche de 1972 qui accorde aux pêcheurs français, en particulier ceux de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, des droits de pêche dans les eaux canadiennes, que ce soit dans le Golfe du Saint-Laurent ou ailleurs dans sa zone de pêche, le Canada, considère équitable une délimitation formée par une ceinture de 12 milles autour des îles françaises.

Le sort de la délimitation est maintenant dans les mains du Tribunal. Tous les arguments, de part et d'autre, ont été invoqués, souvent avec force et passion mais jamais avec acrimonie. Adversaires coriaces et opiniâtres défenseurs de leurs intérêts pendant le litige, le Canada et la France n'en chérissent pas moins les liens d'amitié traditionnelle qui caractérisent leurs relations. Jacques Cartier en 1534 prenait officiellement possession d'un nouveau territoire au nom du Roi de France. La Nouvelle-France était née. Deux ans plus tard, les îles Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon accueillaient pour la première fois le grand navigateur français. Les aléas de l'histoire ont fait que des souverainetés différentes s'exercent aujourd'hui sur ces deux territoires. Il aurait pu en être autrement et une souveraineté unique sur l'ensemble de cette région aurait *ipso facto* éliminé toute question de délimitation. Mais les frontières sont d'abord le fruit de l'histoire. Elles n'obéissent pas toujours à une logique géographique évidente. Alors, il ne reste plus à deux nations amies qu'à s'entendre sur leur différend frontalier ou à le soumettre à une tierce-partie pour le régler. Le Canada et la France ont préféré recourir à ce mode pacifique de règlement de leur différend, incapables, malgré plus de douze tentatives depuis 1967, de le régler à l'amiable.

Notre plus grand souhait c'est que la ligne de délimitation qui sera tracée par le Tribunal soit perçue comme équitable par les pêcheurs de Terre-Neuve et ceux de Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon et que se perpétuent les liens personnels qui se sont tissés entre eux au fil des siècles. L'avenir des îles françaises dépend de la coopération avec le Canada et non pas d'une relation d'affrontement que, malheureusement, la revendication française n'a rien fait pour dissiper. La ligne équitable alors tracée, les obstacles à une coopération régionale plus étroite disparaîtront. Et, comme le déclarait la ministre Campbell qui ouvrait la phase orale de la procédure pour le Canada « ... les îles Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon resteront ce qu'elles sont depuis longtemps : confirmées dans leur destin en tant que territoire français, certaines de leur sécurité en Amérique du Nord et assurées d'une participation à une économie régionale qui garantit leur subsistance, tout comme celle de leurs amis et voisins de Terre-Neuve et de Nouvelle-Écosse ».

François Mathys est l'Ambassadeur et l'Agent du Canada pour l'Arbitrage de la frontière maritime entre le Canada et la France. Il a déjà été en poste à New York (ONU), Moscou et Bruxelles (OTAN). Sa dernière affectation à Ottawa était celle de Directeur général, Bureau des affaires juridiques.

Souvenir de Patricia Harland (1950-1991)

Patricia Harland était une agent du Service Extérieur (Affaires Sociales) décédée accidentellement avec son époux, Bernd Wiedmann, au Kenya revenant d'une visite d'immigration en Ouganda en mai 1991. Le couple avait deux enfants Nicolas et Geneviève, qui ont depuis été adoptés par des membres de leur famille.

Au Ministère depuis décembre 1982, Patricia Harland avait travaillé à Buenos Aires de 1984 à 1986, à Londres de 1986 à 1990 et à Nairobi depuis 1990. Nous publions ici des témoignages de leurs collègues et amis.

*Hélène Lafortune,
Équipe de rédaction*

De Bruxelles :

Quand je pense à la disparition de Patricia et Bernd, j'ai l'impression que le temps s'estompe, et qu'un tout petit peu de ma vie a connu une pause, un vide où errent un million de scénarios qui n'aboutissent jamais, qui n'expliquent pas pareille tragédie et qui me font répéter sans fin : « Et si ce n'était pas arrivé! »

Comme elle en posait des questions, Patricia, elle voulait tout savoir. Elle était toujours pressée, elle prenait les bouchées doubles. Peut-être pressentait-elle le destin qui allait l'arracher si jeune à ce monde. Elle exigeait énormément de ses amis, mais elle donnait le double. Ambitueuse, oui, mais jamais au détriment des autres et surtout, généreuse car elle avait toujours le temps pour ses collègues et amis.

Nous avons fait beaucoup de choses avec eux, avons eu la chance de les connaître mieux que la plupart. Ils étaient nos plus chers amis. Nous sommes préoccupés du sort de leurs enfants, le premier adopté par amour, la deuxième, conçue in vitro, aussi par amour, mais aussi pour offrir une sœur à Nicolas. Et les voilà séparés, une à Québec, l'autre en Allemagne, pourvu qu'on leur raconte souvent leurs parents!

Jacques Dufault

De Londres :

The news of the death of Patricia Harland and her husband Bernd Wiedmann reached us in London like a blow to the solar plexus. Later, a pall of ineffable sadness gripped us all as we realized that the woman who, only recently has been a whirling dervish in our midst, was gone forever. Patricia was many things to many people. She had boundless

energy and unbridled enthusiasm. Bernd was the perfect foil: low key and relaxed but very supportive of Patricia's goals and activities. They were a happy couple with busy, rewarding professional lives and a secure warm family environment.

Joyce Cavanagh-Jones

Patricia's office had decor. With her pictures, plants, souvenirs and a good eye for visual impact, she made her government office into a room. Photos of Bernd and her children beside Nicolas' artwork let you know that a wife and a mother worked there. Patricia was strong, just, and acted on her convictions.

Marlene Jones

Patricia's thoughtfulness was legendary in London. Whenever a new member of staff arrived, she took them under her wing, making them feel at home, introducing everyone and making sure that they knew where to find help if they needed it. Her other qualities that endeared her to us all were her sense of humour and fun. These, unfortunately, cannot be expressed in words as, without the essence of Patricia herself, they can never be the same. Memories like these will be treasured by us all, friends and colleagues alike.

Chris Foley

Vous souvenez-vous du beau sourire! De ses petits yeux curieux et pétillants! Patricia avait l'art d'écouter et de donner de bons conseils. Elle avait toujours plein d'idées pour améliorer les choses.

Chantal Pellizzari

My kindest friend who was never too busy to help solve any problem I brought to her in the office.

I treasure your memory; and your kind thoughts will live in me forever.

Marie Phang

Patricia was devoted entirely to everything she did. Her determination was formidable.

Konrad Sigurdson

De Washington :

Patricia Harland was a colleague, a roommate and a friend. We joined the Department of External Affairs in the Social Affairs stream around the same time in late 1982. It was an exhilarating and stressful time for all of us in our little training group of what eventually came to be known as the "Social Butterflies". There were ten of us in the group — four women and six men — we came from all over Canada and from diverse

backgrounds. Patricia was the eldest in our group and sometimes she was referred to as "mother" by the other members. The group was unusual in that, in a relatively short time, we had formed a very tight circle of friendship with each other that has endured over the years despite our transient lifestyles and considerable difficulty in communicating across the miles.

Patricia had that special ability for putting most people at ease right away. She was happiest when Bernd was around, but did not hesitate to lead an independent lifestyle when he was away. She was most comfortable in her blue jeans with her long hair in a ponytail. She was at heart a bit of a hippie; a bit unconventional; a bit of a country girl; and a bit of a tease. She also knew how to be conventional with the best of us when the occasion required. I was devastated to learn of Patricia and Bernd's death in May 1991. It didn't seem fair to cut down this couple in the prime of their lives, when things seemed to be going so well for them. In retrospect, Patricia and Bernd had lived a full and exciting life. Patricia had lived each day to its fullest. She was a happy person and she brought happiness into the lives of those around her.

Patricia McKenzie

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Presentation to the Special Joint Committee on a **Renewed Canada** / Mémoire au Comité spécial mixte sur le renouvellement du Canada

We, the undersigned, are making this presentation to the Special Joint Committee out of a deep concern for the future of our country and in the hope that we may contribute a special point of view to the constitutional debate. We are all former Foreign Service officers, and retired heads of mission, who have spent our careers representing Canada abroad — the whole of Canada from coast to coast, the interests of the private as well as the public sector, the provinces and the territories as well as the federal government. We have worked in our two official languages. In this work we have gained a special perspective of our own country, and have also learned how others see us. Drawing on this knowledge and experience, we should like to offer some brief comments on our country as we see it, and on some of the most important issues facing it: its international vocation and its relations with the United States; the division of powers as it relates to international affairs; the status of Quebec; the question of individual and collective rights, including the rights of aboriginal peoples; and reform of the Senate. While we speak for ourselves, we know that our views are shared by a good many of our colleagues.

La diversité du Canada et sa dualité linguistique et culturelle ont constitué à la fois un défi et un point fort. Il a toujours été difficile de maintenir l'unité de ce pays, de vaincre les grandes distances séparant les colonies de peuplement éparpillées sur l'étendue d'un continent, de surmonter les différences de langue, de culture et de conditions de vie; de maintenir les liens est-ouest en dépit des forces de gravité favorisant l'axe nord-sud. Aux yeux du monde, les Canadiens ont réussi jusqu'ici, malgré ces difficultés, à bâtir un pays respectueux des lois, stable et productif, reposant sur la paix, l'ordre et le bon gouvernement, un pays enrichi par ses deux grandes langues, sa société francophone distincte, ses populations autochtones et l'apport d'immigrants d'autres souches qui ont fait du Canada leur pays.

Yet Canada today finds itself in a crisis which threatens its very survival. The most

pressing and critical problem is no doubt the risk of separation of Quebec but beyond that there are federal-provincial tensions in general and more acute feelings of alienation in Western Canada and the Atlantic provinces. Socially, there are problems of linguistic solitudes, ethnic divisions and strained relations with the aboriginal peoples. Economically, Canadians are consuming more than they are producing, they are lagging in productivity and innovation, and they are experiencing the adjustments made necessary by globalization and North American economic integration; adjustments made all the more painful by the continuing recession. The finding of solutions to these problems is made still more difficult by the failure of Canada's federal system to adjust to the new realities in Canada and the world.

La constitution n'est pas le seul problème à régler. Il faut surmonter les facteurs qui nous divisent et renforcer les éléments qui nous unissent et inspirent la fierté. Les Canadiens doivent être à l'écoute les uns des autres, s'appliquer à concilier leurs différences et travailler ensemble à bâtir un Canada meilleur. Communication, compréhension, conciliation et coopération — voilà les pierres angulaires d'une nouvelle communauté, une collectivité de peuples qui veulent vivre ensemble et sont convaincus que la recherche de compromis, dans le meilleur sens du terme, s'impose pour assurer la survie du Canada. Les Canadiens doivent changer d'attitudes et d'humeur s'ils veulent s'entendre sur la réforme constitutionnelle.

Canadian interests are global, reflecting the fact that our quality of life is dependent on trade and investment, immigration and international stability. For over 50 years Canada has played a constructive and influential role in world affairs. Canada was a significant contributor to victory in two world wars, and since 1945, helped to create the new world order of the UN and the North Atlantic alliance, and took major initiatives with respect to peacekeeping and the law of the sea. Through the Commonwealth, la Francophonie, the Group of Seven and various economic bodies, Canada has become a major partner in the global

enterprise of trade, aid and development. In these and in other international organizations Canada has promoted the broad interests of its two linguistic communities. Canadian diplomacy has helped to mould an image in world councils of open-mindedness and principled commitment. And Canada has often served as a role model for the world of how members of a diverse society can live together in harmony and prosperity. Unless Canada can continue to do so, it will not be able to make the contribution it has to the international community, nor to protect its interests effectively in the face of the new challenges posed by international developments in the post-Cold War world.

Nous croyons que cette conception du rôle du Canada dans le monde doit être enchâssée dans le projet de « clause Canada », peut-être dans les termes qui suivent « Les Canadiens désirent que leur pays apporte une contribution éclairée à un monde plus pacifique, plus prospère et plus humain, par la promotion active de la sécurité et du contrôle des armes, du commerce et du développement international et du respect pour les droits de la personne et l'autorité de la loi. »

These considerations have a particular application to Canada's unique geopolitical situation in North America. The magnitude of Canada's partnership with the USA and the disparity of power between the partners complicate the task of maintaining a separate identity north of the 49th parallel. While Canadians accept that close cooperation with the USA with respect to trade, defence, environmental protection and other matters of mutual concern is desirable, and indeed inevitable, they also know that they must maintain the will and the instruments to uphold their separate interests. An effective federal system which can speak with one voice abroad on matters of Canadian concern is one such instrument; its disappearance would increase the vulnerability of all parts of what is now Canada and weaken decisively the capacity to protect the interests of all Canadians. While the breakup of Canada would complicate matters for the USA, it would undoubtedly take whatever

steps were necessary to protect its interests, but those steps might not be in the best interests of Canadians. And if Quebec became independent, it would in any case have to negotiate its own arrangements with the USA, but with considerably less bargaining power than Canada now has.

L'évolution politique du Canada a été rendue possible grâce à un processus constant d'adaptation constitutionnelle. Ces dernières années, le système fédéral s'est avéré assez souple pour concilier la nécessité de tenir compte des intérêts provinciaux et celle pour le Canada de s'exprimer d'une seule voix dans les négociations internationales. On a pu se mettre d'accord sur des dispositions satisfaisantes permettant notre participation à la Francophonie. Une étroite coopération interne a présidé depuis des années à nos relations avec certains organismes des Nations Unies tel l'OIT et l'UNESCO, qui traitent des questions de compétence provinciale. En outre, on a élaboré des méthodes valables de consultations fédérales-provinciales pour la prise de décisions sur la politique à suivre dans les négociations relatives au commerce international. Cette expérience prouve que, même lorsque des intérêts provinciaux importants et divergents sont en jeu, il est habituellement possible d'arriver à un consensus sur des positions nationales qui représentent un juste équilibre et permettent au Canada de négocier avec efficacité au nom de tous. Les tendances actuelles à la mondialisation et la concurrence internationale plus vive qu'elle entraîne viennent renforcer l'importance de continuer dans cette voie. Nous estimons que le temps est venu d'institutionnaliser de telles pratiques.

This experience also has a bearing on the issue of the division of powers. There are grounds to believe that some transfer of powers from the federal government to the provinces, be it symmetrical or asymmetrical, could take place without impairing Canada's international effectiveness, but with two important provisos. One, referred to above, is that the principle of federal-provincial partnership under federal leadership in international affairs be accepted, with appropriate scope for provincial initiatives. The other is that the principle of "four freedoms" (internal movement of capital, goods, services and people) be similarly accepted.

La question des droits de la personne, dans leur acception individuelle ou collective, a toujours été au premier plan des préoccupations du Canada. Notre pays a traditionnellement joué un rôle positif sur le plan international dans ce domaine, que ce soit au sein des N.-U., de la CSCE, de la Francophonie ou du Commonwealth. Aujourd'hui, les grandes transformations sociales,

culturelles et démographiques qui métamorphosent le Canada rendent impérieuse la nécessité de repenser l'application des droits individuels et collectifs au Canada. Parallèlement à la protection des droits des individus, il y a lieu de protéger et de favoriser l'épanouissement des minorités qui désirent préserver leur identité, dont les moindres ne sont pas les minorités francophones et anglophones.

In addition, we warmly support an effective recognition of Quebec's distinct society in its many aspects and Quebec's right to preserve and enhance it.

Nous souscrivons aussi à la revendication des populations autochtones visant à la reconnaissance de leurs anciennes cultures et de leur droit inhérent à l'autonomie. Ils font partie, tout comme la société distincte du Québec, de la réalité canadienne qui enrichit le pays dans son ensemble.

But rights carry with them responsibilities. The freedom of one minority, as that of one individual, must be reconciled with the freedom of others, and all must be reconciled with the need to set rules for the greater collectivity.

Un des caractéristiques du système fédéral canadien, est qu'il n'existe pas de lien institutionnel entre le gouvernement fédéral et les provinces, pas de mécanisme formel de participation des provinces à l'établissement de politiques nationales. À cet égard, le Canada se compare désavantageusement à d'autres États fédéraux et même à l'expérience que la Communauté européenne est en train de vivre. Cette lacune pourrait être corrigée de diverses façons, notamment par une réforme du Sénat afin qu'il puisse représenter plus efficacement les intérêts de chacune des provinces et/ou des régions, et qu'il possède des pouvoirs correspondants, y compris celui de traiter de certaines questions délicates comme la langue et la culture. Une telle réforme se révélerait également importante pour les questions internationales qui se rapportent à des matières de compétence provinciale. Les compétences de la nouvelle institution pourraient inclure la ratification de traités internationaux affectant des intérêts provinciaux, et celles de la nomination des ambassadeurs ainsi que de l'engagement de troupes canadiennes dans des missions de combat à l'étranger.

To summarize, our conclusions are as follows:

(1) that the international dimension of Canada's identity should be incorporated in the proposed "Canada clause" and that the importance of preserving Canada's bargaining power in international negotiations should be emphasized in the current debate;

(2) that some transfer of powers, even asymmetrical, from the federal government to the provinces could take place without impairing

Canada's international effectiveness, provided: the principle of federal-provincial partnership under federal leadership in international affairs were accepted; and the principle of the "four freedoms" were similarly accepted;

(3) that Quebec's right to preserve and enhance its distinct society should be effectively recognized, as well as the rights of English- and French-speaking minorities throughout Canada; that the claim of the aboriginal peoples to recognition of their ancient cultures and their inherent right to self-government should similarly be recognized; and

(4) that changes to the Constitution should meet the need for more effective representation of provincial and/or regional interests, including those related to international matters. These concerns should be reflected in any reform of the Senate.

Le présent mémoire serait incomplet s'il omettait un témoignage plus personnel de notre expérience. En revenant au Canada après avoir servi trois ou quatre ans dans une grande métropole ou une mission lointaine, comme cela s'est produit pour la plupart d'entre nous à plusieurs reprises au cours de nos carrières, nous avons tous été frappés par notre bonne fortune d'être Canadiens, par la qualité incomparable de la vie dans notre pays, par la justice et la tolérance relatives de notre société et par la beauté et la quiétude de notre environnement. Nos missions à l'étranger sont des microcosmes du Canada, où nous avons travaillé ensemble en français comme en anglais, et défendu les intérêts de tous les Canadiens. Nous y avons pris conscience de tout ce que nous avons en commun et du caractère complémentaire de nos compétences et de nos points de vue. D'aucuns soutiennent que nos différences condamnent ce pays à la disparition. Nous savons, bien au contraire, combien le mariage de ces différences a contribué à faire du Canada ce qu'il est, et combien il est improbable que les vestiges d'un pays éclaté puissent jamais espérer le brillant avenir qui nous est promis.

W.H. Barton

Former Ambassador to the United Nations and Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

Georges-H. Blouin

Ancien ambassadeur en Espagne, au Maroc, aux Pays-Bas et au Cameroun et sous-secrétaire d'État adjoint aux Affaires extérieures

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Planning for Your 1992 Income Taxes

by Mary Ellen Morris and
M.A. (Peggy) Cameron

Today may seem a bit early to worry about your 1992 income tax. However, this is probably the very best time, while the pain of 1991's sins and omissions is still fresh in your mind, to look into what changes you should make now to improve your bottom line for next year.

General Items

There are some obvious areas to check. Did you make your charitable donations before the end of the year? If in 1991 you were only able to make donations of \$250 or less, in 1992 you should consider doubling them up and claiming them only every second year, or even carrying them forward over five years, thus receiving at least part of your overall tax credit at your higher rate of tax. Did you remember to save all the family's medical receipts, including any medical plan premiums that you may have paid, together with the payment notices returned under your plan which paid back less than the full 100 per cent reimbursement? Can your spouse make a claim against taxes payable if your income is too high for you to be able to make the claim? If your child or spouse is attending a qualified educational institution, have they signed over their education and tuition deduction certificates for you to use?

Have you been reporting the interest earned on your compound Canada Savings Bond (CSBs) every year? If yes, then when you cash them in, you should ensure that you claim only the current year's portion of the interest shown on your T-600 form. Starting in 1991, the Bank of Canada will be issuing annual T-5 slips for those compound CSBs issued after 1989. However, you will still need to calculate the interest yourself for earlier series. This coming November, you may wish to consider cashing in older CSBs and buy the 1992 series to help simplify your bookkeeping.

RRSPs

Did you receive a Contribution Limit Statement from Revenue Canada which indicated that you could have contributed even a small amount to a Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP) in 1991? The rules governing RRSPs changed in 1991. The new contribution limits for 1992 are 18 per cent of your previous year's earned income to a maximum of \$12,500 (in 1992) minus your previous year's pension

adjustment (PA) and (any other adjustments) as reported in Box 52 of your 1991 T-4 form. In the past, you may have found that your contributions to your Registered Pension Plan (for example government superannuation) were too high to allow a contribution to an RRSP. However, beginning in 1991, we have found that most people are now eligible to contribute to an RRSP even if they were a member of a pension plan during the previous year.

To calculate "earned income", you should be aware that this term includes salary plus net rental income, alimony received, net business incomes, royalties and research grants. From your earned income you must deduct union and professional dues, net rental losses, alimony paid, and net business losses.

The February 1992 Federal Budget changed the RRSP rules slightly. The maximum RRSP contribution limits will increase by annual increments of \$1,000 (except 1993) to a maximum of \$15,500 in 1996, as shown in the following table. Thereafter, the maximum contribution limit will be adjusted for the increase in the average industrial wage for the preceding year.

Year	Contribution limit	Prior year's earned income required for maximum contribution
1992	\$12,500	\$69,444
1993	\$12,500	\$69,444
1994	\$13,500	\$75,000
1995	\$14,500	\$80,556
1996	\$15,500	\$86,111

Individuals may contribute or deduct amounts that are lower than their contribution limit for the year. The difference between an individual's contribution limit and their RRSP deduction limit for the year is added to their unused RRSP deduction room which may be carried forward for seven years and used to increase deductible RRSP contributions during the carry-forward period.

Alternatively, you may accumulate up to \$8,000 of excess contributions (over and above your current contribution room) in your RRSP at any one time without immediate penalty. If you or your spouse are already receiving pension income (for example, if you or your spouse are former members of the Armed Forces or the RCMP) do not forget about your \$6,000 spousal

pension roll-over. This is an excellent way to save taxes now while still providing for your retirement.

RRSP contributions should be made as early in the calendar year as possible in order to maximize your tax-free earnings within the plan. If you find that you do not have the ready cash, but you do have other investments such as Canada Savings Bonds, GICs, stocks or mutual funds, you may want to consider opening a self-directed RRSP and contributing those qualifying investments directly to the RRSP. However, if you do choose this route, you should be aware that you could be triggering a deemed capital gain at the time of transfer into your self-directed RRSP.

In addition, many organizations offer their employees attractive early retirement and severance packages. Much of the money received under these circumstances can be invested in an RRSP. However, there can also be major tax consequences relating to alternative minimum tax. You should consult a tax specialist **before** you accept any offer and **before** you make any RRSP contributions.

Income-Splitting

Income-splitting is a form of tax planning that has received a lot of attention in the past. Although the rules have been tightened, there are still a few beneficial things that can be done.

The objective of income-splitting is to arrange your savings carefully so that in retirement both spouses have relatively equal incomes. The benefit to be derived from this equality of incomes relates to our three tier tax system. If one spouse has all the income, they likely pay tax at a high tax rate. If the spouses split the income, they may each be able to pay tax at a lower tax rate, thus minimizing the portion of their income that goes to the government. If it appears that your spouse will have a smaller retirement income than you will have, a logical step is to make contributions to a spousal RRSP. Even if the allowable annual contribution is small, it still represents some progress, and over the years with the effect of compounding, the benefits will multiply.

Another alternative would be for the spouse with the lower income to invest whatever spare cash exists in that person's name so that it will be taxed at the lowest possible rate. The spouse with the higher income would use their income that otherwise would be invested, to pay the living expenses which the spouse with the lower

income otherwise would be paying. This would allow savings to be built-up in the name of the spouse with the lower income thus resulting in lower income taxes.

Children

Family allowance cheques deposited in the account of the child will yield investment income taxable at the child's effective tax rate, which in most cases will be nil. This tax sheltering technique will be curtailed when the government switches from universal family allowance payments to the tax credit system proposed in the February 1992 Budget.

Consider investing up to \$1,500 annually (subject to the maximum benefit rules) in a Registered Education Savings Plan (RESP) on behalf of your children, to a maximum of \$31,500 per beneficiary. Although contributions are not tax deductible, the accumulated interest will be deemed to be the income of your children when it is withdrawn by them to fund their post-secondary education. This will, in effect, pay for your children's education with before-tax money rather than from after-tax dollars. However, this is not a foolproof scheme. You need to weigh the RESP administration fees, the risk of your child not attending a qualifying post-secondary program, the likely investment yield of the plan, and its track-record when considering this route. Your contributions less any administration fee will be returned to you in most cases if your child does not attend a qualifying post-secondary program. However, you will lose the accumulated interest which either will remain in the plan for the overall benefit of other students in the plan if you had contributed to a group plan, or else will go to the designated institution if it was a self-administered RESP. Therefore, assess the plan very carefully before you invest in an RESP.

As an alternative to an RESP, you could consider investing in a mutual fund for your child which is geared to generate capital gains in the name of the child. Properly established, there would be no attribution of the capital gains back to the parent or grandparent who provided the money for the child's mutual fund. The plan may generate a better long-term yield than most RESP plans, it does not depend on the child attending a post-secondary institution, and you have control of the investment for your child. If the child does not go to post-secondary education, there is no loss and the child can still use the capital gains exemption, assuming it still exists at that time.

Other Investments

Many members of the Foreign Service buy homes when they live in Canada, and then rent them out when they are posted abroad.

While this can be a good investment and tax planning idea, you should be aware that there can be future tax implications. For example, a Cumulative Net Investment Loss (CNIL) is calculated by taking all investment income, including net rental income, incurred since 1988 and then subtracting all investment expenses including net rental losses incurred since 1988. If the resulting number is positive, there is no need for immediate concern. However, if the calculation results in a negative number this will affect any future capital gains deductions that you may wish to claim. Also, there are various tax elections which you will be required to make in calculating your taxable income.

Lower interest rates coupled with the fact that in the highest tax bracket you would pay 49.4 per cent of every dollar earned in taxes has increased investor interest in switching to dividend income. In 1992, dividends are only taxed at a rate of 33.4 per cent in the highest tax bracket. You should therefore re-assess your investment portfolio carefully and frequently as a result of the change in the economic situation.

Investment yields earned in the form of capital gains result in the lowest tax cost, given the availability of the \$100,000 lifetime capital gains deduction. This deduction is available to individuals resident in Canada. As Foreign Service members, you and your spouse are automatically deemed by Revenue Canada to be residents of Canada for income tax purposes. This also means that each spouse would have the ability to make a capital gains deduction of \$100,000 from capital gains reported.

There has been some discussion about how long the capital gains deduction will continue to be available in any form. The February 1992 Budget removed the exemption relating to real estate. Our advice is that if you have investments that you **know** you intend to sell at some point in 1992, you should keep in mind that this deduction may not continue indefinitely. However, you should assess your position carefully and should not forget the possible effect of your CNIL.

With interest rates lower than they have been in many years, at some point during the year, you may decide to refinance your mortgage or other loans. Be careful when you are restructuring your loans to ensure that interest remains deductible. If you increase the mortgage and use the funds for investment purposes, the interest on the funds is tax deductible. If you increase the mortgage and use the funds to pay off other non-deductible debts or to buy another house for you to live in, the interest on the increased portion would not be deductible.

Many middle-income individuals have been approached to purchase various

tax-shelters. While they appear wonderful in the early years because they generate significant tax deductions, ultimately over the long-run, they may result in an overall loss to the investor. Tax shelters should be assessed carefully on their business, investment and liquidity merits, and only secondarily on their potential for tax-savings. Given the possible impact of items such as the minimum tax, CNIL, interest deduction rules, and the Income Tax Act's numerous anti-avoidance provisions, the alleged tax benefits of a particular tax shelter should be closely scrutinized with the help of a tax accountant **before** a purchase is made. As well, if you acquired an interest in a tax shelter after 31 August 1989, you must now report its registration number in order to claim the tax deductions associated with the shelter.

Mary Ellen Morris is the Partner and M.A. (Peggy) Cameron is the Manager, Financial Planning Services at BDO Dunwoody Ward Mallette, in Manotick. Both specialize in personal financial planning, which encompasses budgeting, investment and tax planning, as well as in the preparation of income tax returns year round. They have Foreign Service members as their clients and have been known to make office or house calls. (See their ad on page 30.)

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Consular Christening

by Phillip Lupul

As a new Foreign Service Officer, I looked forward to my first foreign assignment — a training mission to a tropical island nation. As a diplomat-in-training, my trip in late March was not intended for pleasure, a fact I could not long overlook despite the sun, sea and reggae. After a six-week course studying theory, this was to be my initiation into the reality of immigration and consular work. To the credit of my instructors, immigration work proved to be pretty much as described. Unfortunately, nothing would prepare me for the rude introduction I was to receive to the darkest aspect of consular work.

Night settles over the island like a moist cloak, sliding down from the tops of the majestic mountain peaks to envelop residents of the capital in a warm, velvety embrace. From a high vantage point, the shimmering waters of the port are clearly demarcated by the absurdly thin finger of land that boldly juts out into the harbour mouth to blunt the fury of occasional storms. It inspired me to reflect that even in the midst of the clutter of this impoverished but bustling city, beauty was never more than a long glance away. Indeed, the natural splendour contrasted sharply with the well-known stories of crime and intrigue. After two relatively uneventful months, I was over my initial trepidation and had settled into a routine existence that reinforced my sense of serenity. I had grown to expect that the surrounding calamity and squalor could not invade my peaceful existence, particularly within the sanctuary of the hotel. Fate intervened, however, to shatter this illusion.

It was almost midnight as I lay in my ninth floor room, weakly resisting the onset of sleep while watching yet another vintage television movie rerun. A banging noise coming from a location just outside my balcony jolted me out of my ennui. In the dimly lit room, I strained over the low background noise of the television to define the source and meaning of the racket. Someone was roughhousing on my balcony! A blood-curdling scream pierced the night, shooting past my curtained window in a descending crescendo, stopping with an awful crashing noise.

I rushed out onto the balcony. Peering downward through the blackness and gathering gloom, my eyes adjusted to the poor

light, and I was stunned by the human shape sprawled on the ground below. I scanned the area for signs of rescue rushing to the helpless form, but nothing was evident. Hesitating no further, I sped back through my room, scooping up a T-shirt, shorts and shoes on my way out. Dressing in the elevator, I spilled out the door and hit the lobby running. I barely noticed the startled hotel staff as I raced out to the rear courtyard, shouting for an ambulance and police. The victim had come to rest on the roof of a covered walkway. The site was horrific.

Obviously young, he was face down, arms and legs splayed out crazily about his torso like some macabre jigsaw puzzle, with the pieces jammed willy-nilly into place. His right leg was at an impossible, perpendicular angle to his body, lying over one outstretched arm. This was capped by a foot in a cowboy boot that rested beside his head. His other arm sprawled over the edge of the rooftop, while a growing pool of blood flowed from his nose and mouth. I held back, startled and uncertain what to do next. In spite of the warmth of that humid tropical night, an icy chill settled over me. Suddenly, the person stirred and attempted to push himself up off the ground. In the dim light, it almost appeared as though the misshapen form was demonstrating some grotesque gymnastic manoeuvre. His strength of character and determination were heroic but nothing could overcome the physical reality and the herculean struggle ended as abruptly as it began.

An eerie silence descended as hotel staff moved to secure the scene and attend to the victim. Long minutes dragged by. No one seemed knowledgeable in first aid or even certain of what should be done first. Word came that a doctor might be on his way. This was reassuring, if for no other reason than to have a qualified person confirm the fatality. While waiting for the authorities to arrive, the crowd began to mingle nervously and compare experiences.

I spoke with hotel staff, including the night-manager, and learned the individual was Texan, twenty-five years of age, and had checked in that very evening during the supper hour. As we talked, the night-manager became increasingly strident in his opinion that the only explanation was suicide. I found this difficult to accept and voiced my doubt. I pointed out that I had been only one floor below the victim's room and had clearly heard a scuffle. "Not only that," I added, "I heard the guy scream as he went down. That was no banzai scream, it was sheer terror."

"No," he replied in a parting shot, "this was a jumper. He was crazy."

No one else admitted seeing or hearing anything more than the sound of the victim's scream and impact. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the suicide theory continued to gain acceptance and eventually a consensus emerged among the assembled crowd. A failed love interest or drug involvement quickly eclipsed other possible motives as far as the crowd was concerned. Amid all the speculation, I began to feel regret; the victim was now all but a curiosity and object of scorn. This callousness seemed all the worse because I could not accept that the death was self-induced. Perhaps a half-hour after the incident, security staff were instructed to disperse the crowd so that no other guests would be disturbed.

Another half hour passed while I chatted half-heartedly with the bartender and other guests. Occasionally, I glanced across the compound to the roof-top where the dark form still lay, one hand dangling over the ledge. I grew impatient for the police to arrive. I was beginning to doubt my earlier certainty that foul play was at the root of the matter. Even so, I could go no further than to allow that maybe it had just been a terrible accident.

Another hour went by before the police arrived at last. After conferring briefly with hotel staff, they disappeared into an elevator car. I yawned; it was past 2:00 a.m. and the thought of being at work for 7:30 a.m. was beginning to irritate me. Murder or not, it was becoming increasingly difficult for me to ignore my need for sleep. I was also growing uneasy with all the talk of suicide, and sensing that the possibility of foul-play might be overlooked if nobody spoke up, I was determined to ensure otherwise.

Waiting with everyone, I noticed all of us looking upward to the tenth floor balcony where shadowy figures appeared. A flash bulb showered occasional bursts of incandescence. The photographer leaned over the balcony to catch a panoramic shot of all the upturned faces, save one. The police entourage soon appeared in our midst with an almost regal air of officialdom. The uniformed officers took stock of the eclectic group of locals and foreigners with that baleful, accusatory stare that only police seem to possess. It was then that I spotted a white stetson lying on one of the steps, some 15 to 20 feet from the body. The sight somehow grated. A couple of quick

photographs of the victim and the police were about to depart.

So as not to miss the opportunity to impart my views, I sought out one of the officers before he exited the hotel. I recounted my experience and pressed him for the official position. His matter of fact reply affirmed that the case was clearly one of suicide, plain and simple. "Suicide," I queried skeptically, "Are you sure?" "Be right," was his bland patois reply. After several more minutes of discussion, it became obvious that pressing the point further would be fruitless. Irritated, I went out once more to view the body to satisfy myself that he really was dead. A cursory examination dispelled any lingering doubt. Retiring to my room, I quickly fell into a fitful sleep despite thinking about a state trooper knocking at a door in the middle of the night to say a young man had died alone in a far off place.

A typically warm and sunny tropical morning greeted my awakening, a brightness that stood in stark contrast to my troubled mind. My workmates were uncertain whether to accept my story. Even to me, the next day, it had become an almost surreal experience. One look at a dark stain when I returned to my hotel that evening, however, brought back the harsh reality of it all.

I later learned that a small quantity of cocaine had been found in the victim's room. He had checked in with US \$6,000.00 in his possession, of which only \$3,000.00 was found in the hotel safe. The remainder apparently was never recovered. Whether the victim was a drug runner or an experimenting tourist, I will never know.

A young man had died. Hopes, dreams and aspirations had died with him, but who really cared? No one in an official position of responsibility, it seemed to me. I realized that a thin veneer of my own innocence had peeled away and perished that night alongside the young Texan.

Young people make mistakes. In time, though, such mistakes often lead to insight and wisdom. Unfortunately, nothing would be gained from this experience for this particular youth or his grieving family. In the ensuing days and weeks, I tried to make sense out of the entire affair. I came to no conclusions. If there were any solace, it came from the thought that a green consular officer had gained insight early on into the potentially harsh realities of the consular trade.

Phillip Lupul, a new officer in the social affairs stream, is currently on French-language training. He joined EAITC after practising law in Alberta.

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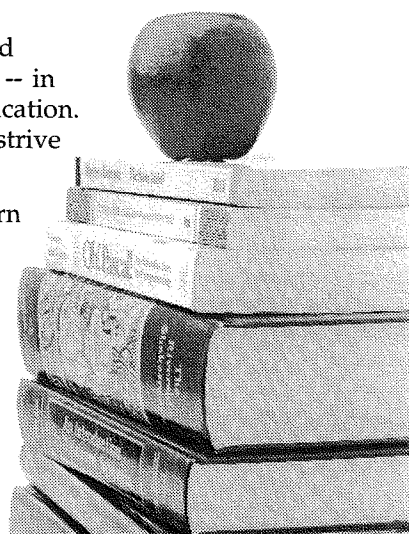
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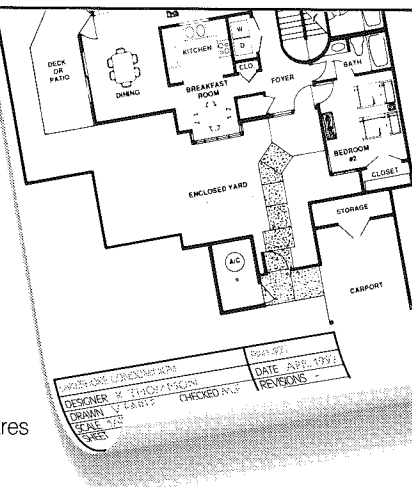
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Exercise Your Rights

by Peter Cenne

Members should now have received a copy of the new FS Collective Agreement. If not, you may obtain one from ABE (Employee Relations) which is responsible for its distribution. Please review the changes in the new contract to become familiar with the benefits you are entitled to claim. Further elaboration of the new provisions was provided in a recent *PAFSO Update*; however, if additional advice is required on the application or interpretation of any provision in the collective agreement, please contact the PAFSO office.

Members will note that many new provisions were negotiated. Unfortunately, as a result of the Government's legislative measures to restrict "free collective bargaining", PAFSO was unable to achieve all the improvements originally sought. In our view, many of these benefits would have been awarded through arbitration.

PAFSO will, nonetheless, cease to be covered by the provisions of the imposed restraint legislation on April 30, 1993, which is also the expiry date of our present collective agreement. Therefore, **preparations for the next round of negotiations are expected to begin as early as this fall** to be followed by initial meetings with Treasury Board in the new year. It will be our objective at that time to obtain the full benefits denied the Association as a result of the legislative interference in the collective bargaining process. Obviously, pay will be a major element of future negotiations as FS salaries continue to fall behind the cost of living. Further improvements will be required to ensure that overtime is properly compensated in accordance with the norms already established for other professional groups in the Public Service. Additional compensation will be required for members who are assigned to perform duty officer or standby duties, as well as improvements to acting pay, travel time compensation and various leave provisions. These and other issues of importance will be pursued subject to consultation with the general membership.

Although PAFSO negotiates your Terms and Conditions of Employment, **it is your choice, as individual members to exercise your rights and to claim the benefits to which you are entitled.** Failure to collectively utilize negotiated benefits may weaken your Association's ability to improve or even to maintain existing provisions which are subject to renegotiation at each round of

collective bargaining. Such actions are particularly relevant in the case of overtime.

A decision not to claim overtime may be based on a variety of personal considerations. In some cases, there is a perception that claiming overtime may be viewed by superiors as "unprofessional" behaviour or as an "abuse of the system". From a global perspective, it is not in the Department's short term interest to discourage such views and in some individual cases, managers may wish to perpetuate them. Ultimately, such perceptions reduce the Employer's overall costs while increasing expectations that individual officers should do more with less. In the long term, however, such views may negatively impact on the quality and delivery of departmental programs.

If an organizational culture exists which discourages officers from claiming overtime, it is clear that this philosophy is not universally accepted among all managers within the Department. Many officers have noted that managerial views on this issue vary substantially from one work location to another. Why the disparity? There are a number of possible reasons. One major influence on managerial perceptions respecting overtime is based on the budget allocations which are received for that purpose. **Inadequate planning or budgeting for overtime will significantly increase the pressures on individual managers to decrease overtime claims while maintaining or increasing the level of output.** In fact, a manager's failure to work within budget may be viewed as an inability to manage resources properly.

Lack of adequate planning or budgeting for overtime is not and should not be the responsibility of each officer. On the contrary, it is the responsibility of each manager who is assessed and compensated on the ability to manage resources within budget. Further, managers are responsible for determining what work needs to be performed, when it is required and how it is to be distributed. As managers have full authority to make such decisions, they must also maintain full responsibility for any financial consequences which result. Members who agree to work required overtime without claiming compensation for it are indirectly assuming this management responsibility, not to mention the direct financial cost of unanticipated program requirements, or in some cases, a manager's inability to manage. **It should be noted that the legal requirement to compensate authorized overtime work exists regardless of a lack of funds allocated to particular budgets. If payment cannot be made from within existing Bureau or Departmental budgets, the Treasury Board is legally responsible to ensure that such payment is made in compliance with the PAFSO Collective Agreement.**

Many managers recognize the need to compensate overtime when additional effort is required to meet operational requirements. In fact, the level of approved overtime is viewed by many as a useful management indicator of the need to assign additional resources or to re-evaluate existing budgets. In the absence of such indicators, a request for increased resources is difficult, if not impossible, to substantiate. Ultimately, managers who consistently discourage claims for required overtime create operational difficulties by assigning unrealistic workloads within existing resources. The result being that some priorities may not get the attention they realistically require.

An effective method of discouraging overtime claims is to perpetuate the myth of what some managers refer to as the "unwritten contract". Although it is not exactly clear what is meant by the "unwritten contract", the implication is that individuals who do not claim overtime will derive other informal rewards. These implied benefits are understood by many to include: performance pay, appraisals, promotions, or preferred postings. It is clear, however, that if such an "unwritten contract" ever existed, it has long since been breached by the Department. Many members have indicated that the informal rewards system is either increasingly irrelevant, applied inconsistently or not at all. Although individual experiences may differ, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that officers who consistently claim overtime still receive the benefits they expect, while others who did not claim, failed to receive the rewards of the "unwritten contract". In essence, there is no evidence of a correlation between an informal rewards system and overtime compensation.

The benefits negotiated by PAFSO on your behalf are not a "privilege" to be accorded by individual managers as they see fit. Rather, they are contractual obligations which must be respected in accordance with existing law. Your Association exists to assist you in resolving any problems you may experience in claiming the benefits to which you are entitled. Usually, this can be accomplished without recourse to formal mechanisms. If necessary, however, **PAFSO is prepared to provide assistance in pursuing legal avenues of redress to resolve disputes** which arise from a misapplication or misinterpretation of any contractual provision. In short, **your time has value which should be appropriately compensated.** Therefore, exercise your rights and claim the benefits which you are entitled to receive.

Peter Cenne is Executive Director of PAFSO.

A New Promotions System: The 6.0 Solution

In a move that has caught many observers off-guard, the Department of External Affairs and International Trade and the Canadian Ice Skating Federation have signed a Memorandum of Understanding exchanging their rating systems.

Jonathan Sowcow, President of the Canadian Ice Skating Federation, explains: "Judging at ice skating competitions has been the target of criticism for years. The 1992 Olympics was the last straw. We therefore looked at different systems for judging performance. The appraisal system at External just seemed to be the most appropriate for us."

Sowcow leans back in his chair and puts his skates on the top of his mahogany desk. "At the next Canadian championship, all judges will fill out a five-page narrative report on each competitor's performance. Once all the reports are done, we will hold a Promotion Board. This may be six months or a year later. So, we may not be able to crown our champions until quite late in the year, hopefully before the next championship. I don't think it will cause morale problems. It doesn't in External, does it?"

Meanwhile at External Affairs and International Trade, former international ice-skating judge, Petra Walkonov is the new Assistant Deputy Minister of Personnel, brought in to implement the new system for promoting Foreign Service officers. "Jaa, I feel good to be here," beams Walkonov. "Good job, good currency, and a bureaucracy which, how do I say, reminds me of good old days in Moscow."

She shrugs at suggestions that she may be introducing a system as unfair as critics have said the old one was at External. She chuckles at accusations that she systematically gave high marks to Soviet bloc skaters and low marks to Western skaters. "Hey loosen up, will ya. At least I was consistent under pressure. Ice judging always gave good results, provided you rigged it, er I mean, figured it out properly."

*Walkonov continues, "The introduction of the new judging system in External is going smoothly. Believe me. Here listen to the tapes of this year's Promotion Board." With that, she hands over a cassette and **bout de papier** is pleased to present the transcript below.*

by Kevin O'Shea

THE COMPULSORY PROGRAM:

The Briefing Note

Don: Don Whitman here for the Public Service Commission. And with me is two-time highflyer Marie-Louise Fernand-Baguette. Marie-Louise, this is the start to an exciting promotions competition for Foreign Service officers. Perhaps you can explain what to expect during the competition?

M.L.: Don, we will see a lot of top-notch performers in this competition which has two distinct parts — the Compulsory and

Free Programs. Under the Compulsory Program, each officer will submit their best pieces of work in the four primary disciplines of the Department — the **Briefing Note**, the **Question and Answer (QandA)** for Question Period in the House, the **Telex** and the **Memo to File**. Only two out of the four disciplines will be judged at the original competition. Then there is the longer Free Program based on a **Memorandum to the Minister**.

Don: Thanks, Marie-Louise. This year the two compulsory disciplines on which the officer will be judged are the **Briefing Note** and the **QandA**.

M.L.: There is really not much room for creativity here, Don. What the Promotion Board judges will be looking for is technical merit and the ability to follow the classic prescriptions of each of the disciplines.

Don: Our first competitor is Martine Godsworth, Korea Desk Officer in the North Asia Division. She's been knocking at the door for the last six years but has never quite made it. The rap against her is that she's not good under pressure. We all remember her disastrous **Briefing Note** on *Canada-Korea Relations* for the Delegation to the ASEAN Ministerial in 1989. It had at least five typos in the "Background" Section and a major substantive error in the "Canadian Position" section, which got the Minister into big trouble.

M.L.: Yes Don, and Martine was quite depressed after that performance. She almost gave up on promotions. But she's back. The "**Briefing Note**" she has submitted, *Korea and Women in Development* for the Minister of International Trade's visit to the country is not overly complicated. It is clear-cut and well-executed. There is a good, concise definition of the issue in the "Issue" section, the "Background" has straightforward information, the "Canadian Position" is adequately spelled out; and the "Talking Points" are not heavy-handed or lecturing.

Don: Here are the scores. Martine should be reasonably happy with these marks — 5.4 for technical merit, 5.3 for creativity.

Marie-Louise, can you tell us something about the next competitor, François Tascherterre?

M.L.: Don, Tascherterre has everything going for him. He's a big, strong lawyer, a solid officer and definitely a crowd pleaser. He's landed some good positions in the past. What may hurt his chances this time, however, is his decision to spend the year in Montreal training for private practice. This will hurt his ability to do a "**Briefing Note**" which is a very peculiar discipline typical of a foreign ministry. Let's see how this goes.

Don: Tascherterre has picked an extremely difficult subject to present in the "**Briefing**

Note” format — *National Sovereignty and the Montreal Protocol on Ozone Protection*. Marie-Louise, this will be difficult to cover in two pages.

M.L.: Don, this is exciting. Yes, yes, I think he’s done it!! He has! Tascherterre had delivered a superb definition of the “Issue”; a “Background” section which could be understood by a grade school class; a “Canadian Position” section that flows so fluidly that one could almost believe he is making it up as he goes, and my goodness, how did he come up with those “Talking Points”? A 5.9! What a gritty performance!!

Many hours later.

Don: The final contestant is Harrison Ridley Calderwell III.

M.L.: Don, Calderwell III has been struggling at the same level for the last twenty years. I don’t expect much here today. Indeed, the choice for this “**Briefing Note**”, *North-South Dialogue*, is the same one he has re-done for each of the last five years.

Don: You’re right, Marie-Louise. The judges really sense a stale policy issue here. There is no crispness in the “Background” or in the “Canadian Position” sections. As for the “Talking Points”, I doubt any Minister would use those “Canada has taken a leadership role” lines even if a conversation was about to run dry. Even a discussion of the weather or deep-sea fishing would have made for more exciting talking points. A 4.1 score. No surprise there.

THE COMPULSORY PROGRAM: The Qanda:

Don: As we move into the second part of the Compulsory Program, Marie-Louise, what can we expect?

M.L.: Don, I don’t think Tascherterre can maintain his lead here. The Legal Bureau does not have many opportunities to prepare **QsandAs**. If there are questions in the House, the answers inevitably refer to “recourse to international tribunals” or “international arbitration”. That is pretty dry stuff and certainly nothing to excite the public or more importantly the Promotion Board.

Don: And there are some really skilled performers in this discipline.

M.L.: That’s right, Don. The Middle East Bureau has consistently produced superb **Qanda** artists, as have the Latin America

and the USA Bureaux. Let’s face it — it’s their specialty. They don’t do much policy, but no-one can rival their **Qanda** expertise.

Don: Marie-Louise, our first competitor comes from one of the Bureaux you mentioned. It’s the wily veteran Scotty Maclean. He’s going for broke today. His program is a **Qanda** on the *Canada-USA Free Trade Agreement*. This should be fun, Marie-Louise.

M.L.: Scotty is a master of this discipline. There has been criticism in the past that he has spent too much time living in Paris, Geneva and Washington and that this has affected his ability to lay down **QsandAs**. But don’t believe it for a moment. Let’s look at his performance. He is showing excellent anticipation in the “Source” section of the **Qanda**. He obviously knows that a phone call from the *Toronto Star* on possible plant closures at GM may mean trouble in the House. He has laid down a great “Suggested Reply” — a double axel policy turn. It’s beautiful! He has put in a wonderful counterattack for a supplementary question — the new jobs the FTA created in Longueuil at Pratt and Whitney. Don, what a performance! And, what courage to suggest such a daring policy sowcow at the end of the “Suggested Reply” when the Minister may be tiring.

Don: No doubt about it, Marie-Louise. That performance has vaulted Scotty to the top of the promotion list.

Here’s another seasoned and strong competitor — Barbie Gibson-Gibson.

M.L.: Don, Gibson-Gibson is putting forward an extremely difficult **Qanda** on the *Middle East Negotiations* following violent incidents on the Israeli-Lebanese border. This will require a masterful performance. This issue is a minefield, figuratively and literally.

Don: The Promotion Board is holding its breath. You are too, I expect.

M.L.: Don, the trick here is not the “Source of the Question”. We all know she got it from T.V. The key part of the **Qanda** will be the “Assessment” and the “Suggested Reply”. Don, I think she’s laid down a good assessment. What the judges are looking for is a balanced analysis, one that does not tilt too far one way or the other and one that does not put the Minister in hot water. The “Suggested Reply” must be nuanced. It must be an artistic *tour de force*; there can be no spectacular leaps or policy turns here.

Don: I think she’s done it! Yes, yes, the Promotion Board is giving her a 5.9!! A great score for a seasoned performer.

Many hours later.

THE FREE PROGRAM: Memo to the Minister

Don: We are now entering the Free Program which really separates the men from the women; the majority from the visible minorities; the FS1s from the FS2s; and the EX(FS)1s from the EX(FS)2s.

M.L.: You are quite right, Don. Many of us have long argued that the creativity one finds in the Free Program should count for more. This is now happening. This part of the program counts for sixty percent of the total rating, and I expect we will see some fireworks during the competition.

Don: The first competitors will be the formidable duo in the pairs competition — Johnny Diyantzse and Rodwina Iwon, a lovely couple of Chinese-Canadian origin. This is a delightful policy couple. They are putting forward their fanciful “**Memo to the Minister**” on the *Recognition of the Countries of the Former Soviet Union*.

M.L.: This is a fun memorandum, full of twist and turns. We can expect to see lots of double turns, triple axels, and fancy footwork.

Don: As with all the Free Programs, the “**Memo to the Minister**” starts off with the “Recommendations”. Marie-Louise, I sense a little wobbling on this section, not the clear edges the Promotion Board likes to see.

M.L.: You’re right, Don, neither Johnny or Rodwina seem that sure of themselves. They seem to be tying themselves in knots as they try to execute the same stunning combination on the Armenian portion of the “Recommendation” as they did on the *Ukrainian Leap of Faith*. As we move to the “Considerations” section, their **Memo** does seem to be settling down. The “Considerations” are put down, beautifully, simply and without pretensions, which is the hallmark of this team. Oh, a bit of wobble on their *Criteria for Recognition*. But, Don, the “Communication Strategy” part of the program looks good — clean lines, straight message, defensible positions. The Board should like this performance.

Don: The mark 5.6 shows the judges were more impressed with the creativity of the

Memo as compared to the technical merit. Nevertheless, I believe that performance may be good enough for a promotion.

The next contestant, Marie-Louise, I know you know him well — Leff Unced.

M.L.: Leff is a gutsy performer and has a lot of potential. And you are going to see him in this competition deliver a very difficult performance. His "**Memo to the Minister**" will look at the *Canadian Objectives and Negotiating Position at the Rio Earth Summit*. He has been working on this for the last two years.

Don: The "Recommendations" part of the program appears complex, intricate and multi-faceted.

M.L.: You're right Don. I think Leff, at the start of the performance, is trying to lay down some clean recommendations, but, I sense the Promotion Board has some scepticism. Leff is taking a gamble with the objectives he is setting out for the government. The **Memo** just may be too complex and dense. Leff has always been an innovator — he's the only man I know who has adoption papers on fifty trees in the Amazon rain forests. I just hope he has not gone too far for the judges.

Don: It looks like trouble! The Board may not be ready to swallow the "Considerations" section. Leff's presentation about environmental catastrophe and ecological blackmail by the Third World is raising eyebrows. His pirouettes on huge financial provisioning in the Fiscal Framework of Canada appears to have made some judges very queasy.

M.L.: Don, there is no doubt as we come to the end of this very original **Memo**, that it is certainly breaking new ground, but frankly it looks like the judges are not ready for this. Perhaps, he can pull it off in the "Communication Strategy" section.

Don: The question here, Marie-Louise, is did the judges see a clear press strategy?

M.L.: I did, Don but whether the Promotion Board did is another matter. I liked the **Memo**. But the Department may not be ready for the scope, the innovation, and above all the resource implications, not to forget the new intellectual paradigm implicit in the **Memo**.

Don: The marks are mixed. I see some high marks for creativity and technical merit from the E-Branch judge; but look how the Consular Branch judge had given Leff a 5.0 for creativity and a 4.9 for technical

merit. Oh my goodness, the M-Branch judge has shredded his score-card!...

The Promotion List

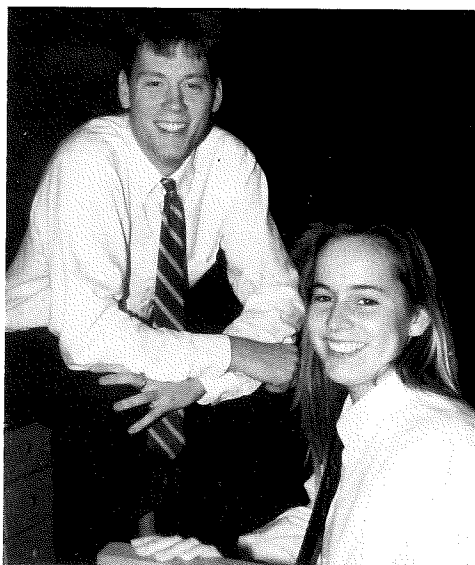
Don: Marie-Louise, what a competition! I don't think we have seen this much excitement in the Department since Lester Pearson won the *Nobel Peace Prize* and Ken Taylor became the toast of the USA during the Teheran hostage situation.

M.L.: It's really a pity we cannot name the winners. The Department has not decided how many promotions it wants to make. And more importantly, it hasn't decided how many of the newly promoted it wants to release as part of the EX (FS) downsizing.

Don: Well, as they say, Marie-Louise, the agony of victory and the thrill of defeat.

That's the way it is in Ottawaville. See you next year, no doubt with the same competitors. 

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The Arctic: Choices for Peace & Security, A Public Inquiry by Thomas R. Berger, Soviet Ambassador Alexei Rodionov, Douglas Roche and 21 Others, Edmonton: Gordon Soules Book Publishers Ltd., 1989, 282 pp., \$12.95.

Reviewed by Shelagh Grant

On occasion, books written on current topics are redundant by the time they arrive on the shelf. Sadly, this is one case where the subject continues to be of major importance in the long term, but the arguments seem quite dated because of the rapid sequence of events occurring since late 1989 through 1991. Because the book is a collection of conference papers and recorded dialogue, the editors and publishers had little choice but to proceed as planned. The question one must ask, is whether the views expressed are still relevant today. The reviewer can only speculate; the real answers lie with the participants. Regardless, the book still retains value as an important window on a broad spectrum of expert opinion, albeit qualified by the time frame.

In March 1989, over fifteen hundred gathered in Edmonton, Alberta, to attend a two-day public inquiry sponsored by the True North Strong and Free Society. The subject was "*The Arctic: Present and Future*". It was an ambitious undertaking, involving twenty-four speakers from five circumpolar countries, all senior in their respective fields of expertise: academic, military and government. The list included ambassadors from the Soviet Union, Finland and Canada; Norway's Minister of Defence; the President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference; and the Northwest Territories Government Leader. As well, there were two extremely adept moderators, Stephen Lewis and Adrienne Clarkson, and a media panel composed of Gwynne Dyer, Linda Hughes, and Ann Medina. Surprisingly, there were no representatives from Greenland, Denmark, Iceland, or Sweden. More disconcerting still was the absence of Canada's own Minister of National Defence.

The agenda was equally impressive, covering such topics as the Arctic environment, the indigenous peoples, circumpolar cooperation, sovereignty, with particular emphasis on the issue of peace and security. As stated at the outset, the purpose of both the conference and the book was to continue the "process of enlightenment" about Arctic issues in general and to raise public support for a demilitarized and nuclear-free Arctic. In terms of the inquiry itself, this objective appears to have been accomplished. It is far more difficult to translate the intensity of the debate or the enthusiasm of the audience

into black and white text. Even the excerpts from the speeches available on video tape fail to meet the reviewer's expectations.

Certain papers merit a special mention because of their factual and historical detail on the evolving militarization of the Arctic, notably those by Donat Pharand, Willy Østreng, and Keith Greenaway. Similarly, Walter Slipchenko's *International Arctic Cooperation: A Canadian Dream or a Necessity?* avoided the rhetorical and listed fact upon fact in support of his argument. Of interest for quite different reasons are the presentations by the Soviet participants, Ambassador Alexei A. Rodionov, Andrey E. Granovsky, and Yuri V. Kasmin. The opinions expressed by the Soviets made the rationale for continued Arctic defence, as presented by Canada's Associate Deputy Minister of National Defence, appear embarrassingly dated. Equally puzzling were the comments by Captain James T. Bush, Associate Director of the Center for Disease Information, who appeared to voice views quite contradictory to official policy, and at the same time to claim that Canadians should not worry about American maritime defence strategy, since "it is a strategy; it is not a plan." Other papers of note included Harriet Critchley's on the question of Canadian sovereignty, Ambassador Esko Rajakoski's *Environment: the Finnish Initiative*, and Mary Simon's Inuit perspective on peace and security.

By the mid 1990s, most would have argued there need be no further discussion as to why the Arctic should be demilitarized and nuclear-free, but simply a matter of "when" and "how." A result of the outbreak of hostilities in the Persian Gulf is that opinion appears divided: some claiming defence preparedness is crucial in all regions; others pressing for more stringent and effective arms control throughout the world.

While it is hard to ignore the potential for war when we have recently been in the midst of one, we should not ignore a more serious battle being fought on the environmental front. Every day, there are new scientific reports confirming the alarming rate of global pollution. The Arctic, more vulnerable than other geographic areas, should be first on the agenda, yet because of its remoteness and sparse population, it is often the least of concerns to the politicians and military strategists.

The atomic test by the Soviets on Novaya Zemlya and reports of the dumping of radioactive waste are perhaps the best example. Having halted testing at the main site in Kazakhstan because of increasing public protest, the secondary site on the remote Arctic island was used for an underground test in October 1990. Leakages in past tests have caused radioactive fallout in

Sweden, and now there is evidence of abnormal radiation counts in lichen and caribou in the Canadian Arctic, presumably a consequence of predominant wind patterns. More than ever, we need the unanimous support of all circumpolar nations towards creating a nuclear-free Arctic, and the only effective method of regulation is to demilitarize the entire Arctic, and to control it by the agreed surveillance of a jointly coordinated circumpolar coastguard patrol.

Perhaps one of the most disturbing contributions this volume makes is to remind us of how little power and influence society has had over the economic might of the military.

The many arguments contained in *The Arctic, Choices for Peace & Security* for a demilitarized, nuclear-free Arctic are still valid; and the True North Strong and Free Society should continue their mission to bring the issue to public attention. Hopefully, we can soon advance from debating the "why" and move toward serious agreement on the "how" and "when." Activities adversely affecting the environment in the Arctic should not be allowed to continue undetected under a cloud of snow and ice.

Shelagh Grant teaches part-time in History and Canadian Studies at Trent University, Peterborough. She is author of Sovereignty or Security, Government Policy in the Canadian North and is currently working on a second volume on the politics of high arctic defence.

Unfinished Journey: The Lewis Story by Cameron Smith, Toronto: Summerhill Press Limited, 1989, 606 pages, \$28.95.

Reviewed by Greg Donaghy

Through its long association with the CCF and the NDP, the Lewis family has had a profound and enduring influence on Canadian political life. In *Unfinished Journey*, Cameron Smith, a former managing editor of the *Globe and Mail*, recounts with obvious enthusiasm the engaging story of this family through three generations. Beginning with David's father, Maishe Losz (who changed his name upon immigrating to Canada in 1921 to Lewis) Smith traces the family's eventual transition from a 19th-century East European Jewish ghetto to Stephen's term as Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations. Along the way, the author provides the reader with fascinating glimpses into the collective personality of one of Canada's prominent families.

Born in the Russian town of Svisloch in 1888, during a period of intellectual and political ferment in that country, Maishe Lewis casts a long shadow over the subsequent course of the family's history. Caught up in the Jewish enlightenment that swept the isolated world of the *shtetl* during the late 19th century, Maishe abandoned his rabbinical studies to embrace a secular Marxism. He eventually emerged as a prominent activist in the local Jewish Labour Bund, whose socialist and Yiddish ideals he diligently pursued until forced into hiding by Bolshevik authorities in 1920. The following year, he decided to flee to Canada with his wife, Rose, and their three children, David, Charlie and Doris.

With the family's immigration to Canada, twelve-year-old David increasingly looms as the central figure around whom Smith constructs his narrative. An intense and precocious youth, who taught himself English by reading Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop*, David emerged quickly as a prominent figure in Montreal's socialist circles during the 1920s before winning a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford in 1932. There, he left his mark on both the Oxford Labour Party and the Oxford Debating Union, becoming in 1934 the first Canadian president of this prestigious organization. Returning to Canada in 1934, he became the first National Secretary of the CCF. David's early work with the party is briefly described before Smith begins a detailed examination of David's role in the CCF's battles to gain control of communist-led unions in the 1940s and 1950s, a necessary stage in the transformation of the CCF into the NDP and the maturation of labour politics in Canada.

Interspersed with the discussion of David's political career are glimpses into the lives led by other members of the family, and into the troubled relations between David and his wife Sophie, and between David and his eldest son, Stephen. With his father away on party business much of the time, Stephen matured quickly on his own, a youth increasingly resentful of his father's absences, and conscious of his inherited duty to promote Canadian socialism. As Stephen assumes the central role, Smith's hitherto uncritical perspective gives way to one that borders on the sycophantic. In caring detail, the author traces the emergence of Stephen as a leading party organizer while still a university student. By the age of 30, he had become the leader of the Ontario NDP. Stephen's struggle to defeat the NDP Waffle Group during the early 1970s, and his agonizing years spent as Leader of the Opposition in Ontario, constitute the focus of the work's final chapters. Smith brings

the Lewis story to a close with a glib and superficial examination of Stephen's experiences as Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations. In a brief epilogue, he surveys the aspirations of the family's next generation.

The varied lives of Maishe, David and Stephen nationally provide the work with its narrative structure. Smith's two central themes, however, provide a more fundamental sense of unity and coherence. First, and perhaps most interesting, is its treatment that Smith accords the long-standing socialist problem of balancing the ideals of the movement against the pragmatic compromises necessary to achieve electoral success. Smith, in rooting the Lewis family in the tradition of the Jewish Labour Bund, usefully locates one source of Canadian socialism's programmatic flexibility. "It is better to go along with the masse," a traditional Bundist epigram notes, "in a not totally correct direction than to separate oneself from them and remain a purist." In focusing on this aspect, Smith effectively corrects the popular impression that David Lewis' socialism and political pragmatism were inherited from the British Labour Party to which he was exposed at Oxford.

Smith's treatment of his second central theme, the Lewis family's virulent anti-communism, is more problematic. This attitude, he implies, was single-handedly

brought by David Lewis into the CCF/NDP and led to the vehement character of the party's struggles against the Communists in the late 1940s and 1950s, and against the Waffle Group in the 1970s. The CCF/NDP's anti-communism, however, owes far less to the Lewis family than Smith implies. Under its founder, J.S. Woodsworth, the CCF vigorously opposed Canadian communists in Ontario during the 1930s, even to the point of destroying the party's provincial organization in one early purge. In addition, this emphasis on a sustained anti-communist tradition distorts David Lewis' own ambiguous attitude toward the Communist party during the 1930s, when, in the face of economic depression and European fascism, he flirted with the idea of a united CCF-communist front.

Unfortunately, these two challenging themes are frequently obscured by Smith's undisciplined prose style and unchecked passion for the trivial. Where one word would do, he routinely uses a dozen or so, piling adjective upon adjective and metaphor upon metaphor. Much of the detail used in describing the historical context, whether in Russia or in Canada, is wholly unnecessary. Adding to the work's excessive length also is Smith's tendency to describe in gushing prose the elegant restaurants and lavish houses that, perhaps ironically, seem to play



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Greg Donaghy is an historian with External Affairs and International Trade Canada. He is currently pursuing his doctorate at the University of Waterloo.

Canada : Je t'aime / I Love You par Miyuki Tanobe et Roch Carrier, publié pour Livres Tundra / Tundra Books, 1991, 72 pp. \$29.95.

par J.F. Somcynsky

Roch Carrier fait partie de ces écrivains qui maîtrisent tellement bien la langue qu'on ne s'en aperçoit pas. Les phrases coulent doucement, en portant leurs images et leurs histoires, sans la moindre aspérité, avec l'enchantement d'une musique familière. Carrier est un de nos meilleurs conteurs. C'est sans doute dans la pratique du conte qu'il a appris à mettre aussi efficacement son style au service des événements dont il traite, sans gaspillage et sans temps morts. Et il aime tellement la vie, cet auteur, qu'un beau dynamisme anime la moindre de ses descriptions.

Avec de telles qualités, il n'est pas étonnant que les récits de voyage de Roch Carrier soient toujours agréables à lire. Il nous a donnés, entre autres, de beaux reportages (on devrait dire : des documentaires) sur ses séjours en Australie et au Moyen-Orient. Avec *Canada : Je t'aime / I Love You*, il nous offre un voyage à travers le Canada. Plus exactement : St. John's, Charlottetown, Halifax, Fredericton, Québec, Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Calgary, Banff, Yellowknife, Whitehorse, Vancouver et Victoria. Notons aussi qu'il a lui-même traduit ses textes dans cette édition bilingue.

Carrier consacre deux ou trois pages à chacun de ces villes. Il les fait vivre au moyen d'anecdotes très simples, souvent savoureuses. On croirait vraiment entendre un ami qui a visité des villes qu'on connaît déjà ou qu'on ne connaît pas encore, et qui nous raconte, simplement, devant un verre de vin, ce qui l'a frappé dans ces endroits et les gens intéressants, sympathiques, parfois surprenants, qu'il y a rencontrés.

Carrier est un voyageur d'expérience, curieux, intelligent, sensible et perspicace. Ses anecdotes sont tellement bien choisies qu'on a l'impression de découvrir le Canada avec lui. Il se dégage de son livre l'image d'un pays gigantesque, fascinant, extrêmement diversifié et frémissant d'humanité, un

pays qu'on voudrait visiter, peuplé de gens qu'on aimerait bien croiser sur son chemin.

Les peintures de Miyuki Tanobe ont un style qui frappe immédiatement. Richement colorées, tracées comme des esquisses, avec des personnages aux traits simples, elles capturent le même foisonnement de vitalité que les textes de Carrier. Je les aime beaucoup, mais je me demande bien qui a eu l'idée de s'en servir pour illustrer ce livre-là. C'est un peu comme si on buvait du cognac dans un beau gobelet rustique en céramique; le cognac reste aussi bon, la tasse est superbe, mais le cognac semble tellement meilleur dans un ballon de cristal! Ou pensons à une très belle cravate tissée qu'on porterait sur une très belle chemise en soie, sans la moindre harmonie entre les couleurs. Alors que Carrier raconte ses visites comme un explorateur chevronné, affable, souriant, Takobe nous offre les splendides illustrations d'un album pour enfants.

J'ai encore plaisir à feuilleter ce livre. J'apprécie le texte et j'apprécie les peintures — séparément. Et je trouve très agréable de relire certains textes, comme on tourne les pages d'un album de photos ou qu'on écoute un vieil ami nous raconter encore une fois, et avec la même fraîcheur, des anecdotes de ses voyages.

J.F. Somcynsky a été affecté à Buenos Aires, Dakar et Jakarta. Il est maintenant à la Direction des programmes en Europe à EAIC.

Historical Sketches of Ottawa by Leslie Maitland and Louis Taylor, Broadview Press, 1990, 152 pp., \$29.95.

Reviewed by Nan Griffiths

At first glance, *Historical Sketches of Ottawa* seems to fill an important gap in the body of work written on our fair Capital city. If we consider the concept and content of old favourites like Robert Haig's well-illustrated and highly readable historical journal, *Ottawa, City of the Big Ears*, or Shirley Wood's solid historical text, *Ottawa, The Capital of Canada* [alas now out of print], then a book that sets out to give a sense of the architectural texture and character of the city should be a welcome addition.

Certainly there is a seductive quality about the drawings as one glances through the pages. The consistent pencil technique and similarity of scale are very effective in terms of conveying a tactile impression of a particular period of Ottawa's historical architectural fabric. The immediacy of the vantage point helps to bring the buildings

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close to the eye, as if one could reach out and touch them. In the kind and gentle wood drawing of Wellington Street, sans cars or disfiguring street signs, one could imagine stepping directly into the picture. Certainly anyone familiar with a particular building will enjoy the intimacy of the drawing style.

It is, however, unfortunate that author and artist have not shown more imagination and method in coordinating illustrations to the written description. One wonders which came first, drawings or text, because the collaborative idea for the book is not well established. For example, when the author asks us to "note the fine architectural details around the main door" of the Archbishop's Palace, the drawing includes the dormers and bay windows, but only a small-scale and blurry distant view of the 'fine' doorway. On another page, we must assume that the enigmatic photo of the Byward Market is the Cumberland Street setting for the facing illustration, the Rathier House.

It would help a great deal if the drawings themselves had been given captions noting the street address and explaining the aspect of the building being illustrated, preferably with cross-referencing to the text. As it is, even a reader familiar with the city has to peer into the page, of the small photos provided, to guess what the particular point is. The lack of identifying clips is frustrating.

Which leads to a major criticism of the book, and that is its purpose or concept. If it is intended as a guide for a walking tour, it is neither sufficiently systematic nor is it a convenient size for consultation while trying to figure out where you are from a map that you had to buy in order to locate the buildings illustrated. Whether guide or coffee table book, it would have been useful and enlightening to include at least a contemporary map of the areas being presented, to say nothing of small diagrammatic keys to each chapter. As a walking tour guide [as the author suggests], it would surely be maddening. In addition to the provision of some kind of key, it would have helped to at least identify each of the districts in which the buildings are grouped. The unheralded leaps from, for example, the Laurier House in Sandy Hill to the Drill Hall in Centretown are somewhat confusing even to the Ottawa-born. Why not in a case like this also include a drawing of the Laurier Bridge heritage sub-structure to give some visual linking of ideas and structures?

This leads to the last point concerning the drawings. Pleasing to the eye they are, and no reader appreciates such an attribute more than this one. However, the pleasure soon wears thin as page after page shows photo and drawing side by side, each looking pretty

well identical. What, for example, do we learn from the No. 7 Rideau Gate drawing that the photograph does not tell us? Exactly the same view is taken, only the summer canopy is added for the drawing. Likewise Laurier House, Stadacona Hall, and so on. In the example of St. Andrew's church, why not go inside and draw some detail to illustrate the point in the text? Why not in fact do some precise before and after shots [i.e. O'Shea's Market Ireland]? Picture and illustration should not duplicate but rather complement each other.

Leslie Maitland's text is scholarly and informative. The text for the La Salle Academy, for instance, is well-researched and stated, and interesting for the wider context into which she places the Ottawa vernacular. A small illustration of the Palladian 'style' would perhaps have made the point more accessible to the general reader.

It is regrettable that author and illustrator were not more committed to establishing a common concept and rigour in the coordination of the material. As it stands, the book makes an attractive image for the coffee table, but ultimately is fundamentally disappointing as a book of serious reference.

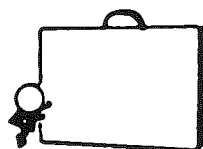
Nan Griffiths is associate professor at Carleton University School of Architecture.

The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution: An Empire of Liberty in an Age of National Liberation by Jules R. Benjamin, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1990. US\$55.00.

Reviewed by David Murray

Fidel Castro's social revolution struggles to survive, no longer able to rely on the unstinting support it has depended on for thirty years from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There, socialism has vanished in the twinkling of an historical eye. How much longer can it last in beleaguered Cuba?

There are no doubt many in Washington who are watching events in Havana with eager expectation, hoping to celebrate the death throes of a regime the United States has hated but has been unable to overthrow. In this context, Jules Benjamin has written a timely study of the United States-Cuban relations. It should be read by those policymakers in Washington or elsewhere who may still harbour the dangerous and naive illusion that the collapse of socialism in Cuba automatically will bring back the good old days of close American-Cuban ties when the United



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States played all the tunes and the Cubans danced obediently.

Benjamin's historical overview offers ample proof that in the good old days the Cubans were kept in various demeaning forms of dependency on the United States. His book also reaffirms that the Cuban policies of the United States during the Castro regime, and Cuban reaction to them, cannot be understood without having a solid grasp of their historical background. Two centuries of aggressive American behaviour directed at Cuba and over a century of acquisitive designs on the island have shaped Cuban responses to its preponderant neighbour. Whatever Cuba's internal direction may turn out to be in the future, successive American administrations apparently have been unable to accept the idea of a Cuba whose policies and regime function with complete independence from the United States. The question of future American policy towards Cuba should begin with a fundamental re-thinking of the premises of past American foreign policy.

Benjamin's book also offers a deflating message to Canadian policymakers. Canada is not mentioned once, a harsh reminder of just how marginal Canada continues to be in this relationship. Canadian officials have long hoped that Canada might play a positive role in improving American-Cuban

relations. These hopes were voiced yet again following the decision to become a full member of the OAS. The reality is that the key issues between the United States and Cuba will continue to be bilateral ones, to be resolved by direct negotiation without third party involvement. Canada has her own Caribbean interests to protect and, in common with other American nations, looks forward to the day when Cuba and the United States will be on friendlier terms. But, until that time comes, Canada should not try to mediate where she is not wanted.

The first half of Benjamin's book summarizes material he has covered in greater detail in an earlier study of United States hegemony in Cuba during the period, 1880-1934. The second half focuses on American policy in the years leading up to and immediately following Castro's revolution. Benjamin has immersed himself in the available American diplomatic archives to write this monograph. He produces no tantalizing new theories to explain the failures of American policy, but by writing a concise summary set in a broad historical context, his book is a useful primer for the student of American-Cuban relations.

What is lacking, however, in his analysis is the Cuban side of the story. The topic cries out for an integrated analysis of American-

Cuban foreign policy, drawing equally on American and Cuban sources, when the latter become available. They are not now, but how complete can such a study be when only one side is examined thoroughly? Even before the Castro revolution, but certainly since, each American action has precipitated multiple waves of Cuban reaction and each of Castro's moves has compelled an immediate American response. Like two spiders locked in a mortal embrace, neither country has been able to ride itself of the other. Benjamin has made the most of what was available to him, but the full story awaits as detailed an investigation of the Cuban sources as Benjamin has devoted to the American archives.

American politicians, as Benjamin relates, have eyed Cuba covetously ever since John Quincy Adams formulated his law of political gravitation which prophesied that Cuba's inevitable destiny was to drop into the lap of the United States just as "an apple severed by the tempest from its native tree cannot choose but to fall to the ground." Cuba was buffeted by many tempests during the nineteenth century, but it remained a Spanish colony even if Spain's hold became ever more tenuous. By the end of the century, the United States again was ready to "take" the island and "free" Cuba because many Americans believed that the Cubans were incapable of sustaining their own independence. War with Spain gave the United States an opportunity to carve out her own sphere of influence in the Age of New Imperialism. The Platt Amendment effectively limited Cuba's independence but, as Benjamin argues, even more important was the steady Americanization of the island's business, education and politics. Cuba's foreign trade and foreign investment in Cuba came to be almost wholly American.

One outcome of the invasion and occupation of Cuba from 1898-1902 was the creation of what Benjamin terms "the Semi-Sovereign Republic of Cuba". A better term was coined by Louis Perez who termed Cuban sovereignty "fictional". Certainly, it was not real and the United States proved unable to resolve the dilemmas it had created. As Benjamin says, "If North American hegemony failed to solve the problem of differing USA economic interests, its political hegemony failed to solve the problem of Cuban nationalism". The relationship slowly crumbled as the natural desire of the Cubans for full independence clashed with the United States' desire to manipulate Cuban politics and the Cuban economy.

Benjamin provides ample documentation for his thesis that American officials misread and misinterpreted events in Cuba leading

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to Castro's revolution. The few diplomats stationed in Santiago, who correctly assessed Castro's growing strength in 1957 and 1958, were ignored by the USA Embassy in Havana and by officials in Washington. By the fall of 1959, the State Department discovered to its horror that the United States had run out of Cuban politicians to manipulate. Now "Washington was forced to do business with a man who was as physically elusive as he was uncompromising". American hegemony quickly unravelled in the last hours of the Batista regime. For the first time since 1898, the United States was powerless either to control or to change the course of events in Cuba.

Fidel Castro has answered Jose Marti's question, who will drive the United States out of Cuba once it is in, but the answers to the questions confronting Cuba today are less clear. Will socialism survive? Will the United States permit Cubans to evolve a destiny of their own, genuinely independent of their enormous neighbour? Can the two countries find a way to live in mutual harmony? Jules Benjamin's book does not look into the future, but it provides a useful road map to the past.

David Murray is Dean of the College of Arts and Professor of History at the University of Guelph.

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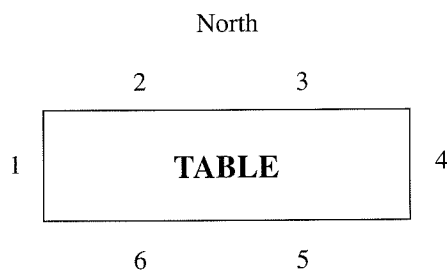
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PUZZLER'S BLOCK — Out to Lunch with A Aalto

The word spread like wildfire around **bout de papier** — A Aalto had puzzler's block! Deadlines were drawing tight, migraines were drawing tighter, but still no puzzle from Hell, Norway. Everything was tried — injections with extract of Boolean algebra, dropping him from a great height into a vat of *Roget's Thesauri*, even a swift kick in the *gluteus maximus* — nothing availed. Gloom settled like glue in Tannu Tuva. Around the conference room table sat Aalto's five main characters, desperately seeking a formula to revive the ailing sage. The seating was as follows, with each chair a different colour and one (chair #3) empty:



Chief Hamish MacBannock suggested firing Aalto, until others pointed out that, as figments of the latter's imagination, this idea would imply their own extinction. They were unamused by Jimmy (the Turk) Flecker noting that his reputation as a colourful if minor 19th century diplomat and poet would provide him a measure of insurance. Detective Superintendent de Toombs suggested a nice juicy murder to distract Aalto, but he found no volunteers for the starring role. Lydia Kraantz argued that Liebnitz, as protagonist, should come up with something. The ace logician promised to try, but revealed a long-smothered resentment

at his creator for so consistently mis-spelling his name (Leibniz). The mood lightened sharply when someone suggested they send out for lunch. Each character ordered and consumed one sandwich and one beverage from this menu:

Sandwiches		Drinks	
Peanut Butter	\$2.00	Coffee	\$1.00
Brie	\$2.00	Tea	\$1.00
Chicken	\$3.00	Cola	\$1.50
Tuna	\$3.00		
Bagel w/Lox	\$4.00		

Liebnitz started taking minutes, in which the lunch got mixed up with a personnel questionnaire each character had filled out. The minutes read:

1. Each one around the table has a different sandwich, a different tab for their lunch, a different age (between 30 and 60) and a different IQ (between 110 and 150).
2. Lydia, who is sitting at the west end of the table, has an IQ of 126, which happens to be the exact average of the 5 characters present.
3. The man in the orange chair ordered coffee; so did the man directly facing him.
4. De Toomb's age is half his IQ, but twice the age of the man at one end of the table.
5. Of the two characters who ordered cola, one has a tuna sandwich, the other a peanut butter.
6. MacBannock, who is sitting in the violet chair beside the man who is 42, has the lowest tab; the man directly facing him has the highest.
7. The average age of the 5 characters is exactly 45 years.
8. The man in the blue chair, who is beside the man with the 112 IQ on one side and the man who is drinking tea on the other, is allergic to fish.
9. The man who is 57 ordered a brie sandwich.
10. Liebnitz's IQ is the product of Flecker's tab and the age of the character in the red chair; all three numbers are perfect squares.

The meeting broke up amicably, but without much in the way of suggestions for Aalto. Liebnitz nevertheless sent him the minutes, along with a souvenir colour photo of the meeting in progress. Aalto wrote back with two questions: What is the IQ of the man in the green chair? And who had the chicken sandwich?

Can you help out poor old A Aalto by answering these questions? As an optional problem, what colour would the empty chair most likely be?

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is on vacation in Greece, recovering.

Lydia's Revenge — Answers

- (a) Acute ENGELS (b) Apple ZUIDER (c) BERNE MARX (d) Blue WALES (e) CHOPIN LISZT (f) Clinging ODER (g) Coca KOLA (h) Country RHODES (i) Crashing BOHR (j) CUBA Root (k) Dark ALI (l) EIRE Conditioning (m) Faint ECO (n) Four-door SUDAN (o) Hal-lowed HALS (p) Hard KNOX (q) Hello DELHI (r) KANDY Kisses (s) KOHL Cellar (t) Land HO (u) LHASA-tude (v) L'LE Abner (w) MAINE Chance (x) MINSK Pies (y) Mocking-BYRD (z) MOSELLE Tov (aa) MUNCH Ado (bb) Oar-LOCKE (cc) PEKING Tom (dd) Radial TYRE (ee) Ravenously HUNGARY (ff) SEOUL Food (gg) Small FRYE (hh) Sophisticated LEYTE (ii) Subordinate CLAUS (jj) SUCRE Bleu (kk) Tin CANNES (ll) TORY Poodle (mm) TRUK Stop (nn) Unholy RAO (oo) VIDAL Signs

Lydia's additional anagrams: Genghis Khan — Immanuel Kant

Who Shot Lorenzo Tonti — Answers

- (a) Frost, PRINCIP, Canada, Brass
(b) Cameron, CZOLGOSZ, India, Steel
(c) Adams, WHELAN, Egypt, Wood
(d) Evans, MERCADOR, USA, Glass
(e) Barton, GODSE, Yugoslavia, Balloon.
(f) Dunleavy, AL-ISLAMBULI, Mexico, Marble.
- (1) Evans shot himself. His bullet ricocheted off the brass globe opposite him and shattered the glass globe in front of him, the deaf footman had mistaken "glass" for "brass."
(2) Adams' bullet stopped the clock.
(3) Frost wounded the Egyptian.
(4) The wad from Cameron's blank cartridge burst the balloon.
(5) Barton's bullet hit the Tonti portrait.

Those of you who are historians may also have noted that each alias is the name of an assassin: Gavriilo PRINCIP killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914; Leon CZOLGOSZ killed US President McKinley in 1901; Patrick WHELAN killed D'Arcy McGee in 1868; Ramon MERCADOR killed Leon Trotsky in 1940; Nathuram GODSE killed Mahatma Gandhi in 1948; and Khalid AL-ISLAMBULI led the squad that killed Anwar Sadat in 1981. The six countries in which the killings took place are the six in the puzzle, but no alias is linked with the right country.

A Aalto Puzzle Winner, Vol. 9, No. 1:
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